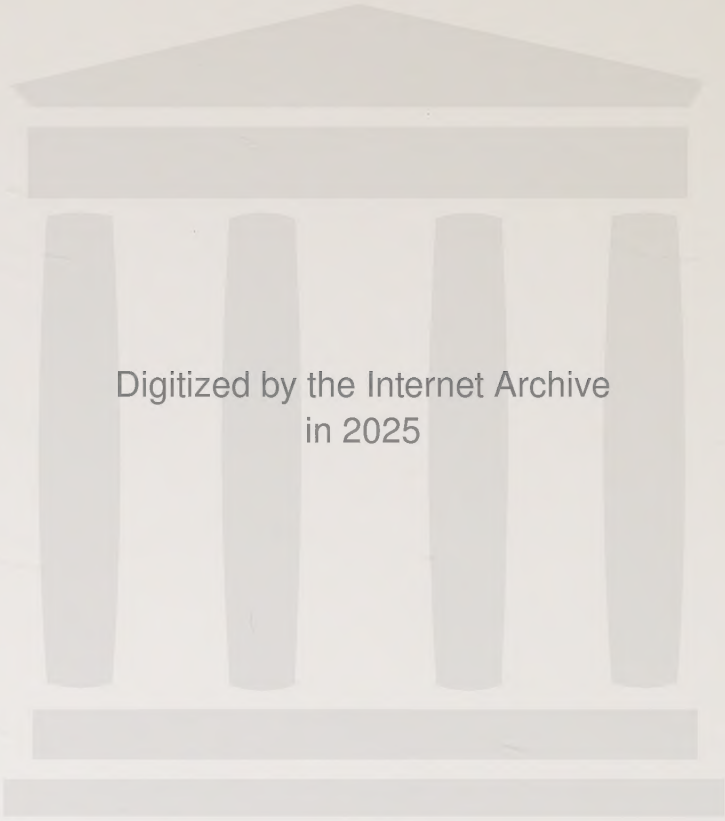
Landmarks
of
Old Prince William

VOLUMES I & II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Landmarks
of
Old Prince William

A study of origins in Northern Virginia

VOLUMES I & II

2ND REPRINT EDITION

By
Fairfax Harrison

PUBLICATION SPONSORED BY
THE PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY HISTORICAL COMMISSION

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IN MEMORIAM

Anne Randolph Putney Flory

R. Jackson Ratcliffe

PREFACE TO THE 2ND REPRINT EDITION

Copies of the original edition of *Landmarks of Old Prince William,* published in 1924, and the first reprint, published in 1964, have now disappeared from view, carefully guarded in public and private libraries. The difficulty in obtaining this invaluable reference has long frustrated the many readers who want to learn more about Old Prince William. Recognizing the scarcity of our prime historic text, the Prince William County Historical Commission has worked toward the goal of its republication for several years. With their past efforts in mind, and with great pride in their accomplishments, the Historical Commission dedicates this edition of *Landmarks* to two of our own: Anne Randolph Putney Flory and R. Jackson Ratcliffe, both of whom were members of the Historical Commission for many years.

Anne Randolph Putney Flory has left a lasting imprint on Prince William County through the many community organizations in which she served for nearly forty years. Mrs. Flory culminated a distinguished career in government service as the Director of Compensation, U.S. Postal Service. As an active volunteer, guiding spirit and leader within our community, she researched and lectured extensively on Prince William County people, places and historical artifacts. In 1948 she and her husband, Dr. W. E. S. Flory, purchased and subsequently restored historic Bel Air Plantation, and frequently opened this beautiful home to the public. Mrs. Flory was an inspirational force in Historic Dumfries, Inc. and in the establishment and furbishment of the Weems-Botts Museum. Her efforts on the Prince William County Historical Commission have undoubtedly served to protect many of our landmarks.

R. Jackson Ratcliffe, a lifelong resident of Prince William, had a more detailed and intimate knowledge of our County than perhaps any other individual, from his twenty-year service as Prince William County Surveyor and his consuming interest in our heritage. Jack Ratcliffe's congenial wit and wisdom and his detailed knowledge of places, people and events were joyously shared with anyone who posed a question about local history. An active member of numerous community organizations, an Eagle Scout and Scoutmaster, businessman and author, Jack Ratcliffe left a lasting impression on everyone he met through the friendship he extended and his passion for history. Mr. Ratcliffe collected his knowledge, photographs and anecdotes in *This Was Prince William,* published in 1978 and *This was Manassas,* published in 1973.

We especially want to thank the family of Anne Flory, who has graciously allowed us to use Anne's personal copy of the original *Landmarks,* one of the few unblemished copies extant, for the printing of this edition. We also wish to thank the Prince William Board of County Supervisors for their support and encouragement in ensuring *Landmarks of Old Prince William* would be available once again to the public. Steve Bodolay, our former chairman, Mavis Stanfield, Sally Borman, John Schofield, and Patrick Mulhern of the Planning Office and Don Wilson of the Prince William County Library all deserve our thanks for their time and talent.

JANE B. MACDONALD, *Chairman*
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INTRODUCTION

We in Prince William County feel blessed to have a first-class County history comprehensively written by a man who was an outstanding lawyer, railroad president, and historian. I am, of course, referring to the Magnum Opus *Landmarks of Old Prince William* by Fairfax Harrison. This invaluable reference source was originally published in 1924 as a private two-volume work. To this day, it stands as a model for those wishing to write accurate historical material. The notes provided for each individual chapter contain an incredible amount of basic research data for the serious student of history.

Harrison was born in New York City on March 13, 1869. It was his good fortune to have a profound Virginia ancestry on both sides of his family. His father served the Confederate States of America as private secretary to President Jefferson Davis. His mother was a descendent of the Fairfax family, so prominent in the Northern Virginia area.

At the end of the Civil War, the senior Harrison moved from Virginia to New York City to pursue the practice of law. Young Fairfax Harrison also was admitted to the New York Bar in 1892, after graduating from Yale and Columbia. He quickly won a reputation for having a decisive mind, strong personality, and unshakable adherence to conviction.

Fairfax Harrison's railroad career got underway in New York when he worked for two years on legal problems involved in the formation of the new Southern Railroad. In 1896, he was appointed solicitor for the Southern Railroad. It was this position that brought him to the Washington, D.C. area.

In 1903, he became assistant to the President of the Southern, and, in 1906, he was promoted to Vice-President in charge of financial affairs. His brilliant fiscal mind helped the company survive the great money panic of 1907.

In 1913, Harrison was elected to the Presidency of the Southern Railroad. During his tenure, he had to face the problems of world war, prosperity, and depression. The war period was particularly troublesome, since it involved government control of the nation's railroads.

During the time Harrison held high corporate positions he somehow managed to write a prodigious number of books. Among his products were numerous books on genealogy, several volumes

on the history of horse breeding, many articles on Virginia history, and the incomparable *Landmarks of Old Prince William.*

Harrison's total conversion as an avid Virginian and southerner came after the family moved to the beautiful estate, "Belvoir," in Fauquier County. The name was taken from the original Fairfax family seat in Fairfax County. The new estate was situated on lands that were part of Old Prince William County until 1759.

There are no less than 63 Library of Congress cards for recorded publications written by Fairfax Harrison. They cover problems of railroads, finance, development of the South, genealogy, and history. But, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* is generally recognized as his finest work due to its clarity, research, comprehension, and literary merit.

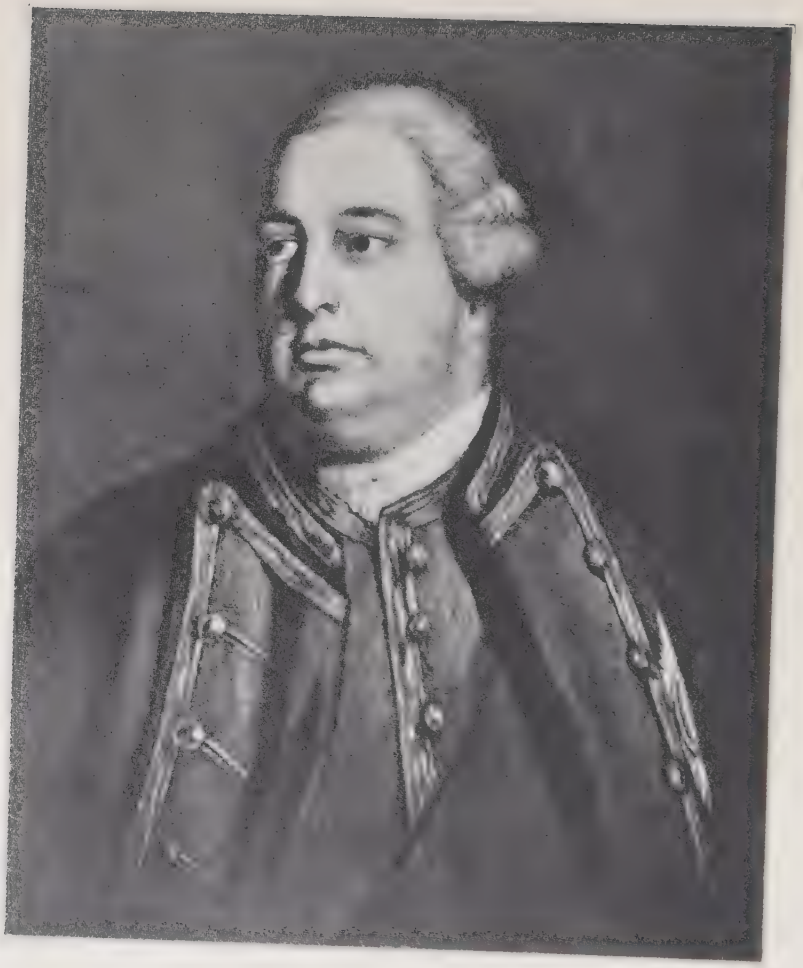
Harrison retired from the Southern Railroad in 1937. He died the following year, and was buried at Ivy Hill Cemetery, Alexandria, Virginia. This soil, too, was part of Old Prince William County until it was separated in 1742.

Regardless of whether you are a newcomer to Prince William County or a long time resident, if you have an interest in local history, you are sure to find new and interesting information in *Landmarks of Old Prince William.*

Enjoy.

Don Curtis
PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

LANDMARKS
OF
OLD PRINCE WILLIAM



Prince William (1721-1765)

Landmarks
of
Old Prince William

A study of origins in Northern Virginia
in Two Volumes

VOLUME I

To the Memory

of the

Founders of old Prince William

Alexander Spotswood

Robert Carter

Thomas Lee

William Fairfax

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the local historian has been diligent in the Shenandoah Valley, in Spotsylvania, Orange and Culpeper, and in a less degree in the Northern Neck peninsula, thus bounding old Prince William, he has so far refrained from any conspective view of that territory now made up of the counties of Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, and Arlington, and the City of Alexandria. Outside of the mass of literature which has grown up around Mt. Vernon, we have only Bishop Meade's leisurely peregrinations, and a few studies of periods or special subjects, notably Dr. E. L. Goodwin's illuminating annotations upon Dr. Slaughter's collections from the vestry book of Truro parish, the early chapters of Miss Kate Mason Rowland's *Life of George Mason* and of Senator Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall;* Dr. W. J. Hinke's researches upon Germantown and Mr. H. C. Groome's *Northern Neck Lands.*

And yet the history of this territory deserves to be written; not only by the chronicler but by that anxiously awaited prophet, the philosophical historian of Virginia, who is to digest into convincing generalization the mass of source material accumulated upon the shelves of our libraries during the present generation. His opportunity being to demonstrate his patriotism by acceptance of Virginia's participation in the American Revolution as a phenomenon to be explained, no longer merely to be justified, he will be enabled to bring to his examination of the colonial period an ability to understand it without prejudice, to study Virginia biologically and not *a postiori.* When he does so he will find in old Prince William problems which call for individual interpretation.

By reason of indian relations, settlement of this territory was delayed long enough to bring us here, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, upon something characteristic of nineteenth century America but new in Virginia history, the meeting and mingling of men of diverse nationalities, recently

immigrant. By bringing people together from all the different provinces of England, the earliest colonies had tended to modify long inherited local prejudices, as only the London commune previously had done; but, for all that they were 'true born,' in the sense of Defoe's satire, those who had this seventeenth century experience were always Englishmen. While outposts of the civilization they developed spread up the western shore of the Potomac to the head of navigation before 1700 and were thereafter assimilated with the lower tidewater tradition by the residence and dominant influence of representative English families, the interior, which is the community with which we are here chiefly concerned, was characteristically seated by other nationalities. The limit of 'old Virginia' in this territory may be indicated on the map by drawing a contour line from the Potomac to the Rappahannock through the sites of the brick churches (Falls, Christ [Alexandria], Paynes, Pohick, Dumfries, Broad Run and Elk Run), which were built in the middle of the eighteenth century; for those churches were the bench marks of the advance of tidewater society. Above that contour line we shall see the grass lands planted and the forest felled by Celt, Teuton and Gaul.

For a few years only these alien pioneers constituted a true frontier, the American 'far west,' for when the Shenandoah Valley was opened to general seating about 1749 the greater part of them ceased to be characteristic frontiersmen and began to adapt themselves to typical Virginia conditions under the political and social leadership of a comparatively few English families which had overflowed from the older communities. It was then, during the middle years of the century, that mother Virginia took the newcomers to her broad bosom, whispered to each the secrets of her *taboos*, and sent them forth again to carry on her traditions. Despite some bubbling in the racial melting pot, despite the cynical indifference of the lowland planter as to what became of the newcomers, if only they remained a barrier between him and the French and indians, despite the necessity of a change of agricultural staple and of agricultural practice, despite a measurably small slave population, old Prince William grew up a legitimate, if late born,

daughter of the tobacco planting tidewater. By the time of the American Revolution the Irish, the Scot, the German, the French Huguenot here 'seated' had become men of a distinctively different flavor from that of any of their kinsmen settled elsewhere in America, recognisably different even from those who had swarmed out of Pennsylvania in much greater numbers into the Shenandoah Valley. They were 'tuckahoes,' not 'cowees.'

There is, then, a challenge to the historian to explain why these men, sneered at as aliens by some of the Virginians who saw their arrival, produced, in the third and fourth generation, ardent exponents of the Virginia ideal, and since the war between the states have, probably more than any others, remained 'unreconstructed.' There is opportunity for a fascinating study to assay how much of this development may be traced to tradition from the tidewater, how much to local inspiration under the haunting influence of a smiling landscape of hills and dales such as the tidewater never knew, and how much to the fact that old Prince William was the theatre of great events in an epic contest.

The present essay in scissors and paste does not purport to be such a history for it does not attempt to judge the civilization. It makes no higher claim than to be the record of a systematic search for the older landmarks of the development of the community. The endeavor has been, however, by establishing a background, to avoid the provincialism of many local histories. But when this is said, the result remains that peculiarly modern thing, a book of research, written as such books are from without looking in, rather than from within looking out, as history should be. The editor has been highly critical of the flood of such books, which in recent years have issued out of our universities and now finds that the Muse Clio has rebuked his *hubris* by giving that very form to the product of the pleasant studies he undertook for his own enlightenment. For this consideration publication is not intended, except as to those chapters which have been honoured by appearing in the pages of the *Virginia Magazine, William and Mary Quarterly, Tyler's Quarterly,* and the *Bulletin* of the Fauquier Historical Society.

The book is printed only in order that the honest work which has gone into it and the meticulous documentation might be made available to the future historian.

The uses of such a study being to disentangle fact from tradition, only source records have been drawn upon; chiefly the statutes and legislative journals and that Virginia Domesday book, the land grants. With these testimonies have been read historically the notable series of Virginia maps. The county records, so sadly depleted by the ravages of war, have, of course, been invoked; in particular, free use has been made of a Court Order book of Stafford, covering several years at the end of the seventeenth century, which has recently been recovered after a long and romantic absence from Virginia. By reason of the early amphibious intimacy between Stafford and Charles Counties the *Maryland Archives,* now nobly printed and indexed, have afforded detail and local colour of Virginia relations not preserved elsewhere. The English *Calendar of State Papers,* Colonial, has been invaluable down to 1709. To supplement it some fresh material for the eighteenth century has been extracted direct from the records of the Colonial Office in London; and more from that fountain has been drawn through the recent accessions to the *British Transcripts* in the Library of Congress.

No one who studies any period or any detail of Virginia history can fail to reiterate his profound obligation to the *Virginia Magazine* and the *William and Mary Quarterly* (First and Second series) even when he is impatient of the unnecessary toil of exploring those rich mines without the aid of a comprehensive index. Cordial acknowledgment is made also to many friends throughout northern Virginia who have generously given their aid. Among them may be gratefully mentioned Messrs. H. C. Groome, Alfred B. Horner and J. Brad Beverley, of Fauquier; Messrs. R. Walton Moore, Thomas R. Keith and J. M. Love, of Fairfax; Messrs. W. G. Metzger, R. R. Walker, W. H. Martin and Charles P. Janney, of Loudoun; Messrs. Charles H. Callahan, E. H. Kemper and James R. Caton, of Alexandria; Miss A. M. Ewell, Messrs. W. E. Didlake and

H. Thornton Davies, of Prince William; Mr. W. W. Scott, of Orange, and Mr. Guy E. Mauldin, of Washington City.

F. H.

Belvoir,
Fauquier County, Virginia,
June, 1924.

PART ONE

The Indian Frontier

Capt. John Smith, 1612.

CHAPTER ONE

The Unfolding of the Wilderness

SO far as the surviving evidence makes for historical assurance, the territory of old Prince William was first visited by white men in the summer of 1608 when Capt. John Smith explored the Potomac from its mouth to the 'freshes."[1] He found the Northern Neck peninsula occupied by Algonquins in all respects similar to those the English had previously encountered on the James and forming part of the same Powhatan confederacy. Their chief town, *Petomek* ('the place where the tribute is brought'), from which the great river took its final English name, was on the estuary which is still called Potomac Creek. As Smith learned that 'they were commanded to betray us, by Powhatan's direction,' he passed the Potomacs by, and, pursuing his discoveries further up stream, came into contact with the natives who dwelt in old Prince William itself. Although these nations were nominally included in the Powhatans' confederacy, they were in Smith's day already beginning to listen to the temptations of the Iroquois and to assert the independence which soon enabled them to set up their own Maryland confederacy. They showed this tendency by receiving Smith hospitably, because Powhatan deemed him an enemy. He thus saw them intimately enough to distinguish them as made up of three tribes, which he called Mayaones, Nacothtant and Taux (or Toags), and thus introduced on the page of history the Piscataways, Anacostans and Doegs of the later records. Already in Smith's day all these peoples seem to have dwelt on both banks of the river; the Doegs below, and the Piscataways and Anacostans (if ever there was any real difference between the two last named) above, the narrows; and he indicated several of their villages on his map. As modern archeology has discovered evidence of indian villages at the mouths of all the creeks of the upper river below the falls, it is possible, without too great a strain of the historical imagination,

to accept Smith's topography at least in principle.[2] Thus we identify Doeg villages known as Pamacocock both on Chipawansic 'Island' and across the river on Maryland Point; Tauxnent ('the King's howse') on Occoquan, and Namassingakent on Dogue Run; while the Piscataway (or Anacostan) villages would be, in Maryland, Moyaones on Piscataway Creek, Nacothtant below the Eastern Branch; and in Virginia, Assaomeck below Great Hunting Creek and Nameroughquena on Alexander's Island.

We are to return to the political history of all these peoples. Here it is necessary to refer to them only to contrast their situation with that of the backwoods, which then made up the greater part of the territory we are studying. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the up river people were very far from being degraded savages, for they had reached the highest stage of neolithic culture. Living on lands which had harboured man for countless centuries,[3] they were both corn growers and fishermen, and they enjoyed a prosperity and physical comfort in both occupations, which is reflected by the colour of the adjectives Smith uses in speaking of them. It is enough to turn to John White's contemporary drawings[4] not only to reconstruct their civilization but to feel, as Smith did, the wild charm of it.

That aboriginal river life constituted, however, no more than what the Virginia colony, which superseded it, was destined long to remain, a mere selvage woven upon the fabric of the wilderness. Once one made his way, as Smith did up Aquia, beyond the falls of any of those 'many sweet rivers and springs which fall from the bordering hills,' one plunged into depressing solitude and the silent gloom of a thick forest canopy. Of what that forest veiled, but little was known in Virginia for a century after Smith. By relation of the indians and the reports of the first explorations up the James the colonists soon learned that they had an as yet invisible back ground of high mountains trending 'from the north by a sowthwest lyne, in so much as the more so-ward the further off from the bay are those mountaynes;' but of what lay at the foot of this boundary they were informed only that the forest which encom-

passed the tidewater there broke into a 'champion' country of hills and plains in which the 'five great navagable rivers take their heads.'[5]

Of the two earliest short expeditions into that hinterland in the region which was to be Prince William, the surviving records are at once tantalizing and revealing. The narrator of Smith's voyage up Aquia Creek[6] 'seven or eight myle' above its falls, described only a mine from which the natives drew pigment. Capt. Argall, several years later, is more illuminating. While he, too, was in search of a mine and reports various inconsiderable marvels, incidentally but convincingly he draws aside the forest canopy. Mounting the Rappahannock to the falls of that river in 1613, he says[7] that,

'marching into the Countrie I found great store of cattle as big as Kine, of which the Indians that were my guides killed a couple which were found to be very good and wholsome meate, and are very easie to be killed in regard they are heavy, slow and not so wilde as other beastes of the Wilderness.'

Here is a picture quite different from anything we have seen on the Potomac. The presence of buffalo implies the existence of grass land and so first of all Argall introduces us to the true 'champion' which has ever since been the outstanding topographical characteristic of the piedmont part of old Prince William.

As might be expected, the indians inhabiting this prairie country at the beginning of the seventeenth century were quite different in race and habit of life from the contemporary tidewater Algonquins. The latter, respecting them as oft tried and mortal enemies, gave them the name by which we know them—Manahoac—thereby expressing one of their outstanding characteristics, 'they are very merry.'[8] They were hunting nomads who by a long continued practice of firing the forests had created the plains on which fed the buffalo Argall saw. The picture of them in Smith's *Generall Historie* is one of the most graphic in that entertaining book and has the interest of being the only first hand account of the Manahoac which has

survived. Here it is:[10] Smith and his men had made their way to the falls of the Rappahannock:

'The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float; there setting up crosses, and graving our names in the trees. Our Sentinell saw an arrow fall by him; though we had ranged up and downe more then an houre, in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himselfe.

'Upon the alarum, by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served us for Baricadoes as well as they. But Mosco[11] did us more service then we expected; for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of Mosco at the first made them pause upon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. Mosco followed them as farre as he could see us, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee; but taking him up we found he had life: which Mosco seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then Mosco was to haue beat out his braines. So we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian who went with us to cure our Captaines hurt of the Stingray, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the meane time we contented Mosco in helping him to gather up their arrowes, which were an armefull; whereof he gloried not a little.

'Then we desired Mosco to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of Hassininga, where there are three Kings more, like unto them, namely the King of Stegora, the King of Tauxuntania, and the King of Shakahonea, that were come to Mohaskahod,[12] which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the Mannahocks and the Nandtaughtacunds,[13] but hard by where we were.

'We demanded why they came in that manner to betray us, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loues; he answered, they heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them.

'We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was under the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans and the Massawomeks that were higher up in the mountaines.[14]

'Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; because the woods were not burnt.

'These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the Massawomeks, the Monacans, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of Stegora, Tauxsintania, and the rest. The Monacans he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, living upon rootes and fruits,[15] but chiefly by hunting. The Massawomeks did dwell upon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting. But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw us, notwithstanding they would be al together at night at Mahaskahod.

'For his relation we gave him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with us: and he as earnestly desired us to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good usage should be friends with us, for he was brother to Hassininga. But Mosco advised us presently to be gone, for they were all naught; yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and Mosco was as diligent in trimming his arrowes.

'The night being come we all imbarked; for the river was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might have done us exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the K. of Hassininga was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call unto them, but such a yelling and hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More than 12 myles they followed us in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selves in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen.

'Being well refreshed, we untyed our Targets that covered us as a Deck, and all shewed our selves with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner Amoroleck. A long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee used him, how wee had a Patawomek with us, loved us as his life, that would have slaine him had we not preserved him, and that he should have his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe us any hurt it was impossible.

'Upon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers upon the trees, and one came swimming aboord us with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they delivered our Captaine as a present: the Captaine having used them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend; whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so upon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and received Amoroleck: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to give us, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities. And so we left foure or five hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for Moraughtacund.'

Modern ethnology[16] has identified these Manahoac, with their kinsmen the Monacan who dwelt to the south of them on the headwaters of the James and the Roanoke, as having, long before Smith's day, found their way from the cradle of their Siouan stock in southern Ohio to the Virginia piedmont. The *Generall Historie* records the names of seven villages of the Manahoac on the headwaters of the Rappahannock under the Blue Ridge. Of these Tanxnitania is located on Smith's map on the east bank of the north fork of that river and, as it happens, there is early eighteenth century evidence that an indian town once stood on the site of the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs[17]; but as yet there has been no archeological discovery there of any of the characteristic Manahoac communal grave mounds such as have been explored on the Rivanna.[18] It is certain only that none of these people were left within the boundaries of old Prince William at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their tragic history in the interval is a chapter of the wars of conquest of those 'Massawomek' they named to Smith, the confederacy organized in 1540 by the Five Nations resident in New York, who called themselves the 'Long House,' but are best known in American history by their French name, Iroquois. These powerful tribes, intent on asserting a hegemony over all the indians of eastern America, were,

in Smith's day, already frequenting the upper Potomac and all western Virginia. In 1632 Henry Fleet traded with them at the Falls of the Potomac, describing them as 'Massamecks or Cannyda indians,' and it has been persuasively conjectured that the correct topography of the Shenandoah Valley, depicted on Champlain's map of New France, published in that same year, 1632, was the result of observations by Jesuits who had been out with Iroquois hunting parties.[19] Sometime before 1656 they drove their neighbours, the Erie (or 'Cat Nation') from a long established residence on the great lake to which they left their name, and it has been conjectured that, with their women and children, they then trekked south to Virginia, where, harboured by the Manahoac and the Monacan, they seated themselves at Manakintown, on James River above the falls as the Rickahockians of Virginia history.[20] Either in revenge for this hospitality, or because of the failure of their diplomacy to achieve their alliance, the Iroquois declared relentless war on our piedmont indians about this time and ultimately succeeded in driving the Manahoac out of old Prince William. So depleted, they lost their individuality, merged with the Monacan and, after 1669, disappear from the piedmont record.[21]

It so happens that our first, and for quarter of a century to come the only comprehensive, description of the territory relates to the year immediately following the departure of the Manahoac. In 1671 that mysterious German, John Lederer, of whose origin and fate nothing is known,[22] reported on the explorations of the interior of Virginia, which he had undertaken under a commission from Sir William Berkeley. On his third journey he made his way up the Rappahannock and ultimately climbed, he says, 'to the top of the Apalataean Mountains' where he saw enough to denounce the 'great error' of the opinion set forth on Virginia Ferrar's Virginia map of 1651 that in ten days' march from the head of any of the Virginia rivers the traveller might reach 'that peaceful Indian Sea' where Sir Francis Drake had been in 1577.[23] We can follow Lederer with certainty, past the falls of the Rappahannock, to the Great Fork, or confluence of the Hedgman with the Rapidan, but here both his description and map become vague. Although he says he followed the

north branch of the Rappahannock to its source, thus suggesting Chester Gap as the place where he mounted the Blue Ridge, he does not show the Little Fork (the confluence of Hedgman's and Hazel River) and so may have kept so far to the South as to miss the Little Fork altogether and reach the Ridge at Thornton's Gap. In any event, we can feel assured that Lederer passed through lower Fauquier. Here is his description:

'On the twentieth of August, 1670, Col. Catlet,[24] of Virginia, and myself, with nine English horse and five Indians on foot departed from the house of one Robert Talifer[25] and that night reached the falls of the Rappahannock River, in Indian Mantapeuck. The next day we passed it over where it divides into two branches, north and south, keeping the main branch north of us. The three and twentieth we found it so shallow that it only wet our horses' hoofs. The four and twentieth we travelled thorow the Savanae, amongs vast herds of red and fallow deer which stood gazing at us, and a little after we came to the Promontories or spurs of the Apalataean mountains.

'These Savanae are low grounds at the foot of the Apalataeans . . . their verdure is wonderful pleasant to the eye, especially of such as having travelled through the shade of the vast forest, come out of a melancholy darkness of a sudden into a clear and open skie. . . . To heighten the beauty of these parts, the first springs of most of those great rivers which run into the Atlantick ocean or Chesapeack bay do here break out and in various branches interlace the flowry meads whose luxurious herbage invites numerous herds of red deer to feed. . . . The six and twentieth of August we came to the Apalataean mountains.'

This leaves us sadly to seek for land marks, but is important topographically none the less for its observation of the grass lands of the piedmont, thereby confirming Argall. In that respect we soon have more evidence, for Beverley (1705) says: 'The Heads of the Rivers afford . . . large spots of Meadows and Savannas wherein are hundreds of acres without any Tree at all, but yield Reeds and Grass of incredible height.'

It is significant, too, that Lederer makes no mention of meeting resident indians, for he had already been explicit in his record of the Monacan he met on a previous journey to the South. As he here made his way through the heart of the

region in which Smith placed the Manahoac villages, Lederer's silence as to them seems quite definitely to fix the date of their departure.

But this silence does not mean that there were then no indian proprietors of the piedmont. At the treaty of Albany, in 1722, Spotswood asserted that northern Virginia had been 'deserted' when the Manahoac departed. He was promptly challenged by the Iroquois sachems. They had never intended to live there, they said, but the whole world knew that they had conquered that land and that it was their hunting preserve, from which all and sundry had been warned at their peril to keep out. It was thus merely Lederer's good fortune which saved him from a casual, and perhaps fatal, rencontre with the Iroquois. Others had that experience. The Virginia indians early learned the lesson of caution in respect to this region. In 1678 Cornelius Dabney excused the Pamunkeys from compliance with a request that they furnish an elk for Col. Francis Moryson to take to England, by the statement that 'the Senecas having put our indians into a fear, they dare not go so high to hunt.'[26] The Rappahannock frontiersmen were, however, of a different stomach. The great fork of the Rappahannock was a tempting hunting ground and there was also the lure of the Blue Ridge and of what there might be beyond it. Several incidental records survive of such men making an adventurous way into the interior at this time, but, unfortunately, none of them was such a scribe as Lederer. From the indian side we learn that in 1679 a party of Virginians met a band of Iroquois somewhere in the piedmont 'as far from any of the English plantations as Cahuaga is from Albany,' and a clash of arms occurred.[27] Again, in 1682, Cadwalader Jones, the commander of the Rapphannock rangers, thoroughly explored the Great Fork, and perhaps crossed the Blue Ridge as he asserts on his map of the region, drawn in 1699.[28] Under the name of 'that curious Vaile called Scurvion,' he identifies that portion of the piedmont lying between the north fork of the Rappahannock and the James as 'a land very Rich, thirty miles in Breadth and about Ninety miles

North and So. in Length, with four Single Mountains,[29] about a Mile rising ground, placed so commodious and pleasing as tho made by art to view and command that vaile.' Many years later, John Taliaferro of Snow Creek, testifying[30] that he had accompanied Jones on the journey of 1682, said:

'we traviled up the South river [Rapidan] till we came to sev[11] small mountains & so to the North River [Hedgmans]. In our travills we were sev[11] times on the North River and went up the South River to the great mountains where we discovered the South River's Springs to head into the Mountains. All our Judgm[ts] was the South river to be the bigest and were inform'd so by all the Indians y[t] was our Pilotts; and saw an Indian y[t] made a periauger at the mountain and brought her down to the Garison with Skins and venison, where the said Jones Commanded.'

With such beginning the territory might soon have been made accessible to the English, but prudent politics now interposed a new restraint. Bringing into Albany some Virginia prisoners taken at this time in the back woods, an Iroquois sachem remarked,[31] 'It would be convenient that the Governor tell the People of Virginia not to send their Men so far from Home, for if they should meet our Parties in their way . . . we cannot answer for the Consequences.' This warning was formally accepted by treaty in 1684,[32] and thus it was that the curtain fell again on the piedmont. Back of the plantations the woods were regularly frequented for hunting as far inland as the confluence of the Rapidan and the Hedgman and perhaps even up to the Bull Run Mountains, but no Englishman then ventured into the highlands. For the planter, until after the treaty of Albany, the effective western limit was a well defined Iroquois trail—the future Carolina road. As a consequence, the frontiersman of 1720 was practically as ignorant of what was behind the Blue Ridge as Capt. John Smith had been.[33]

While this was the state of the information on the frontier itself, we can understand why there was no material at Williamsburg with which to correct the current maps. Such ignorance was indeed officially certified to the Crown as late as December, 1720, when the Assembly said:[34]

'To the westward of Virginia, about forty miles distant from some of our remotest Settlements there runs a Ridge or continued chain of exceeding high Mountains which extend all along the Back of this and the next Province of Carolina, and must certainly prove an Extraordinary safeguard to these Colonies whenever our Plantations shall reach so far as to get possession of the few difficult Passes which, according to the best Discoveries we have heretofore been able to make, appear to be no more than two thro' that Ridge.'

This statement now seems merely curious but, considering its date, it is the best historical evidence of how long the piedmont remained a hunters' wilderness. More than that, it enables us to comprehend the sustained hold upon the imagination of Virginia of the fantastic pictures of that region on Smith's map of 1612 and Virginia Ferrar's map of 1651. The conventionalized pine tree standing, shall we say, on the site of Warrenton and the cheerful wolf prowling about the access to Chester gap illustrate the terror of the unknown, of a region 'where wild in woods the noble savage ran,' a pious appreciation of the lessons of the book of Job. What is here significant is that those illustrations affected men's minds down into the eighteenth century.[35]

But the curtain of mystery was now suddenly to be raised. Within two years after the Assembly had sent to England the petition we have recited, Governor Spotswood's diplomacy threw open the entire piedmont. The Long House had, by conquest, acquired title to the lands of the Manahoac. By treaty Virginia had recognised that title and now, in 1722, by another treaty acquired it.[36]

Curious frontiersmen at once swarmed into the highlands of old Prince William. We can see the process of their exploration vividly depicted on the series of maps of the region which were produced during the fifteen years following the treaty of Albany.

The first of these maps, that sent to England by Governor Gooch in the summer of 1731, must have been drawn from information supplied at first hand by someone who had been through the country as well as up the Potomac, for it sorts out and disentangles the confusion of hills shown on Jones' as well

as on Smith's map, into serried well spaced eastward marching ranks, depicting (but not naming) the Blue Ridge, the Coblers, the Rappahannock Range, and the Bull Run mountains; and lays out a complete drainage system, taking in all the principal feeders of the Rappahannock, the Occoquan and Goose Creek. No Blue Ridge gaps are named, but Chester's, Manassas and Ashby's are all indicated as the source of streams, 'Goose Cr.' on the east and 'Happy Cr.' on the west. Along the Potomac the first stream indicated above the Occoquan is 'Four Mile Run;' at the 'Falls' is 'Pimits Run,' further north, 'Difficult Run,' and 'Broad R.;' above the mouth of the Maryland 'Monokasy Cr.' is 'Kitoctank Cr.'

Historically interesting as it is, Sir William Keith's map (which though dated 1738, must have been drawn on material contemporary with that of 1731) is of much less importance. Its chief local significance is in relation to the tributaries of the Rappahannock. The map of 1731 labels the north fork 'Rappahannock R.' (perhaps for political purposes in relation to the then pending controversy as to the bounds of the Northern Neck, for Robert Carter was careful not to so designate it in the contemporary land grants); while Keith recalls for it a pre-seating designation, 'Indian River,' which is otherwise lost. Further illustrating progress of knowledge, the map of 1731 lays down the Fauquier 'Marsh Run' and 'Great Run,' but the Northern Neck maps of 1737 first add 'Carter's Run' as well as most of the minor tributaries of the North Fork which had already appeared in the land grants.

It was the Northern Neck survey of 1737 which completed the picture. On John Warner's map of that great work we find the 'Blew Ridge' pierced by 'Williams' Gap' (later known as Snicker's), 'Ashby's Bent Gap,' 'Calmes' Gap' (later known as Manassas),[37] and 'Happy Creek Gap' (since known as Chester's). 'Cobler Mountns' and 'Short Hills' are named as well as indicated. The Bull Run Mountains and the Rappahannock range, while not named, are both sketched in as on the map of 1731, but more correctly. Streams which appeared on the map of 1731 and on Keith's map have now assumed names and are localized, viz: 'Broad Run,' 'Cedar Run,' 'Bull

Run,' and 'Sandy Run,' draining into the Occoquan. From Happy Creek Gap flows to the south the Rappahannock of the map of 1731, but under a new name, 'R. called Hedgman.' To the north is 'Cokongoloto *anglice* Goose Creek,' flowing from both Calmes' Gap and Ashby's. On the Potomac 'Hunting Creek' here appears first on any map.

And thus the wilderness at last was explored and revealed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

[1] *The Spanish in the Chesapeake*: For Smith's record of his Potomac explorations see Smith's Works, ed. Arber, pp. 52, 112, 348, 417. The Jesuit martyrology (Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres,* 1657, tit Segura), is accepted as evidence that the Spanish were in the Chesapeake as early as 1565, and in 1570 established a mission somewhere on its waters in the territory of a native chief, described as the 'Cacique of Axacan;' that this mission was massacred by the indians and later avenged by a punitive expedition from St. Augustine. There is no warrant, however, other than pure conjecture, for Dr. J. G. Shea's ingenious identification of 'Axacan' with Occoquan. See his entertaining paper, read before the New York Historical Society in 1872, *The Spanish Mission Colony on the Rappahannock,* printed in Beach's Indian Miscellany, 1877, and Mr. Hugh T. Taggart's somewhat labored argument for it in *Old Georgetown,* 1908.

[2] *The Indian Town Sites on the Potomac*: Messrs. S. V. Proudfit and W. H. Holmes, of Washington, the contemporary authorities on the Potomac Indian tribes, both advise the present editor that their explorations reveal evidences of village sites at practically all points on the south shore of the Potomac where cultivable land and fishing grounds were available, but that it is not possible to define the location of Smith's villages. Mr. Holmes has, however, specifically reported (in a MS. preserved in the Bureau of Ethnology. See also Mooney, in *The American Anthropologist,* iii, 259), large finds of Indian remains at the sites we have named, and as they fit in with Smith's map, they are here tentatively identified. The real consideration is not so much where the villages were as that archeology has so nearly confirmed Smith's map.

[3] For a spirited conjecture as to the antiquity of man in the Potomac valley, based on the geology of the region, see W. J. McGee, in *American Anthropologist,* ii, 245.

[4] Among the many reproductions of Grebelin's engravings of John White's famous drawings, first published by DeBry, see those in any edition of Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia.*

[5] William Strachey, *Virginia Britannia,* 1618, ed. Hakluyt Society, 1849.

[6] *Smith's Works,* ed. Arber, p. 418. In the reprint of the first part of his *Mappe of Virginia,* Smith (*Works,* ed. Arber, 348), describing the Potomac above Petomek town, says: 'Here doth the river divide

itself into three or four convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trending North-West, but the river itselfe turneth north-east and is still a navigable stream." Doubtless because of the expedition up this creek, the map of 1612 puts undue emphasis on Quiyough ('the place of the gulls') or Aquia as it is now called, with curious historical consequences. See *post*, p. 602.

[7] Argall to Hawes, June, 1613, in Purchas (ed. Hakluyt Society, 1906), xix, 90.

[8] *Handbook of American Indians*, i, 796.

[9] *The origin of the Piedmont grass lands*: The discovery that grass grew spontaneously on once cultivated 'old fields' if kept clear of forest had taught the Indians to prepare prairies on a larger scale to attract their herbivorous game. When the English arrived, the deliberate burning of the forests for this purpose, which had already created the prairies of Kentucky (Shaler, *Nature and Man in America*, p. 184), was just beginning in the east. 'Virginia, between its mountains and the sea was passing through its fiery ordeal and was approaching a crisis at the time the colonists snatched the fagot from the Indian's hand. The tribes were burning everything that would burn, and it can be said with at least as much probability of Virginia as of the region west of the Alleghanies that if the discovery of America had been postponed five hundred years Virginia would have been pasture land or desert.' (Maxwell, *The Use and Abuse of Forests by Virginia Indians*, in *W. & M. Quar.*, xix, 103.) The remark of the Manahoac to John Smith that he knew not what was beyond the Blue Ridge except the sun, 'because the woods were not burnt' illustrates Mr. Maxwell's statement.

[10] *Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, p. 426. This chapter is credited as 'written by Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell and Anas Todkill.'

[11] The Algonquin guide "of Wighcocomoco upon the river of Patawomek. We supposed him some Frenchman's sonne, because he had a thicke black bush beard."

[12] This hunting camp is shown on Smith's map, in the Great Fork of the Rappahannock, near the confluence of Rapidan and Hedgman's.

[13] This was Smith's name for the uppermost Algonquin tribe on the Rappahannock known in later records as 'Nansaticoes'. They lived in Essex and Caroline, below the falls.

[14] These were the Iroquois (*Handbook of American Indians*, i, 620).

[15] *Tuckahoe*: In 1662 the Assembly (Hening, ii, 140) recited its concern for 'the poore Indians whome the seating of the English hath forced from their wonted conveniences of . . . gathering tuckahoe, cuttyemnions or other wild fruites by which they were wonted for a greate parte of the year to subsist.' Beverley (1705, iii, 15) supplies the translation of these mysteries. 'They make Food of another Fruit calld Cuttanimmons, the Fruit of a Kind of Arum, growing in the Marshes: They are like Boyl'd Peas or Capers to look on, but of an insipid earthy taste . . . Out of the Ground they dig Trubbs, Earth nuts, Wild Onions, and a Tuberous Root they call Tuckahoe, which, while crude, is of a very hot and virulent quality: but they can manage it so as in case of necessity to make Bread of it. . . . It grows like a Flagg in the miry Marshes having Roots of the magnitude and taste of Irish Potatoes which are easy to be dug up.' For the botany see Gore in *Smithsonian Report*, 1881, p. 687 ff.

[16] Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, 1894.

[17] See *post*, p. 202. In Mr. Jefferson's table of Virginia Indians, in-

cluded in the *Notes on Virginia,* these villages are called tribes and 'the Tanxnitania and Whokonit' are noted as residents of Fauquier.

[18] Gerard Fowke, *Archeological Investigations in James and Potomac Valleys,* 1894; Bushnell, *Native Cemeteries,* 1920; both bulletins of the Bureau of Ethnology.

[19] Champlain's map is reproduced in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of . . . New York,* iii, frontispiece and p. 11. See Mr. Charles E. Kemper's comment upon the Virginia portion of it in *Va. Mag.,* xxviii, 170.

[20] *The Rickahockians*: The determination of Virginia also to displace these 'strange Indians' was the occasion for that deadliest of Indian battles in Virginia history, the memory of which is preserved at Richmond by 'Bloody Run.' It was then (1656) that Totopotomoi, the worthy successor of Powhatan, fell with an hundred warriors of the Pamunkeys and the first Col. Edward Hill was disgraced. (Burk, ii, 106; Hening, i, 403; *Hudibras,* part Two, canto ii, 421; T. M.'s *Bacon's Rebellion.*) Mr. James Mooney (*Handbook of Am. Indians,* i, 248, 430), long identified the 'Rickahockians' with the Cherokee but in 1919 recanted (in a note in Bushnell, *Native Villages,* p. 37), and accepted an identification with the Erie. What persuaded him was the assonance of the Iroquois name for the Erie 'Riquehronnons' with the Virginia word 'Rickahockians' and Lederer's description of the latter in 1670 as coming 'from some strange land by the sea to the north-West.' But it does not appear that the Erie migrated prior to their final battle with the Iroquois in the spring of 1656. (See Parkman, *Jesuits in America,* p. 438), and there is evidence for the 'Rickahockians' in Virginia in 1646 (when Fort Royal on Chickahominy Ridge was named *'alias* Rickahock.' Hening, 1, 293, 315, 327) and again in 1654 (when 'Rickahockian stands' are designated on the Potomac. See *post,* p. 58). For these and other reasons, Mr. Mooney's final identification is not accepted by all Indian scholars. All that is agreed is that the Rickahockians came into Virginia from beyond the Blue Ridge.

[21] *The Passing of the Manahoac*: At the Virginia Indian census of 1669 (Hening ii, 274) the Manahoac were recorded as mustering only fifty bowmen on the frontier of old Rapahannock County, which then included much of Prince William. Thereafter, they were gradually but steadily worn down, perhaps as much by their debauching contact with the Virginia frontiersmen as by the muskets of their relentless enemies of the Long House, but they were proud to the last. After wanderings which took them into Carolina, they established themselves on Totero island in the Roanoke above the Occaneechi and so were included in Bacon's massacre in May, 1676 (*W. & M. Quar.,* ix, 1). In 1681 they were dispossessed from Totero by the Iroquois. (Spencer's dispatch to Lord Culpeper, June, 1681, *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1681-85, No. 185, p. 93). Col Byrd records a tradition of an incident in this contest: 'There is a Cave in this Island in which the last Totero King, with only 2 of his men, defended himself against a great host of Northern Indians & at last obliged them to retire.' (*Journey to Eden,* ed. Bassett, p. 290). Thereafter, they were scattered about Southside Virginia, until Spotswood herded them, under the name Saponys, at Fort Christanna in 1714 (*Spotswood Letters,* ii, 58, 197). There, according to Col. Byrd (*The Dividing Line,* ed. Bassett, p. 246) the daughter of the last king poisoned herself from distress at the degradation of her people.

At last the remnants of our piedmont aborigines drifted north. In 1753 they were formally absorbed and adopted by their racial enemies, the Cayugas, at the very moment Virginians were completing the occu-

pation of their native soil. In 1870 an ethnologist sought out and found in Canada the last of the Manahoac, a merry old man named Mosquito. He still spoke his inherited Siouan tongue and he claimed to be the true owner of his tribal lands in Virginia, of the blue grass pastures of old Prince William.

[22] *Lederer:* Thomas Glover in his *Account of Virginia,* which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, June 20, 1676 (See the Oxford reprint, 1904), testified that 'about five years since there was a German Chirurgeon who obtained a Commission from Sr. Will. Bartlet to travel to the South-West of Virginia, and to make discovery of those parts: He went along the foot of the Mountains as far as the Lake of Usherre and discovered them to be passable in two places.' Apart from this all we know of Lederer is recorded in 'The Discoveries of John Lederer in three several Marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina and other parts of the Continent. Beginning March, 1669, and ended in September, 1670, Together with a General Map of the Whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of Latine from his Discourse and Writings, by Sir William Talbot, Baronet . . . London . . . 1672.' Reprint, Rochester, N. Y., 1902. For a judicious critique of this book, see Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations* (1912).

[23] In 1618 Strachey had estimated Virginia to extend 'from east to west (in the narrowest place) supposed some three hundred myles, and in other places one thousand.' Beverley, writing in 1704, describes the bounds of Virginia 'on the west and north by the Californian Sea, whenever the settlements shall be extended so far.'

[24] *John Catlett* migrated to Virginia about 1650 from Sittingborne parish, co. Kent, seated himself on the south side of the Rappahannock and gave the name of his native place to the parish there organized. He was a leading man on the frontier, after 1665 presiding justice of old Rappahannock County. Soon after he returned from the expedition with Lederer he was killed by Indians while serving against them with militia. Thomas Glover, writing prior to June, 1676, (See above, note 22), confirms Lederer's statement that Catlett was one of the first to mount the Blue Ridge. He says: 'There was one Colonel Catlet, that was a good Mathematician, who with some other Gentlemen took a Journey to make some further discoveries of the Country to the Westward, and arriving at the foot of the Mountains early in the morning, they left their horses, and endeavored to gain the tops of the Mountains, which they accomplished about four of the Clock in the afternoon, and then looking further forward they discovered other Mountains, whereof they took the altitude and judged them inaccessible; which discouraged them from any further attempts, their design being chiefly to discover whether there were any Rivers that ran into the South-ocean.' Catlett left many descendants in Virginia, among them President Madison (*Va. Mag.,* iii, 62). In view of his early explorations of the territory, it is altogether fitting that his family name should be preserved on the map of Old Prince William as it is by a railroad station in Fauquier.

[25] *Robert Taliaferro* also was the first of a name well known in northern Virginia. In partnership with Col. Laurence Smith, who appears frequently in the records as a frontier soldier, Taliaferro patented lands in Gloucester and Rappahannock and was living on the latter in 1670, some distance up stream from Col. Calett. He died in 1682, leaving several sons, one of whom, Robert, married a daughter of Catlett, and another, John, 'of Snow Creek,' married a daughter of Laurence Smith (*W. & M. Quar.,* xx, 210 ff., 267, 269).

[26] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1677-80, No. 744, p. 268.

[27] Colden, *Five Nations.*

[28] See *post*, p. 607.

[29] These doubtless are Mt. Pony, Cedar Mt., Thoroughfare Mt. and Lost Mt.

[30] In 1706 (C. O., 5: 1315). This John (see *ante.*, note 25) died in 1720. It was his son of the same name who testified for Col. Byrd in 1736 and was one of the original trustees of Fredericksburg (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 99).

[31] Colden, *Five Nations.*

[32] See *post*, p. 80.

[33] See the affidavits of 1736 in *Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii. 99.

[34] *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 298; first printed in Beverley's *Abridgment*, (1722) p. 163.

[35] The proof of this is the delay in seating the piedmont. Francis Makemie (*Va. Mag.*, iv, 257) knew, as early as 1705, that 'the best, richest and most healthy part of your country is yet to be inhabited above the falls of every river to the mountains'; and Joshua Fry's testimony (C. O., 5: 1327, p. 363) is explicit that prior to 1721 'there were few Inhabitants above the Falls of the Rivers.' This enables us to appreciate Beverley's contemporary picture of the Blue Ridge as an horizon of mystery, distant mountains known to the average planter only because they 'shew themselves over the tops of the trees.'

[36] See *post*, p. 87.

[37] *Manassas Gap*, at which a Virginia railroad first crossed the Blue Ridge, is recorded on Warner's map of 1737 as 'Calmes's Gap.' Thence that name was transferred to Lord Fairfax's small printed maps of 1738 and 1745. This undoubtedly marked an otherwise unrecorded intermediate station of the migration of the Huguenot 'Marquis Calmes' from Aquia Creek to the Valley (See *post*, p. 196). But both the maps cited showed also 'Manassas Run' flowing westward into the Shenandoah River. After the departure of Calmes, that biblical name was locally assigned also to the gap in which it had its source, and so it is marked on Thomas Jefferson's map of 1787.

CHAPTER TWO

The Planting of the Northern Neck

FOR fifteen years after Smith's explorations, the Jamestown colony kept in touch, almost in alliance, with the indians of the Potomac River in order to trade for their corn. It was thus that the town of Petomek was the scene of some of the most vivid of the early adventures of the colony. There young Harry Spelman[1] lived a crowded year among the natives; there Capt. Argall kidnapped Pocahontas;[2] there Raleigh Crashaw[3] built a fort, and, dreaming of the achievements of Cortez, devised statesmanlike plans for cheap conquest of the country by setting the indians at logger heads among themselves; there Ralph Hamor made an alliance with King Japazaws against Opechancanough, which Isaac Madison[4] violated in a sudden reflex of the passions aroused by the massacre of 1622. Although George Sandys subsequently renewed Hamor's treaty with the Potomacs, Madison's unhappy outrage had definitely ended all confidence in Jamestown by the Potomac tribes.

The searchlight of history then shifted for a season to the other shore of Potomac. In 1623 a bloody affray with the Piscataways[5] on the eastern shore of the Anacostia River (Eastern Branch) within the later limits of the District of Columbia, cost the Virginia colony the valuable life of Spelman, but, in compensation, began the qualification of his successor as indian interpreter and trader. Although Governor Wyatt duly revenged this affront, Henry Fleet,[6] who had been captured, lived among the Piscataways for the ensuing five years and so gained the experience which induced him to return to the neighborhood as a trader. Thus it was that in 1634 Leonard Calvert found Fleet at home among the indians on the bluff opposite the future site of Mt. Vernon.[7]

When Maryland was founded, Virginia had not extended her settlements north of York River. That estuary was, indeed, recognised as a political boundary as late as October, 1646, in

the treaty of peace and amity made with the Powhatan nation after the death of Opechancanough.[8] The Northern Neck was thus indian territory and practically outside the jurisdiction of Virginia during all the early years of St. Mary's; and the interesting fact is that the history of its occupation by Englishmen begins in relation to Maryland rather than to Virginia. The date is uncertain. All that the records reveal in the way of an A. U. C. is that in 1644 a band of white men, hostile to, but keenly interested in Maryland, were living among the Chicacoan tribe on the west shore of the Potomac, opposite St. Mary's. The proven relation of these adventurers to William Claiborne and his disappointed ambitions suggests, indeed, that they may have been some of the indian traders whom Leonard Calvert ousted from Kent Island in 1638, but there is no proof for such a significant identification. The fact that after Ingle's Rebellion these men were joined by a number of recalcitrant Marylanders is, however, enough to prove that, like Rome, the Northern Neck community was founded by refugees.[9]

Being remote from Jamestown and intent on 'self-determination,' these pioneers did not for several years acknowledge any government; indeed, Capt. Edward Hill wrote letters from 'Chicacoan' which spoke of 'returning to Virginia.'[10] Under such conditions, 'Coan,' as the name was soon abbreviated, became a nuisance both to Maryland and Virginia, and eventually and necessarily had to be 'reduced' by the Virginia government. As part of this discipline, the entire Northern Neck was, in 1648, erected into the county of Northumberland.[11]

Many of the emigrants to Virginia during the Commonwealth found their resting places in this new county. There they were joined from across the Potomac by a steady stream of men who were individually more important than the earliest refugees.[12] After 1649, as shown by the land patents, the population increased rapidly. Plantations were established on the low grounds of both Potomac and Rappahannock, ranking progressively up stream, but so narrow was the peninsula that they lay back to back, separated only by the drainage ridge, which the land patents called 'the forest.'

The seatings so made, at first strung far apart, eventually reached and swallowed the villages of the Potomac indians as far north as Petomek town itself. Despite the good intentions of the Assembly,[13] the resulting indian relations were necessarily degrading to all concerned. In their land hunger some of the planters honourably bought out the native titles[14] to complement their Virginia patents, but others resorted to chicane and violence, making excuse of the petty thieving to which the unfortunate aborigines were now reduced.[15] This could not and did not last long: by 1665 the native Potomac tribe had sold to the government, for a few match coats, whatever rights were left them.[16] When the Virginia indians were enumerated in 1669 and again, in 1677, when a new treaty was made with all the tributaries, although the neighbouring Rappahannocks ('Nansaticoes, Nanzemunds, and Portabacchoes') were included in both, the once more powerful nation of the Potomacs was not mentioned. They had completely disappeared, no one now knows how or where.[17]

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

[1] See his *Relation of Virginea* in Arber's ed. Smith's Works, p. ci, and (in part) in Brown, *Genesis*, i, 483.

[2] Argall to N. Hawes, June, 1613, in Purchas (ed., Hakluyt Society, 1906), xix, 90; *Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, 511.

[3] *Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, 586, 593.

[4] *Ibid.*, 596.

[5] *Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, 592, 606; Stith, 303; Brown, *First Republic*, 507. These were Smith's friends, the Nacotchtanks. Wyatt called them 'Piscaticons.' The Maryland Jesuits, in their annual letter of 1640 (of which a translation is included with the Md. Hist. Soc. edition of the *Relatio Itineris*), first latinized Smith's name for them into Anacostan, whence it has become Anacostia. The site of one of their villages has been established, from a wealth of artifacts remaining *in situ*, near the modern Benning. (S. V. Proudfit in *Proceedings Columbia Hist. Soc.*, 1921.)

[6] His valuable *Journal* was preserved among the Lambeth MS. and is printed in Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, 1876. For Fleet see also *Va. Mag.*, ii, 70, v, 253; and Streeter, in Maryland Historical Society *Fund Publication No.* 9 (1876), p. 65.

[7] See the Maryland classic, Father White's *Relatio Itineris*, 1634, ed. Md. Hist. Soc., 1874.

[8] Hening, i, 323, 353.

[9] *Chicacoan*: The earliest reference to the Chicacoan colony is in Conway Robinson's note from the Virginia Council Journal of June, 1643 (*Va. Mag.*, viii, 69; and *cf.* Hening, i, 294). This is confirmed by Maryland records relating to the spring and autumn of 1644 (*Md. Archives* iv, 268, 458). John Mottrom, the Marylander who first represented Chicacoan and later Northumberland in the Virginia Assembly, was described as living 'at York,' in 1642 (*Md. Archives,* iv, 269), but at Chicacoan after 1645 (*ibid.*, iv, 525; iii, 175, 177).

The secondary authorities on the settlement are Bozman, *History of Maryland,* ii, 312, 637 and Dr. Tyler, in *W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 28; xxiii, 182.

[10] For Capt. Hill, the founder of the 'Shirley' family, see *Va. Mag.*, iii, 156, xxiii, 249.

[11] Hening, i, 337, 352.

[12] *W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 28; xv, 175. The Maryland element in the Westmoreland population emphasized the natural characteristic of the neighbourhood which was a maintenance of the difference from old Virginia in which it had its origin. The planters kept in so much closer touch with London and Bristol than with Jamestown as to give colour to Dr. Tyler's description of the Westmoreland of a later date as a 'suburb' of those cities.

Hugh Jones had already made the point (*Present State,* 1724, p. 34): 'any Thing may be delivered to a Gentleman there from London, Bristol, &c with less trouble and cost than to one living five Miles in the Countrey in England: for you pay no freight for Goods from London and but little from Bristol: only the Party to whom the Goods belong is in Gratitude engaged to freight Tobacco upon the Ship consigned to her Owners in England.'

[13] Cf. the acts of 1658, Hening, i, 467, 481.

[14] Hening, ii, 154, referring to the purchase in 1662 by Henry Meese and Peter Austin from 'Wahangonoche, King of the Potomac Indians.'

[15] *W. & M. Quar.*, viii, 23, quoting Westmoreland records of 1658; Hening ii, 149, 150, 154, referring to the discipline, in 1662, of the Westmoreland justices, Giles Brent, Gerard Fowke (*Cf. N. N.*, 1:12), John Lord and George Mason for their 'affronts' to the helpless Wahangonoche. The Assembly then found it necessary to pass a new general law (Hening, ii, 138), for the protection of neighbour indians. The recitals of this act are a mirror of the degradations incident to propinquity with the natives.

[16] An act of October, 1665 (Hening, ii, 220), provides for a general levy for 'the sale of the King of Potomack's land.' It is of local interest that when the colony sold out the lands so purchased the proceeds were applied in the construction of the 1667 fort at Point Comfort.

[17] *The Passing of the Potomacs*: The enumeration of 1669 is in Hening, ii, 274; the treaty of 1677, in *Va. Mag.*, xiv, 289. See also the list of Virginia indians in the customs report of 1702 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 363), and in Beverley (1705), iii, 62. In 1679 (Hening, ii, 438) it was necessary to hire Maryland scouts 'because there is noe neighbouring Indians on Virginia side resideing near the garrison on Potowmack river.' The late James Mooney was of opinion that, like the remnants of the other 'Machotic' tribes, the last Potomacs merged with the Pamunkeys and are represented today by the mixed blood tribe living on the reservation in King William County.

CHAPTER THREE

"The Country Call'd There the Doages"

WHEN Virginia expanded above Potomac Creek into the 'freshes' of the great river it was to enter upon what Lord Baltimore knew as the land of the Doegs.[1]

With Capt. John Smith we have already met these people, whose name is of evil omen in Virginia history. They were a sept of the Algonquin Nanticokes of the eastern shore of Maryland, who, before Smith's day, had intruded themselves westward to the Potomac River and joined the Powhatan confederacy.[2] They seem to have divided into two bands, one living in Maryland on Maryland Point,[3] and the other, more numerous, in Virginia. There they occupied the river shore from Chippawansic up at least as high as the Fairfax stream they called Epsewassen, but, which, after an essay as 'Hopkins' Creek,' the English named for them, Dogue Run; and there is similar evidence that they spread still further west to the Rappahannock.[4] Smith had placed their 'King's howse,' as we have seen, on the south shore of the estuary of the Occoquan, but when the Virginians arrived they found the principal settlement on what is now known as Mason's Neck. The Doegs themselves called this landmark 'Myampses,' but, while recording that name, the patents promptly dubbed it the 'Dogg's Island.'[5]

Virginia began the appropriation of these lands in 1651, and ranged through them promptly. The testimony of the records[6] is that before 1657 English titles had been recorded in respect to the entire river front of old Prince William from the 'island' of Chipawansic to and including the neck later known as Mt. Vernon. This did not by any means imply an immediate spread of English population over that area, nor even, for the moment, disturbance of the native population; it was rather speculative exploration by those who were able to command the capital necessary to buy up head rights at wholesale. As a consequence, the first dividends here recorded were in what, at the time, were large units, from 500 to 3,000 acres. The names of

the patentees prove that before the Susquehannock war this was deemed the land of opportunity for all Virginia; for, while many of them may be identified as already seated on the lower reaches of the Potomac in Gloucester, Northumberland and Westmoreland, there came also James River men. The array of burgesses and councillors on this first land map of old Prince William makes it read, indeed, almost like a Virginia 'Who's Who' of the period.

There is no evidence that the Virginians made any effort to buy out the Doeg title to the lands in the freshes. They never established even such relations with that nation as they had with the Potomacs, but held them at arm's length and warned the Potomacs against having anything to do with them. The reason for this treatment seems to have been that, the Doegs were classed as Maryland indians and never became Virginia tributaries; from Virginia's point of view, they were 'bad' indians—treacherous thieves, liars and murderers.[7] The Maryland colonists were protected from their depredations by their close affiliation with the Piscataways, but this limitation of their characteristic activities undoubtedly sharpened the appetites of the Doegs to prey upon Virginia. Their lack of effective resistence during the Susquehannock war, when their title was finally expropriated by conquest, is evidence, however, that they were then a weak nation. If they had had any offensive strength when the Virginians arrived, they withered in the contact. Doubtless, Sir William Berkeley referred to them, among others, when, in 1671, unconscious of a storm brewing in the north, he testified that 'the Indians, our neighbours, are absolutely subjected so that there is no fear of them."[8]

The descriptions of the dividends reveal the makers of the map in the freshes sailing up stream. Their first landmarks were the creeks, and these they indicated numerically above Chipawansic until they could call them by such variable corruptions of aboriginal village names as an untrained English ear could echo from a Doeg mouth and an English pen could transcribe.[9] But what stands out most clearly is a uniform point of departure from 'Capt. Brent's.'

Giles Brent, of an ancient Catholic family of Somersetshire, emigrated to the proprietary of his kinsman, Lord Baltimore, in 1637 and there, during the ensuing eight years, served various provincial offices, Commander of Kent Island, Treasurer, Deputy Governor, and Chief Justice. When the young daughter of the Emperor of Piscataway became a Christian she was committed to the care of Brent's sister, Margaret, for education, and ultimately he married her. Thereafter, in her right, he laid claim 'to the most part of Maryland'[10] and so fell into contentious, but futile, disputes with Lord Baltimore. For this reason, and perhaps also because he was weary of the bickerings of the Puritans in Maryland, he crossed the Potomac and buried himself, with his indian bride, in the wilderness. This must have been about 1646 for Brent's record of activities in Maryland ends with that date, while, in Virginia, it begins in 1647.[11] His place of refuge from the world was on the north shore of Aquia Creek at its mouth, and there he built a house which, with agreeable humour, he called 'Peace.' Giles Brent thus became not only the 'first citizen' of the Potomac 'freshes,' but the northernmost English resident of Virginia. He may, indeed, for a moment, have believed himself to be still in Maryland, for Lord Baltimore's map of his province, published in 1635, included all that part of Virginia north of Aquia, on the supposition that Smith's 'Quiyough,' (or 'Oquij' as it appears in the earliest land grants) was that 'first fountain' of the Potomac which was to determine Baltimore's western boundary;[12] but by 1651, when the Virginia settlements had begun to reach up the Potomac, Brent threw in his lot with them and took out Virginia patents for his lands.[13] Thus it was that he soon had the privilege of entertaining English visitors. The unintentional testimony of the patents is that those Virginians who passed by the seatings in what was to become the Westmoreland community and sailed on up the Potomac, all stopped at 'Peace' for refreshment and information.

The earliest titles these men asserted were on the estuary of the Occoquan, but before rehearsing them we pause to note some of those who, only a little later, made the map below. Chipawansic was named in 1653,[14] when Peter Knight and

Baker Cutts of Gloucester declared it to be the northern boundary of a dividend of 1850 acres. In 1654 there appeared above it, and so within the future limits of old Prince William, a group which included two burgesses, James Goodwin of York, and Peter Ashton, recently of Elizabeth City but now an original Chotanker. With them came Nathaniel Pope, originally a Bristol man, who had recently left Maryland to establish his residence on Mattox Creek; and Walter Broadhurst of Nomini, another former Marylander, who, at the last session of the Assembly, as burgess for Northumberland, had procured the erection of the upper lands into the county of Westmoreland.[15] Hither came also an even better known Virginia worthy—no less a person than the Samuel Matthews of Warwick, who was to be Governor of the colony from 1658 until his death in 1660. On November 23, 1657, he took out a patent for 5,211 acres, lying on the river immediately above Chipawansic, thereby creating a boundary which eventually was to vest in 'King' Carter.[16] On March 3, 1657/8, George Reade of York, Matthews' colleague in the Council, had a dividend adjoining but above him, which reached to and included the south shore of Quantico.[17]

This last named creek had also been named in 1653, when Richard Hawkins took a dividend above it.[18] The most interesting name in the Quantico neck appears, however, in 1655, when 2,000 acres were taken up by the Walloon Nicholas Marteau,[19] father-in-law of the George Reade already mentioned, and an associate of Matthews in the 'thrusting out' of Governor Harvey in 1635. He was now sixty-four years of age, had been in the colony since 1620, and had served in the Assembly as the first representative of York. Above Marteau there were other scattering seatings until, in 1657, Christopher Harris crowns that precinct with his dividend on the south shore of 'Yosockescomo.'[20] Beyond lay the previously vested Occoquan dividends.

All the land books of old Prince William should begin with an invocation *absit omen*, for the very first title to be set up in the territory was that of one who later had the honour to be hanged by Governor Berkeley. Richard Turney of Chotank

was to be one of the victims of Bacon's Rebellion, but in the spring of 1651 he was as unconscious of 'horrid treasons' as he was of his destiny. He then sailed up the Potomac above Capt. Brent's until he saw the young corn fields of the Doegs, separated from the mainland by swamp, on what was, and still is, the most outstanding neck of land in all the freshes. He made his way promptly to the Secretary's office at Jamestown with a claim which matured on July 8, 1651, in a patent for 2,109 (later enlarged to 3,609) acres, described as in Northumberland and 'commonly called or known by the name of the Dogg's Island.'[21] Two years later, in October, 1653, Thomas Speke of Nomini, who had sat as a burgess for Northumberland and was now the presiding justice of Westmoreland, claimed 1,000 acres by no more specific description than 'on Potomeck River opposite against the Meompses Island;' but in later patents this dividend is identified as 'above the Doeg's Island' and reference is made to 'Colo. Speake's poynt' on a 'great creek' called 'Doeg's Island Creek,' [Gunston Cove] into which empty two branches, one the 'West or North West branch,' [Pohick] and the other the 'Main branch' [Accotink]. Passing to the second George Mason, who consolidated it with the adjacent Doeg's Island dividend, this notable estate included the sites of both the 'Pohick' residence of the purchaser and the 'Gunston Hall' of his grandson.[22]

A few months ahead of Speke, Corbet Piddel, John Jenkins and Gervais Dodson took up a series of dividends on the north shore of the Occoquan, to which they assigned the name of 'Western Branch' of the Potomac, thus early testifying to the relative importance of this estuary, and distinguishing it from the Anacostia River which is still known as the Eastern Branch.[23] These boundaries, located as west of and adjoining the Doeg's Island and, by later descriptions, found to adjoin Speke also, included the future site of Colchester. They were immediately acquired by John Drayton and from him passed to the locally well known family of Baxter.[24] Above Drayton and including the future site of the Occoquan warehouse and the Carters' 'copper mine landing,' Miles Cary of Warwick, then a burgess and later of the Council, took up 3,000 acres by a patent

dated October 5, 1654;[25] and three years later Henry Vincent of Machotic completed the north shore map with a claim of 500 acres above Cary, 'something above half a mile below the falls of Aquacond river, called the Western branch.'[26] Contemporaneously, the south shore was likewise preempted. In 1653 Thomas Burbage of Nansemond entered for 3,000 acres 'above Capt. Brent's' and 'between two main branches of the river,' which proved to be the neck formed by Neapsco and the Occoquan.[27] From this dividend was, however, excepted the point of the neck where, in 1654, Robert Heaberd (or Hebbard), the founder of a family later conspicuous in the Stafford records, reserved 400 acres, describing it as adjoining Burbage and known as the 'Raggett or Sandy Poynt opposite the Dauges present seat.'[28] The Burbage description was, indeed, the key to all the land titles in this vicinity. It named Freestone Point as a southern limit, and so included that 'Burbage's Neck' between Neapsco and Morumsco on which Martin Scarlett lived at the end of the century; but Freestone Point itself was included in the neck next below Burbage, constituting the dividend of 2,000 acres between Neapsco and Yosocomico, for which Gervais Dodson had, in 1658, the patent which was the foundation of the title to 'Leesylvania.'[29] Next west of Burbage on the Occoquan shore another dividend of 3,000 acres was patented by a Welshman, Nicholas Merriweather, Clerk of Surry and founder of a family later conspicuous in the 'winning of the west.'[30] Above him, in the same year, 1654, Humphrey Higginson of James City, a member of the Council, and Abraham Moone of Isle of Wight, took up together 2,000 acres across the water from Miles Cary;[31] and above them, opposite to Vincent, Thomas Hill of 'Essex Lodge' in York had in 1657 500 acres 'on the Southwest side of Aquacond river about one half mile below the falls.'[32]

The Speke dividend, like Burbage's, became a key to the land map above it. In the summer of 1657 there issued nine patents aggregating 6,100 acres, all of which were described with reference only to one another as on two creeks, specified as 'above Colo. Speake's point.' These patents (plus the claims to which some of them refer which were not otherwise recorded)

represent the earliest appropriation of the lands on the lower reaches of the streams later distinguished as Pohick and Accotink.[33] It is possible to identify the future holdings of the McCartys and the site of the Pohick Warehouse as included in the dividends of James Goodwin immediately above the mouth of Pohick Run, and of John Gosnell and Nicholas Jernew of Machotic (later Matthew Kemp of Gloucester) immediately below the mouth of Accotink;[34] but as to the others, the descriptions, cross-references and repatents, are so vague that the student, lacking other records, is lost in conjecture. These patents are of interest, however, as indicating that 'above Colo. Speake' we pass out of the area of the interests of the magnates and come among such smaller men as, with some exceptions, we are to meet above the Piscataway narrows.

Next above Accotink are the two necks, separated by Dogue Run, which, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were called respectively Belvoir and Mt. Vernon, and soon thereafter became the theatre of the adolescent activities of the father of his country. Both were covered by a number of comparatively small patents long before the names of Fairfax and Washington were there known.

Of Belvoir, the first recognisable dividend was of 1,000 acres to William Wildy, in January, 1657/8,[35] described as 'on the westward side of a creek in Petomack freshes, by him called Hopkins' Creek,' i. e., Dogue Creek.[36] The recitals of subsequent patents indicate that this claim passed to, and was subdivided by, William Dudley of Mobjack Bay, who, like Turney, was to be implicated with Bacon, but, more fortunate, escaped to die a free man, after imprisonment and the fine of '15 hhds. tobo.'[37]

The river front of Dudley's holding was included in a repatent of 1678 to John Wells and Thomas Derrick, which called for 363 acres on 'the southwest side of Dog's Creek and the northeast side of Mr. Green's land.'[38] The mention of 'Mr. Green' refers to the lower side of the neck. The earliest patent here must have been one of those of 1657, described as 'above Colo. Speake's,' but there is no description which may be identified with certainty until October, 1669, when William Green

of Aquia had a repatent of 1,150 acres, described as beginning on the river front 'at the Northeast poynt of Pohick Creek,' thereby indicating the landfall later known as Rankin's Point, and, when the British bombarded it in 1814, as 'the White-house.'[39] In July, 1670, John James of Norfolk,[40] had a repatent of another unidentified earlier dividend of 500 acres which he described as on the northeast side of 'Poehick Creeke' between William Green and that Richard Normansell, who, in 1666, had described his 2,550 acres of upland as on both sides 'the main run of Pohick Creek,' meaning the stream later known as Accotink.[41] All of these titles were purchased by William Fairfax between 1738 and 1741 and by him for the first time were consolidated.

The earliest dividends in the Mt. Vernon neck were those of Robert Castleton and the Henry Vincent of Machotic we have already met on Occoquan, both surveyed in the summer of 1657.[42] Together they appropriated the entire water front between Dogue Run and Little Hunting Creek. The first, dated July 15, 1657, was for 1,000 acres, described as

'in Petomack freshes on the north east side of a creek below Piscattaway but on the opposite side the River Petomack, bounding southeasterly upon the said River, southwesterly upon a creek by him called Hopkins' Creek, running northwesterly from the River 640 poles into the woods and northeasterly from the said creek 250 poles toward the land surveyed for Mr. Henry Vincent.'

The second, thus referred to, was dated September 16, 1657, and called for 650 acres, described as

'in Petomack freshes opposite (but something below) Pascattaway Creek upon the lower side of a small creek,[43] bounding southeasterly upon Petomack River, northeasterly upon the said small creek, which we suppose divides from the land of Captain Brent or his son or sister, and running 320 poles northwesterly from the river and 325 poles from the said creek, making a quadrangle figure including the said quantity.'

In the autumn of 1660, just after the proclamation of the Restoration in Virginia, these titles appear again in the ownership of more important men. A note upon the original record

testifies that Vincent's dividend was regranted 'to Captain Peter Jennings by order of the Governor and Council, dated the 17th of October, 1660,' and a new patent issued accordingly.[44] On November 26, 1660, Castleton's dividend likewise was included in a new patent to 'Col. Richard Lee, Esq., Counsellor of State.' With other lands elsewhere, this Lee patent called for a total of 4,000 acres in three parcels, for which were returned as head rights 'eighty negroes.'[45] It does not appear what subsequently became of the Jennings title, but that of Lee was devised, by his will dated February 16, 1663/4, to his five younger children, and is mentioned again in the will of the second Richard Lee, dated March 3, 1714/15.[46]

Meanwhile an entirely new chain of title to both these dividends had been inaugurated.[47] On April 27, 1669, John Alexander of Chotank 'survey'd for Coll. Nicholas Spencer and Lieut. Coll. John Washington five thousand acres of land, lying upon the freshes of Potomack river,' and on March 1, 1674/5 'The Owners and Proprietors of all that Tract and Terrytory of Land in Virginia in America mentioned in his Majty's Letters patent under the Broad Seale of England bearing date the eighth day of May in the one and twentieth year of his now Majesty's reign,' granted to Messrs. Spencer and Washington the land embraced in Alexander's survey. The grant described the premises as 'in the County of Stafford in the freshes of Potomeck river and near opposite the Piscatoway Indian town in Mariland.' This was specified as separated on the north from 'the Land of Captn. Giles Brent' by 'a creek called by the English Little Hunting Creek,' and on the South from the 'land Surveyed for Mr. Wm. Green, Mr. Wm. Dudley and others' by 'a Creek named and called by the Indians Epsewassen Creek.' In 1677, after Lord Culpeper became Governor, Spencer and Washington secured from the Council authority for the issue to them of a Virginia patent covering the same lands. In the interval they had frozen out the Lee and Jennings claims.

This new title is of much more than individual significance. The bare record which has been recited opens a window upon a significant chapter of colonial politics which had far reaching consequences to the proprietors of the Northern Neck. The

proprietary charter of 1669, here recited, contained a saving clause to protect all titles created by the Virginia government prior to Michaelmas, 1661, provided the claimant under the head right was 'in the actual possession' of the land on May 8, 1669; but it is apparent that this did not protect the Lee and Jennings claims for even before the charter of 1669 had been sealed those claims were challenged by the Alexander survey on the ground that their titles had never been perfected within the terms of the head right patents. There must have been litigation on this question between Spencer and Washington on the one hand and Lee and Jennings on the other, which lasted several years, in which Lee had proved himself strong enough in the General Court to prevent the issue of a new patent to Spencer and Washington under their survey of April, 1669. When, in this situation, Spencer's kinsman, Lord Culpeper, became the managing partner of the Northern Neck proprietary, and it could be represented to him that Lee was one of the most vigorous of the local opponents to the establishment of that jurisdiction, Spencer was enabled to secure the grant of 1675 and play it as a trump card. Lee was, indeed, effectively checkmated by this move, but it is apparent also that as late as 1677 Spencer and Washington themselves had little confidence that their Northern Neck grant was more than a gesture or else they would not have sought a confirmatory patent as soon as their interest became dominant in the Council.

How deep an impression the grant of 1675 made upon the Lee family was demonstrated in 1695 to the enduring advantage of the Northern Neck proprietors; for it was the second Richard Lee who, according to Beverley, accomplished the local recognition of the proprietary by setting an example to his Westmoreland neighbours in attorning to the fifth Lord Fairfax.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] See Lord Baltimore's letter of August 26, 1651, in *Md. Archives,* i, 332, discussed *post,* p. 602. It may be noted that the *Handbook Am. Indians* (i, 820) associates the Doegs with the lower group of villages around Petomek under the general designation 'Matchotic,' but the contemporary records of their ousting seem to distinguish them from the Potomacs as definitely as did Capt. Smith and Lord Baltimore.

[2] *The origin of the Doegs*: Lederer says that the Siouan tribes of the Virginia piedmont told him that that region was 'formerly possessed by the Tacci, *alias* Dogi, but they are extinct.' Although the *Handbook of American Indians* says that these original possessors of the piedmont 'were apparently distinct from the Doeg (Nanticoke)' the alternate names Lederer gives them are curiously similar to the alternate names Smith gave the Doegs (Taux *alias* Toags) and it may be that Lederer was repeating a tradition of the migration of the Nanticoke through the piedmont from the west.

It may be noted also that Parson Morgan Jones gives the name 'Doegs' to those indians he met in 1660 while among the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, with whom he believed that he had conversed in Welsh (Burk, *History of Virginia,* iii, 84).

[3] The Doegs were included in the Maryland treaty of 1666 with the Piscataway confederacy (printed in Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 290). Although they do not appear in Maryland on either Smith's or Herrman's maps, Bozman's judgment (*History of Maryland,* i, 119 ii, 424) that they had a village on Maryland Point is confirmed by a provision for their lands there, made by the Maryland Council in 1668 (*Md. Archives,* v, 34). It is possible that the Pamacocock shown on Smith's map in Maryland, being the same name given one of the Doeg villages in Virginia, is Smith's testimony to the fact, for the will of the fourth George Mason (1773, Rowland, ii, 462) describes his lands in Maryland between Chuckamuxon and Mattawoman creeks as 'called Stump Neck, formerly called Dogues Neck.'

[4] A dividend of 1664 (*Patents,* 4: 38) refers to 'a small creek that falls into Rappahannock River near the Doeg's Town' and another (*Patents,* 4:611) names this 'the Doeg's Creek.' The site of this town is marked 'Doog Indians' on Herrman's map (1673) and the stream is still called Dogue Run in King George.

[5] For Myampses see *Patents,* 3:68. The grants of 1654 for Raggett Point below the mouth of Occaquan (*Patents,* 3:284; 4: 103) identify that landfall as 'opposite the Dogues' present seat.' Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737, shows an island in Occoquan Bay, which had then been cut off from what is now called Mason's Neck and has since entirely silted away. Brooke designates this with the legend, 'Doag Island, once an Indian habitation in Occuquan Bay, now little of it left.'

[6] i. e. the Land Patent Books.

[7] See the minutes of the Westmoreland court in 1658, in *W. & M. Quar.,* xv, 179, and Hening, ii, 193.

[8] Hening, ii, 513.

[9] *The Prince William creek names*: Four early patents introduce them all, viz.: in 1653 (*Patents,* 3:17) Occoquan is described as 'a creek, above Capt. Brent's about fifteen mile, called Aquoconde;' in

1657 (*Patents,* 4:208) Neabsco appears as 'a creek opposite Chingomuxon, being the next creek below the Western Branch called Aquacond, or the third creek above Chapawansick,' and in 1658 (*Patents,* 4:333) Powell's is specified as 'a creek by some called Yeococomico, being a fair navigable creek, the second creek above Chapawansick or the next Quanticott.' Morumsco, which had not been deemed a creek in the numerical specifications, was first recorded by name in 1692 (*N. N.,* 1:150). All these indian names seem to be designations of villages, having reference to characteristic natural features of the sites, viz.:

Chipawansic, 'by the separation of the outlet.' A delta, locally called an island, still divides the two mouths of the stream.

Quantico, 'by the long stream.' The history of Dumfries proves that this description was once even more appropriate than it is today.

Yosocomico (*alias* Powell's), 'in the middle of the enclosure.' This suggests a Doeg fort. With various spellings, the indian name is recorded in seven patents from 1657 to 1677. Being a mouthful, and growing more complicated in the effort to distinguish it from the 'Yocomico' in Northumberland (e. g., in *Patents,* 6: 196, it had developed into 'Yosockeccomocoe') the English name, 'Powell's,' was substituted before the Northern Neck books were opened; for there it appears in a grant of 1692 (*N. N.,* 1: 201). William Fitzhugh had already referred to it in 1689 as 'Yeasocomico, alias Powel's Creek' (*Va. Mag.,* ii. 372). It does not appear who was the Powell thus remembered. None of the name had either a patent or a Northern Neck grant on this creek, but in 1650 (*Patents, 2*: 273), 'Mrs. Joane Powell' is recorded on Machotic, and so proves that the name had thus early been introduced into the Northern Neck.

Neapsco, 'at the point of rock.' In a description of March, 1657/8, (*Patents,* 4: 210), are recited the names 'Niobsco Creek' and 'Freestone Point.' It thus appears that the English name of the point was a translation, perhaps unconscious, of the indian name which has persisted beside it as applied to the creek. This is a common phenomenon in all lands which have been possessed by successive races. See Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places.*

Morumsco, 'at the island rock.' In a description of 1663 (*Patents,* 4: 603), there is a reference to 'Horne Island' off the mouth of this stream.

Occoquan, 'at the end of the water.' This suggests a town at the head of tidewater, and so may be a confirmation of Capt. John Smith's location of the Doeg 'King's howse,' and of John Davis' tale of resort thither, as to a shrine, by indians at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The interpretation of the indian names quoted above were furnished to the present editor by Dr. Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a recognized authority on the Algonkin language.

[10] *Giles Brent's Wife*: At the conference between Col. Talbot and William Penn, at Newcastle, 1684 (*Md. Hist. Mag.,* iii, 30), Talbot said: 'I look on an Indian Conquest or purchase to be a sufficient title to barr a weaker Indian pretension, but not to oppose an English Patentee that hath his charter from the crowne of England . . . and the like of Capt. Brent who in right of his wife, the Piscataway Emperor's daughter and only child, pretended a right to the most part of Maryland but could doe noe good on't after a great bustle about it.'

[11] The testimonies for Giles Brent in the Maryland records are collected in *Va. Mag.* xv, 324, 450; xvi, 96. The earliest date for him in Virginia is a deduction from the certificate of the Stafford Court in

1668 that they had known him for twenty-one years (Conway Robinson's notes from Council Journal, *Va. Mag.*, viii, 239) which would take us back to the organization of government in the Northern Neck. It is apparent that that government found him already seated on Aquia.

[12] See *post*, p. 602. It was for this reason that Herrman marked the word 'Brent' on his map (1673) above the mouth of 'Ochquay R.' (he called the Occoquan 'Achquin'), designating the location which the Virginia Assembly (Hening, ii, 473) was later to call 'Peace Point.'

[13] His patents on Aquia and Potomac Creek, including that neck later known as Marlborough, are calendared in *Va. Mag.* xvii, 81. The first of them, in 1651 (*Patents*, 2: 359), described the land as 'near his house,' indicating his occupation before he took out a patent.

[14] *Patents*, 3: 228.

[15] Walter Broadhurst did not patent his dividend on Chipawansic but it is identified from references by others (e. g., Robert Heaberd's, *Patents*, 4: 103). There was, however, a patent to his son, Gerrard Broadhurst, in 1668 (*Patents*, 6: 172). William Fitzhugh (*Va. Mag.*, i, 24), testified that this dividend had vested in Burr Harrison before 1679, thus early establishing 'Harrison of Chapawansick.'

[16] Matthews' dividend was recorded in *Patents*, 4: 158. In 1702 it had vested in his grandson, Samuel Matthews, of King and Queen, who authorized Nicholas Brent to sell it for him (*Va. Mag.*, xviii, 320). In 1715 (*N. N.*, 5: 86) John Holloway, the lawyer, had acquired it and taken a regrant, which he sold to Robert Carter as is testified in the 'King's' will (*Va. Mag.*, v. 411).

[17] *Patents*, 4: 371.

[18] *Ibid.*, 3: 275.

[19] *Ibid.*, 3: 363. In the Virginia tradition the name is usually perverted to read 'Martian'.

[20] *Ibid*, 4: 306.

[21] *Patents*, 2: 333. For the recital of Turney's attainder and execution, Hening, ii, 461. The escheat of his lands on Chotank is recorded in *Patents*, 5: 296 and *N. N.*, 2: 8. His Doeg's Island dividend had meanwhile (1654 and 1662, *Patents*, 3: 306; 5: 265) passed to John Mottrom, originally of York, but later of Coan, who was the first burgess to represent the Northern Neck in the Assembly. In 1666 (*W. & M. Quar.*, v, 52) Mottrom's son sold to Richard James, Senior, of Jamestown, and his widow married William Sherwood, the Jamestown lawyer who came to Virginia as a 'King's passenger.' In 1696 Sherwood took a Northern Neck grant (*N. N.* 2:253), and immediately sold to the second George Mason (Rowland, i, 23).

[22] *Thomas Speke* (1603-1659) was of a Somersetshire family (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 41). He had the distinction of being the first of the four husbands of Frances Gerrard, the last being Col. John Washington. His dividend here in question (*Patents*, 3: 68, elucidated by 4: 176, 177, 264) passed successively to Thomas Brererton, Clerk of the Council (1657, *Patents*, 4: 202), Richard Bushrod of Gloucester (1660 and 1662, *Patents*, 4:450; 5:14. See the record of *Bushrod & Brererton*, 1660, in Hening, i, 545), and ultimately to the Masons. Thomas Owsley's grant on Pohick in 1694 (*N. N.*, 2:58) recites the upper part of the Speke dividend to be "now in tenor and occupation of Capt. George Mason,' thereby identifying it as the site of the Pohick residence of the second George Mason, to which reference was made in the Iroquois treaty of 1722. Before the entire Dogue neck was consolidated in the

ownership of the Masons, other titles had been carved out of it. Thus it appears from *N. N.*, 5: 192, that Bushrod conveyed a parcel of 520 acres 'on Potomack river side opposite Nump's Island' to Robert Colson, who in turn conveyed in 1693 to John Withers, Clerk of Stafford. The widow of William Withers, son of John, married Francis Cofer who took a renewal grant in 1719; whence the name 'Mrs. Cofer,' indicated opposite 'Crane Island,' on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737. That map also indicates as 'Mr. Brenaud's' the residence of Jeremiah Bronaugh, originally of King George, who had married a daughter of the second George Mason and was seated on his lands before 1733, when he was a member of the Truro Vestry (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 6.)

[23] In 1654 (*Patents,* 3: 285) the estuary is styled 'Ohoquin river,' but in 1657 (*Patents,* 4: 176) and thereafter for some time the designation is 'Acquaconde river called the Western branch.' In 1690 (*N. N.,* 1: 45) it has become 'Occkaquann' and in 1694 William Fitzhugh (*N. N.,* 2: 30) writes it 'Ocaquon.'

[24] The dividends of Piddel, Jenkins and Dodson are in *Patents,* 3: 17, 80, 82. Drayton's repatent (4: 281) did not include them all, for in 1690 (*N. N.,* 1: 45) Thomas Kirton (either the original proprietary agent of 1671 or his son) had a grant of an escheat of 600 acres out of Dodson's dividend. By 1703 (*N. N.,* 3: 6) the Drayton title had passed to Thomas Baxter, whose family name appears here on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737.

[25] Cary's two patents of 1654 and 1657 are in *Patents,* 3: 285; 4: 183. In *The Virginia Carys* this land is erroneously located on Aquia by a confusion of 'Ohoquin' (Occoquan) with 'Oquij' (Aquia). Cary 'deserted' his dividend and after his death it was repatented in 1670 (*Patents,* 6: 324) to Nicholas Spencer and Thomas Baxter. In 1714 (*N. N.,* 5: 169) James Gregg took a Northern Neck grant for the same land, and it was from him that Edward Washington and others derived the title they successfully defended against the Carters' claim that the Gregg title had escheated. (See *N. N.,* C: 39, and *post,* p. 432).

[26] *Patents,* 4: 181. There was a Henry Vincent 'of London, merchant,' among the subscribers under the second charter of the London Company (Brown, *Genesis,* ii, 1039).

[27] The Burbage dividend of 1653 was not recorded as a patent, but is recited in the descriptions of the adjoining lands. Before 1658 Burbage was dead and his widow had married Edward Streater of Nansemond (Hening, i, 404), who perfected the title in his own name (*Patents,* 4: 210). He sold to Henry Corbin (*Patents,* 4: 365, 608), who in turn sold out in parcels. The neck between Morumsco and Neapsco passed to Martin Scarlet (*N. N.,* 1: 150), while the Occoquan front was divided between Thomas Gregg (1694, *N. N.,* 2: 289), whose family name is there inscribed on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737, and the second George Mason (See the regrant to his son, 1717, *N. N.,* 5: 145). The boundary last mentioned, of 534 acres, included the Occoquan ferry landing and the site of the first Prince William Court House. Mentioned in the will of the fourth George Mason, ultimately it was known as 'Woodbridge.'

[28] This Heaberd dividend is *Patents,* 4: 103. It will be noted that the name 'Sandy Point' has been transferred on the modern map, with the sand, to that horn of Doeg's Neck, which opposes the Ragged Point here mentioned. For the descent of this title through Richard Codsford to Henry Peyton, see *Patents,* 3: 284; 4: 255, and Hayden, p. 491.

[29] *Leesylvania*: The Dodson dividend of Freestone Point is *Patents*, 4: 285. It was acquired by Henry Corbin, left by him to his daughter, Lettice, and from her devolved upon her son, Henry Lee, who took a regrant in 1718 (*N. N.*, 5: 155). See the Lee wills in *Lee of Virginia*, 133, 295.

[30] *Patents*, 3: 376.

[31] *Ibid.*, 3: 302.

[32] *Ibid.*, 4: 181.

[33] The bay now known as 'Gunston Cove' was first identified in 1657 as 'Dogue Island Creek' or 'Island Creek,' and the streams emptying into it as its 'west' and 'main' branches (*Patents*, 4: 175). By 1669 (*ibid.*, 6: 244), the bay had become 'Poehick Creek,' and the stream now known as Accotink Run was identified as the 'main run of Poehick Creek.' It was not until 1694 (*N. N.*, 2: 60) that 'Acquotink Run' appears by name. It was after the distinction had thus been made that the 'west run' assumed the name of the bay and became Pohick run. Dr. Michelson advises that Pohick signifies 'the water place' and Accotink, 'at the end of the hill.'

[34] The Goodwin, Gosnell and Jernew dividends are *Patents*, 4: 264, 175, 232. The other patentees of 1657, identified as 'above Colo. Speake,' are Francis Roberts, Peter Smith, John Wood of Wicomico, Thomas Molton, Thomas Broughton and John Stowell, whose dividends are recorded as *Patents*, 4: 169, 174, 176, 177, 244, 247.

[35] *Patents*, 4: 216. The record is annotated that this was taken up 'in the name of Major George Colclough,' but the next appearance of it is a repatent in April, 1668, by Thomas Hobson (*Patents*, 6: 272), which recites that both Wildy and Colclough 'deserted.'

[37] For the recital of William Dudley's title, see e. g., *N. N.*, 5: 207. Dudley died in Middlesex in 1677, shortly after his release from imprisonment (*Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 148; xxxi, 173).

[38] *Patents*, 6: 672, confirmed in 1694 by *N. N.*, 2: 22 and in 1709, regranted (*N. N.*, 3: 226) to Joseph Carr. Thereafter the title vested in the Dades of Chotank. It appears from a petition by Hugh West to establish a boundary with William Fairfax, filed in Prince William court, May 26, 1740 (*Prince William D. B.*, D: 391), that on November 1, 1738, a survey had been made of the Wells and Derrick dividend to accompany a conveyance of it by Francis and Cadwallader Dade to William Fairfax, and that that conveyance had been made 'lately' when West filed his petition. The Dade deed itself, the nucleus of the Fairfax holdings, is missing with the contemporary county records.

[39] *Patents*, 6: 294. *N. N.*, E: 299, with which was recorded a plat (on which the name, Belvoir, is inscribed) followed by a deed (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 515) give the subsequent history of this dividend. It appears that William Green divided his patent, conveying the river front to 'James Rankine, Mariner, of London,' and the upland to an ancestor of Hugh West; that the 'Poynt of Pohick,' henceforth called 'Rankin's Point,' escheated to the proprietor in July, 1741, and was regranted to Charles Green, the parson of Truro, who, in November, 1741, transferred it to William Fairfax. The latter acquired, later, the Wests' title also, and thus reunited William Green's original boundary.

[40] *Patents*, 6: 288. For James, see *W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 214. In view of the subsequent ownership of lands in this neck by the Dades, it is of interest that in this patent of 1670 John James names among his head rights 'Francis Dade, Christ: Dade, Fran: Dade, Jr., Mary Dade.'

[41] *Patents,* 4:443. Normansell's dividend was later included in the second George Mason's 'Hereford Manor' (described in *N. N.,* 5:27) which was the site of the first 'chapel above Occoquan.' See *post,* p. 285.

[42] *Patents,* 4: 172, 286. Castleton does not appear elsewhere in the patents.

[43] In a dividend of 1658 (*Patents,* 4: 267) this stream was mentioned again as 'a creek between the land of Capt. Brent, called Puscattaway Neck, and the land of Henry Vincent.' It was apparently George Brent of Woodstock who gave it the name Little Hunting Creek (See *Patents,* 6: 625), but that name was first recorded in 1675 by Nicholas Spencer, as quoted below.

[44] *Patents,* 4: 452. Peter Jennings was at this time a burgess for Gloucester. Later, he was Attorney-General and of the Council. He does not appear on the Yorkshire pedigree of Edmund Jenings of Ripon (*Va. Mag.,* xii, 308). His name is, however, common in that family and Dr. Tyler (*W. & M. Quar.,* x, 32) says he 'undoubtedly' was a member of it.

[45] *Patents,* 4:447. The record carries a note by Francis Kirkman, Clerk of the Council, that it was 'renewed by order of the General Court, dated the 26th March, 1663.'

[46] For the Lee wills see *Lee of Virginia,* pp. 63, 80. The language is significant. The first provides, 'I give and bequeath to the five younger children . . . . also 4,000 acres upon Potomack.' The second is the bequest of a law suit: 'I give to my daughter, Ann Fitzhugh, *all my right, title and claim* to a tract of land of 4,000 acres in Stafford County, pattented by my honoured father.'

[47] *N. N.,* 5: 207; *Patents,* 6: 615. The original of the proprietary grant of 1675 now hangs in a frame in the hall at Mt. Vernon as a testimony of the source of George Washington's title to the nucleus of his estate. With the muniments should be studied the plat of a survey made in May, 1741, by Robert Brooke, then Surveyor of Prince William. This map (which is reproduced in Callahan, *Washington the Man and the Mason,* 1913) was filed in Prince William court in a suit of *Samson Darrell v. Wade,* concerning the litigants' boundaries above the Spencer and Washington lands. The future site of Mt. Vernon House is here indicated as 'Capt. [Augustine] Washington's quarter.'

Lord Baltimore, 1635.

CHAPTER FOUR

'The Petomack ffreshes above Piscataway'

WHEN, in July, 1653, the Assembly erected Westmoreland County above Northumberland,[1] the limits were described as:

'ffrom Machoactoke river where Mr. Cole lives: and so upwards to the ffalls of the great river of Pawtomake above the Necostins towne.'

It was thus the intention to include in the new county not only all the lands of the Doegs, but also those lying above them which belonged to the nation Virginia knew at this time as the Anacostans, i. e. to the people Smith had called 'Nacotchtanks' and Wyatt 'Piscaticons.' The reference to the 'Necostin's towne' was the definition of the indian boundary at the palpable narrows of the Potomac which face the mouth of what has since been known on the Maryland map as Piscataway Creek. This creek took its name from the seat of the 'emperor of Piscataway' on its shore, and it was his town which the Assembly indicated. This appears in the description of a Virginia land title, set up within a few weeks after the Westmoreland act, as being 'opposite the Indian town of Pascataway;' while some years later this designation was more particularly specified in another patent which referred to the same lands as opposite 'the Annocostan Indian town called Aquakick.' It was, moreover, the half English grandson of the 'emperor' in whose behalf this patent issued.

When the Virginian parliament-men came to 'Peace' in the spring of 1653 they must have fired their host by their talk of the plans of the Assembly for the future of the Potomac, especially with relation to indian trade. Giles Brent was quick to appreciate the opportunity in that respect which the future held out to his son, then only one year old.[2] Whether or not the boy should ever avail of it, the father deemed it provident to assure him the full exercise of that opportunity, and for such a

trade it seemed at the moment that the strategic position was at the narrows immediately over against the indian capital which then dominated the upper river from the Maryland shore. Accordingly, in September, 1653, and again a year later, while the Virginians were still laying out their claims on and below Occoquan, two patents issued in the name of 'Mr. Gyles Brent, Junr., son of Gyles Brent, Esq.' They were for 800 acres and 1,000 acres, respectively.[3] In addition to the reference to the indian town across the river, the land was identified, in the first patent, only as bounded 'south and west by a small creek.' The second patent enlarged the topography by naming the point of beginning as 'the Rickahockian stands' and the boundary as 'Hunting Creek.' This last designation proves all the land to have been above the mouth of the 'Little Hunting Creek' of Nicholas Spencer's description in the Mt. Vernon grant of 1675. Contemporaneously with this second patent, official Virginia was introduced also to that redoubtable lady, Capt. Brent's spinster sister, whose real estate holdings in Maryland had caused her to be entered in the land books of that province as 'Mrs. Margaret Brent, gent.' She now took out her first Virginia patent, for 700 acres above her nephew, which, like his, made reference to 'Hunting Creek.'[4]

It was not until after the entire Virginia river front below Piscataway had been appropriated that the land hunters reached this Brent reservation. Pushing through the narrows in the summer of 1657, they then entered upon the lands of the Anacostans. Before the season was over, twenty-seven of them had there recorded claims aggregating 22,800 acres, reaching nearly to the limits of Westmoreland at the falls.[5] They did not, however, name the county, any more than they recognised Lord Baltimore's recent attempt to call the upper river 'Piscataway,' but described the region uniformly as 'the ffreshes of Petomack above Piscataway' and identified their dividends chiefly by references one to another. Among all their patents there are indicated only three certain landmarks, viz: 'the first creek above the narrows of Piscattaway,' which by the end of the century was known as Great Hunting Creek;[6] 'the second creek above Piscataway,' which still later was denominated 'Four Mile

Creek;"[7] and 'the freshes above Anacasta Island,' or, as some spelled it, 'Anacosties."[8] Vague and general as the descriptions were, being destitute of metes and bounds or other language to indicate the presence of surveyors on the ground, these patents suffice to contradict the tradition of the Alexandria historians and to demonstrate that there was a land map above Great Hunting Creek a decade before 1669. It must be said, however, that that map leaves one with a suspicion that the patentees never went ashore, but made the observations, on which the records were written up, only from the security of a boat.

It is a reasonable deduction, also, that the Anacostans were not informed that new titles to their lands were being created. This conjecture fits with the historical fact that, long after the Susquehannock war, the Virginians remembered their experience in 1623 and held the Piscataways (or Anacostans) in much greater respect than they ever showed the Doegs.[9] But more than that, it is borne out by the disappearance of the earliest landholders above the narrows as quickly as they came. In the general repatenting of dividends after the Restoration, only a few of their claims can be again separately identified. Most of them, which were not consolidated by John Wood of Wicomico, were 'deserted.' The explanation of this sudden lack of interest is that the region above Great Hunting Creek, which in 1658 seemed a promising place for English settlement, was found to be infested with dangerous indians even before the Susquehannock war; certainly that was the reason why actual seating was here delayed until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Meanwhile, the land map had been reconstructed. In 1660 Col. Richard Lee acquired and repatented Robert Clerke's dividend of 2,000 acres, (continuing the description of 1657 as) bounded,

> 'north on a creek which issueth out of Petowmeck freshes above the narrows of Piscataway, which creek divides this land from a tract of 2,000 acres appertaining to John Wood, Robert Smith and John Ayres."[10]

That this was on the lower side of Great Hunting Creek may be deduced from an original patent issued in July, 1669,

to John Matthews, who kept ordinary at Potomac Creek. Matthews' 1,567 acres 'on the southwest side of a creek called Mussle Creek,' was demonstrated to be on the lower side of Great Hunting Creek, when it became the site of one of Sir William Berkeley's forts against the Susquehannocks in 1676.[11] Being up stream from the creek mouth, Matthews must have adjoined a previous dividend, and it appeared that this was Lee's land when, in 1695, George Brent of Woodstock took a Northern Neck grant for the land Clerke and Lee had patented, and described it as 'upon Great Hunting Creek adjoining land of Mr. Matthews.'[12] A few months after Matthews, Robert Howsing, a Welsh sea captain, who previously had seated lands on Upper Machotic in the present Westmoreland, sued out a patent for 6,000 acres, described as 'upon the freshes of Potowmeck River above the dividing branches of the same.' This probably was a repatent of the 6,000 acre claim which John Wood of Wicomico had recorded in 1658 to include his own original dividend of 1657 (which is mentioned in the Clerke-Lee patents), as well as others of that year. When surveyed, the Howsing land proved to lie on and above Great Hunting Creek and to embrace the river shore thence up stream as high as Anacostia Island.[13] On October 13, 1669, Howsing transferred his patent to the surveyor John Alexander of Chotank, whose descendants kept it alive into the eighteenth century, when it became the site of the Hunting Creek warehouse and ultimately of the city of Alexandria.[14]

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

[1] Hening, i, 381. We venture to differ with Dr. Tyler (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 30) in his interpretation of the site of 'the Necostins towne' here mentioned as 'the present site of Washington.' There was perhaps another town at the mouth of Rock Creek, but, in 1653, Virginia knew little of the river that high up. The other name of the town 'Aquakick,' is that given on the Fry and Jefferson map to the creek immediately below Piscataway.

[2] For the younger Giles Brent, see *post*, pp. 67, 75.

[3] *Patents*, 3:210, 373; both renewed, 1662, 4:417. The reference to 'Aquakick' is in 1662 (*Patents*, 6:73). It remains for the experts on

indian history to explain why the Rickahockians (see *ante.*, p. 25) had 'stands' on the Potomac, and what they were.

We have seen this dividend described in 1658 (*Patents*, 4:267), as 'the land of Capt. Brent called Puscataway Neck,' and so it appears in several subsequent records, e. g., in the deed of 1673 (*Va. Mag.*, xvi, 100), by which it was vested in George Brent of Woodstock. He repatented it (*Patents*, 6:625; *N. N.*, 1:73, where 'Little Hunting Creek' is named). From his heirs it passed to the Cliftons in 1739 (*Va. Mag.*, xviii, 320), whence it was known as 'Clifton's Neck' in George Washington's day, when he included it in the Mt. Vernon estate, as the 'River Farm.'

[4] *Patents*, 3:11; renewed, 1662, 5:240. It was by no accident that Margaret Brent entered for lands so near the head of navigation of the Potomac, for about the same time (*Patents*, 3:365), she had a dividend also above the falls of the Rappahannock, thus showing an appreciation of the strategic value of the future sites of both Fredericksburg and Alexandria. The last named city might well erect a statue to this vigorous spinster, not only as the first of the English to have a vision of the commercial possibilities of the town site, but as the earliest advocate in America of political rights for women.

Margaret Brent was born in Warwickshire in 1601 (*Va. Mag.*, xiv, 100). Not having married, she migrated to Maryland in 1638 (*ibid.*, xv, 324) to join her brother Giles, being then in her thirty-seventh year. She at once began to acquire land on her own account and so attained the designation of 'gent.' in the Maryland real estate records (*ibid.*, xv, 450). Her crowded hour came after the death of Governor Leonard Calvert, in 1647, when he, by a terse nuncupative will ('Take all and pay all'), made her his administratrix (*ibid.*, xv, 326). She then demanded the right of suffrage in the Maryland Assembly 'to have vote in the howse, for her selfe and voyce also . . . as his L'ps attorney' (*Md. Archives.*, i, 215), but was denied. Subsequently she showed both energy and tact in settling, on behalf of Leonard Calvert's estate, with the soldiers he had brought over from Virginia to surpress Ingle's rebellion. On the reduction of Maryland by the Commonwealth, she migrated to Virginia to join her brother, Giles, and thereafter lived with him until her death in 1663. Her will is in *Va. Mag.*, xvi, 98.

[5] *Patents*, 4:156, 170, 171, 172, 174, 177, 228, 229, 258, 259, 281, 305, 307, 309, 363, 571. As a consequence of the fact that these patents name no county, they are not included in the county index in the Land Office and for that reason, apparently, have been overlooked by the Alexandria historians.

The patentees were James Ashton, John Ayres, John Bennett, George Berry, Thomas Boswell, Robert Bradshaw, Thomas Broughton, William Butler, Francis Carpenter, Francis Clay, Robert Clerke, John Cloughton, Vincent Cock, John Custis, William Davis, Francis Gray, John Hayles, William Knott, John Launcelot, Hugh Lee, William Presley, Henry Randolph, John Raven, John Tingy, Edward Williams, John Wood, Thomas Woodhouse. Of these, five, Butler of Surry, Davis of James City, Gray of Charles City, Hugh Lee of Northumberland (a merchant, but apparently not of the well known family), and Presley of Northumberland, had been, or were to be, burgesses. Woodhouse kept the ordinary at Jamestown, in which the Assembly sat at this time (Hening, i, 425; ii, 12). But the most interesting of them all are John Custis of Accomac, later of the Council, whose descendants were to return to this region a century and a half later; and Henry Randolph, Clerk of Henrico, the immigrant of a notable family.

The cross references in these early patents supply some names for

which no patents were issued. They were those of men who evidently hoped to sell their claims before they were called on to pay the patent fees. They were thus early examples of that kind of land speculator against whom Governor Dinwiddie thundered incoherently in the controversy over the 'pistole fee.' 'It has been too long,' he said (*Dinwiddie Papers,* i, 363), 'a practice here to have orders for land, return their surveys, works and improvement to the Secretary's office, by which they pretend to a legal right and enjoy the lands for years before they take out a patent for them, by which the Crown has been greatly defrauded.'

[6] In 1669, when it was first definitely identified, Great Hunting Creek was known indifferently as 'Mussel Creek' and 'Indian Cabin Creek' (*Patents,* 6: 238, 262). In the Ravensworth grant of 1694 (*N. N.,* 2: 14) it is still 'Mussel Creek,' but the present name makes its appearance in 1695 (*N. N.,* 2: 110).

[7] 'Four Mile Creek' was first named in 1706 (*N. N.,* 3: 121). It was so called as being four miles above Great Hunting. There is a suggestion of this as early as 1657 in the references to lands 'extending to the mouth of the second creek above Pascataway' (*Patents,* 4: 571), which lands are identified as above dividends (*ibid.,* 4:172, 259) described as 'about 3 miles above . . . a creek which issueth out of Petowmack freshes above the narrows of Piscataway.'

[8] Known at different times as 'My Lord's Island,' 'Mason's Island,' and 'Analostan,' this landmark in the Potomac opposite the mouth of Rock Creek appears on the first map which lays it down (Herrman, 1673), by the name given it in the earliest patents, 'Anacostien Ile.'

[9] See pp. 19, 37, 143.

[10] *Patents,* 4: 259, 447.

[11] *Patents,* 6: 238. For the fort, Hening, ii, 327.

[12] *N. N.,* 2:113.

[13] *Patents,* 6: 262. There are two plats of the Howsing patent in the Fairfax records, viz., (1) a plat of a survey made in April, 1741, by Joseph Berry; (2) a plat drawn in 1746, based on the original survey made in February, 1693, by Theodoric Bland, then surveyor of Stafford. Both are reproduced (as Exhibits 9 and 16) in the record of *Marine Railway v. U. S.,* 257, U. S., 47.

The 6,000 acre patent of John Wood and Thomas Woodhouse, on which Howsing's seems to be based, was dated May 29, 1658 (*Patents,* 4: 305). Although the description provides no certain landmarks, the references (e. g., to William Presley's patent, 4:172) indicate that it lay upon both the 'first' and 'second' creeks 'above Piscataway,' and included earlier dividends.

[14] See *post,* p. 406. For the title after 1669, see *Birch v. Alexander,* 1 Washington (Va.), 34.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Susquehannock War

IF Virginia early made tobacco her main staple, there were in the colony from the beginning men who had the vision to see that the fur (or in the South, more properly, the skin) trade might become a profitable substitute for those vainly sought mines of precious metals which dominated the imagination of the earliest adventurers.

This commerce began with what Lederer called 'a home trade with neighbour Indians,' but Henry Fleet and William Claiborne soon showed the way to a more far flung traffic by 'trucking' with the northern indians at the heads of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay. When those doors were closed by Maryland the men who had seated themselves on the south side of James River began to look abroad for a similar market in the still sealed southwest. In that direction they were long delayed by nature.

Although the colony occupied a series of 'necks' conveniently surrounded by navigable tide-water, it lacked what both Canada and New Netherland (and in a less extent Maryland also) had, that is to say, access to a connected system of interior waterways. For purposes of interior navigation the fall line of the Virginia rivers was too near their mouths.

The Charles City men were not to be daunted however. In 1642 Rice Hooe[1] and others of that community procured authority from the Assembly,[2] 'to undertake the discovery of a new river or unknowne land bearing southerly from Appomattake river,' but it was not until after Berkeley's final defeat of the Pamunkeys in the field that such an undertaking was actually launched. By the treaty of peace of 1646[3] all indians were forbade to come east of a line drawn from the Blackwater to 'the old Monakin Towne' on the James above the falls, 'except to trade at fforte Henry, alias Appamattucke forte;' and of this fort Abraham Wood had a grant in consideration of his undertaking to garrison it at his own expense.[4]

Wood there learned that in order to develop his trade it was necessary to go after it. Accordingly, in August, 1650, with his partner, Edward Bland, he made an expedition from Fort Henry to the Roanoke river[5] and, upon the report of their discoveries, in the following October the Assembly granted to Bland a monopoly of trade in that direction in order 'to have correspondence with the Indians and also receive the benevolences of the well affected.'[6] Whatever this may have meant, it was thus and under such powers that there was opened up that southwest trading path to the Carolinas on which Virginia merchants have prospered from that day to this. Before the end of the seventeenth century the pack horse commerce out of Virginia extended four hundred miles to the Cherokees and the Catawbas.[7]

But Messrs. Bland and Wood did not long enjoy the monopoly the Assembly intended they should have. They soon encountered a potent competition which was doubtless then quite unexpected, but which, like the commerce itself, has persisted to this day.

During the early years of the Commonwealth, when Virginia was free to choose her commercial associates, she held close to her bosom the Dutch merchants who then frequented her rivers; she was, indeed, vocally loath to repudiate them when the Commonwealth navigation law required her to do so,[8] for to the great profit of all concerned, the Dutchmen had purchased from Messrs. Bland and Wood, and their associates, all the skins brought into Fort Henry from the Carolinas. But once definitely excluded from James River, the Dutchmen lost no time in establishing direct relations of their own with the Carolina indians. In doing this they had a commanding competitive advantage. Following the precedent set for them by Jacob Elkins in his treaty with the Iroquois in 1618, the traders at Manhattan Island consistently bartered fire arms for peltries, a practice prohibited in Virginia,[9] and by this means diverted so much of the Carolina trade as to induce Col. Wood, in 1662, to appeal to the Assembly for protection. Thus was Virginia introduced to that doughty Iroquoian nation, known to the ethnologist as the Conestoga,[10] which had already stirred her imag-

ination from the depiction of one of their early chiefs on Capt. John Smith's map. These indians dwelt at the head of Chesapeake Bay and on the lower reaches of the Susquehanna River, from which they derived their popular name 'Susquehannocks.' It appears that the Dutch had now enlisted them as their intermediaries in the Carolina trade. In the act of 1662 it was recited[11] 'that the Susquehannock and other northern Indians in considerable numbers frequently come to the heads of our rivers whereby plain paths will soon be made which may prove of dangerous consequence.' For this consideration the Assembly prohibited 'all indians to the northward of Maryland from trucking, trading, bartering or dealing with any English or indians to the southward of that place.'

Considering the wilderness back of the Virginia settlements, this legislation was about as effective as King Cnut's decree against the advance of the tide. The Susquehannocks continued to frequent their 'plain paths' and in doing so visited their resentment against the attitude of Virginia by committing depredations on the Potomac and Rappahannock settlements.[12] Berkeley talked of war but Col. Wood, who was first of all a trader, had recourse to more practical tactics. He met the Dutch competition by himself putting fire arms into the hands of the indians.[13] Thus he laid up wrath for a day to come, but meanwhile not only retained a portion of the Carolina trade but established friendly relations with the Susquehannocks. This status, surviving the Dutch surrender of Manhattan Island and persisting down to 1676, was summed up by Beverley:[14]

'The Indians at the Head of the Bay drove a constant Trade with the Dutch in Monadas, now call'd New York: and to carry on this they used to come and return every Year by the Frontiers of Virginia to purchase Skins and Furs of the Indians to the Southward. This Trade was carried on peaceably while the Dutch held Monadas, and the Indians used to call on the English [in Virginia], to whom they would sell part of their Furs and with the rest go on to Monados.'

The local interest in this Susquehannock commerce lies in the fact that it traversed the heart of old Prince William. Crossing the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy, the Susquehannock 'plain path' made its way to the Rappahannock un-

der the eastern slope of the Bull Run Mountains by that natural route of least resistance, which later was known successively as the Shenandoah Hunting Path and the Carolina Road. Crossing the Rappahannock below the Great Fork, and the James at 'Monakin Town,' the 'plain path' ended at Occaneechi Island in the Roanoke.[15] It was thus the Conestoga who first opened up that trade route through piedmont Virginia between the North and the South which ever since has been one of the arteries of American commerce.[16]

In 1663 the Assembly recited[17] that a series of murders had been committed on the frontier by 'Doeggs who confessed to be actors in the first murthers' and had fled 'to the Occanecheis and Monakins."[18] These criminals were tampering with the last remnant of the Potomacs, inviting them to 'goe and hold Matchacomico."[19] Wherefore the Assembly sternly forbade the King of Potomac to have any such intercourse with strangers and to give hostages for his obedience. This caution may have been effectual in so far as concerned the last Potomac *werowance,* but the Doegs kept up their depredations none the less. In 1665 the Assembly recorded more 'murthers' on the frontier;[20] and so for a decade were heard the rumblings of the approaching storm which was to involve Virginia in civil war.

The story of the Susquehannock war opens with the report of the Crown Commissioners, Berry and Moryson, sent over in 1677 to investigate the causes of Bacon's rebellion:[21]

'Few or none had bin the Damages sustained by the English from the Indians, other than occasionally had happen'd sometimes upon private quarrells and provocations, untill in July, 1675, certain Doegs and Susquahanok Indians on Maryland side, stealing some Hoggs from the English at Potomake on the Virginia shore (as the River divides the same), were pursued by the English in a Boate, beaten or kill'd and the hoggs retaken from them; whereupon the Indians, repairing to their owne Towne, report it to their Superiors, and how that one Mathewes (whose hoggs they had taken) had before abused and cheated them, in not paying them for such Indian trucke as he had formerly bought of them, and that they took his hogs for Satisfaction. Upon this (to be Reveng'd on Mathews) a warr Captain with some Indians came over to Potomake and killed two of Mathewes his servants, and came also a second time and kill'd his sonne."[22]

We now turn to the classical narrative of 'T. M.:'[23]

'My Dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest County on Potomack River, Stafford being the upmost; where having also a Plantation, Servants, Cattle, etc., My Overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither, and be my Herdsman, who then Lived Ten Miles above it; But on a Sabbath day Morning in the summer Anno 1675, People on their Way to Church, Saw this Hen lying th'wart his Threshold, and an Indian without the Door, both Chopt on their Heads, Arms and other Parts, as if done with Indian Hatchetts. Th' Indian was dead, but Hen when ask'd who did that? Answered 'Doegs Doegs,' and soon Died; then a Boy came out from under a Bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those Murders.

'From this Englishman's bloud did (by Degrees) arise Bacons Rebellion with the following Mischiefs which Overspread all Virginia and twice endangerd Maryland, as by the ensuing Account is Evident.

'Of this horrid Action Coll: Mason[24] who commanded the Militia Regiment of Foot and Capt. Brent[25] the Troop of Horse in that County, (both dwelling Six or Eight Miles Downwards) having speedy notice raised 30 or more men, and pursu'd those Indians 20 Miles up[26] and 4 Miles over that River into Maryland, where landing at Dawn of Day, they found two small Paths. Each Leader with his Party took a Separate Path and in less than a furlong, either found a Cabin, which they Silently Surrounded. Capt. Brent went to the Doegs Cabin (as it proved to be) Who Speaking the Indian Tongue Called to have a *Matchacomicha Weewhip* i. e. a Councill, called presently; Such being the usuall manner with Indians. The King came Trembling forth, and wou'd have fled, when Capt. Brent, Catching hold of his twisted Lock (which was all the Hair he wore) told him he was come for the Murderer of Robt. Hen, the King pleaded Ignorance and Slip't loos, whom Brent shot Dead with his Pistoll. Th' Indians Shot Two or Three Guns out of the Cabin, th' English shot into it, th' Indians throng'd out at the Door and fled, The English Shot as many as they cou'd, so that they Kill'd Ten, as Capt. Brent told me, and brought away the Kings Son of about 8 Years old, Concerning whom is an Observable Passage, at the End of this Expedition. The Noise of this Shooting awaken'd th' Indians in the Cabin which Coll: Mason had Encompassed, who likewise Rush'd out and fled, of whom his Company (supposing from that Noise of Shooting Brent's party to be Engaged) shott (as the Coll: Inform'd me) Fourteen before an Indian Came, who with both hands Shook him

(friendly) by one Arm Saying *Susquehanougs Netoughs* i. e. Susquehanaugh friends, and fled; Whereupon he ran amongst his Men, Crying out 'For the Lords sake Shoot no more, these are our friends the Susquehanoughs.'

'This unhappy Scene ended, Collo. Mason took the King of the Doegs Son home with him, who lay Ten dayes in Bed, as one Dead, with Eyes and Mouth Shutt, no Breath Discern'd, but his body continuing Warm, they believ'd him yett alive; Th' aforenamed Capt. Brent (a Papist) Coming thither on a Visit, and seeing his little Prisoner thus languishing Said 'Perhaps He is *pawewawd,*' i. e. Bewitch'd,[27] and that he had heard Baptism was an Effectuall Remedy against Witchcraft—Wherefore advis'd to Baptize him. Collo. Mason Answered, No Minister cou'd be had in many Miles; Brent replied, 'your Clerk Mr. Dobson may do that Office,' which was done by the Church of England Liturgy; Collo. Mason with Capt. Brent Godfathers and Mrs. Mason Godmother, My Overseer Mr. Pimet[28] being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all th' other Persons (afterwards) affirm'd to me. The Four Men return'd to drinking Punch, but Mrs. Mason Staying and Looking on the Child, it open'd the Eyes, and Breath'd, whereat she ran for a Cordial, which he took from a Spoon, gaping for more and so (by degrees) recovered, tho' before his Baptism, they had often tryed the same means but Could by no Endeavours Wrench open his Teeth. This was taken for a Convincing Proofe against Infidelity.

'But to return from this Digression, The Susquehanoughs were newly driven from their Habitations, at the head of Chesepiack Bay, by the Cineka-Indians,[29] down to the head of Potomack, where they sought Protection, under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the Head of that River,[30] and also were our Friends.

'After this unfortunate Exploit of Mason and Brent, one or Two being kill'd in Stafford, Boats of War were Equipt to prevent Excursions over the River, and at the same time Murders being (likewise) Committed in Maryland, by whom not known, on either Side the River, both Countrys raised their Quotas of a Thousand Men, upon whose coming before the Fort, Th' Indians sent out 4 of their great Men, who ask'd the Reason of that Hostile Appearance, What they said more or offered, I Do not Remember to have heard. But our Two Commanders[31] Caused them to be (Instantly) Slaine, after which the Indians made an Obstinate Resistance, Shooting many of our Men, and making frequent, fierce and Bloody Sallyes; and when they were Call'd to, or offerd Parley, Gave

no other Answer, than 'Where are our four *Cockarouses,* i. e. Great Men?'

'At the End of Six Weeks, March'd out Seventy five Indians with their Women Children, etc., who (by Moon light) past our Guards, hollowing and firing att Them without Opposition, leaving 3 or 4 Decrepits in the Fort.

'The next Morning th' English followed, but could not, or (for fear of Asbuscades) would not, Overtake these Desperate fugitives. The Number we lost in that Siege I Did not hear was published.

'The Walls of this fort were high banks of Earth, with Flankers having many Loop Holes, and a Ditch round all, and without this a Row of Tall Trees fastned 3 foot Deep in the Earth, their Bodies from 5 to 8 inches Diameter, watled 6 Inches apart to shoot through with the Tops twisted together, and also Artificially Wrought, as our Men coud make no Breach to Storm it, nor (being Low Land) coud they undermine it by reason of Water—neither had they Cannon to batter itt, So that 'twas not taken, untill Famine drove the Indians out of it.

'These Escap'd Indians (forsaking Maryland,) took their Rout over the Head of that River, and thence over the heads of Rappahannock and York Rivers, killing whom they found of th' upmost Plantations untill they Came to the Head of James River, where they Slew Mr. Bacon's Overseer whom He much Loved, and One of his Servants, whose Bloud Hee Vowed to Revenge if possible.'

The escaping Conestoga thus made their way south by the 'plain path' to the Roanoke river where they were received and entertained by the Occaneechi and the Monacan. They established a headquarters on one of the islands above that of their hosts and thence carried on a pitiless war of revenge upon the whole Virginia frontier.

The 'Susquehannocks' were terrible enemies and they struck whenever they could. During the next few months Stafford experienced all the indian horrors with which later and better preserved American history has made us familiar, but neither then nor later was there any Withers to collect and record the traditions. In detail we know only that thirty-six people were killed on the Rappahannock in one raid,[32] and that the English settlements which had reached up the Potomac as high as Hunting Creek, shrunk again within Aquia 'and did not return for more than ten years.'[33]

In this situation old Sir William Berkeley began to exhibit his senility.[34] He ordered an array against the Susquehannocks under the command of Sir Henry Chicheley, then living on the Rappahannock, but, as Sir John Berry later testified,[35] that old soldier 'being upon the very point of Execucon, was on a suddaine counter marched by the Governour and noe effectual care therein taken: In which service had he proceeded hee had (in all likely hood) ended the warr as soon as begun.' Berkeley satisfied his conscience by reverting to his tactics of 1645 against Opechancanough,[36] forgetting that a large part of his success at that time had been due to the diplomacy of Capt. Henry Fleet and that he had now no such adroit instrument for dealing with the new indian foes. He recommended to the Assembly that inasmuch as 'wee are to warr with an enemy whose retirements are not easily discovered to us, soe that a fflying army may not be soe usefull at present' it would suffice now, as in 1645, to establish forts 'on the heads of the rivers and other places fronting upon the enemy.'

One of these fateful forts, the useless expense of which was a potent cause of the popular discontent on which Bacon rode to his end, was decreed to be built 'on Potomack river at or neare John Matthews in the county of Stafford,'[37] and was located just south of the mouth of Great Hunting Creek,[38] but being 'made of mudd and dirt and soe of noe use or continuance'[39] was soon abandoned: in place of it was substituted an equally ephemeral arsenal at "Nieapisco, near Occoquan."[40]

It was at this juncture that Nathaniel Bacon took the field against the Susquehannocks. In May, 1676, he arrived at Occaneechi island with two hundred men, and, after inciting the Occaneechi to massacre their Susquehannock guests, turned upon and himself massacred the hosts.[41] The remnant of the Conestoga surviving this disaster hung for some time on the Virginia frontier, committing furtive outrages wherever and whenever they could. It was to them that the Assembly referred in February, 1676/7, when it recited 'the late murthers committed by the barbarous Indians and which they dayly continue to committ.' But already they were beginning to drift north into Pennsylvania to join those of their nation who had now become

subjects of the Iroquois. During the ensuing summer the Susquehannock war came to an official end with Col. Henry Coursey's treaty of peace with 'the Susquenhanough, Cinnigo [Seneca] and the rest of the Northern Indians.'[42] What was left of the Conestoga were thereafter gradually absorbed by their kinsmen and conquerors of the Long House.[43]

At the same time the wicked Doegs also drop out of the record. In the Stafford grievances of March, 1677,[44] it was urged

'that the Lord of Baltimore, Proprietor of the Province of Maryland, may some way or other take that course with those Indians inhabiting in his Province and so neere Adjacent to this County that they may not infest us by their Incurtions, destroying and killing our stocks and assisting our Indian Enemie, they having greater opertunity to Murther us and destroy our Stocks undiscovered than any other.'

That this was clearly directed at the depredations of the Doegs as distinguished from the organized warfare of the Susquehannocks who were the 'indian enemie,' appears from the reply of the Crown Commissioners:

'The Govr. of Maryld. did advise us by Lre the 12th of July, 1677, that hee being to make a Peace with the Indians promised to include them of Virginia [i. e. the Doegs formerly resident in Virginia] in the treaty.'

But neither in Col. Coursey's treaty with the Iroquois so referred to, nor in the new treaty Maryland made with the Piscataways and her other 'neighbour indians' in 1692[45] is there any such specific reference to the Doegs as there was in the treaty of 1666. The reason seems to have been that there was no one left to treat in their behalf. As a people they had scattered and were absorbed by other nations, never again to resume their tribal organization any more than the Virginia lands from which they had been effectually ousted, in fact as well as in right, by the event of the Susquehannock war. We have only a few more glimpses of them, always as wanderers. Thus they are mentioned in a report of some

'strange indians' who were found by the Maryland rangers suspiciously hanging about the Piscataway fort in 1681. Those unwelcome guests were described as not 'Sinnegos' but mixed people, 'some Susquehannohs, some Aquaiacoes, some Doags and part of two other nations I have forgot.'[46] Ten years later, as we shall see, the Stafford Court had before it as a prisoner an indian who called himself 'King of the Doegs' and testified that 'having been taken Prisoner about fourteen years since [i. e., 1677] by the Senecar indians from the Nanjatica[47] indians, remained with them till about fourteen months agone, from whence he came to the Mataway Indians where he had made one Crop of corn; and came away from them in this Summer before corn was ripe with an intent to live here with the Nanjatica Indians with whom he had lived and conversed before; which is believed by the gentlemen present, the said Indian being well known to Capt. John Withers and Several others Present.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Rhys Hooe was a Welshman and made his career in Charles City County (*Va. Mag.*, iv., 427, and Hayden, p. 716), but his son removed to Westmoreland, where his grandson established the first Potomac ferry. (Hening, iv, 93). His great grandsons took up lands in what is now Fauquier. (*N. N.*, 5: 184).

[2] Hening, i, 262.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, 325.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, 326. For Wood, the founder of Petersburg, see Alvord. *First Explorations*, 1912.

[5] See Bland's *Discovery of New Brittaine*, 1651, reproduced in *Sabin's Reprints*, in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, and in Alvord, *First Explorations*.

[6] Quoted by Bland, not in Hening.

[7] See the letter of the first William Byrd to Perry and Lane, May 10, 1686, in *Va. Mag.*, xxv, 51. Byrd had meanwhile succeeded Bland and Wood in the Carolina trade.

[8] See the prohibition against shipping tobacco in any but English ships, in Berkeley's instructions of 1642 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 288), and the Assembly's protests of 1647 and 1651 (*Journals H. B.*, 1619-59, pp. 74, 75). It was the issue thus raised which lead to the Navigation law.

[9] Hening, i, 219, 255, 525. That the 'fforainers' referred to in the act of 1659, last cited, were the Dutch is apparent from that *Discourse and View of Virginia* which Berkeley published in London in 1663.

Complaining that the carving of Maryland out of Virginia had deprived him of the power to police the frontier, he said: 'Nor is this all, for by reason of these interposing Grants we have suffered the Dutch to enrich themselves on our discoveries, who have in our precincts settled a Trade of Beaver with the Indians amounting to two hundred thousand skins a year; and supply our enemies with Ammunition and Guns in greater proportion than we have them ourselves.'

[10] *The Susquehannocks*: See *Handbook Am. Indians*, i, 335. Capt John Smith was in contact with them in 1608. He called them *Sasquesahanocks* and described them (*Works*, ed. Arber i, 350) as 'such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours . . . their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault . . . These are scarce knowne to Powhatan . . . The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe.' That picture, with the legend, 'The Sasquesahanougs are a Gyant like people & thus a-tyred,' made a deep impression upon all the early colonists. Maryland soon came into conflict with the Conestoga and held them in wholesome respect. George Alsop's description of them (*Character . . . of Maryland*, 1666), while obviously inspired by a reading of Smith, represents a personal contact also: 'a people cast into the mould of a most large and Warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and build suitable to so high a pitch: their voyce large and hollow as ascending out of a Cave, their gate and behavior strait, stately and majestick, treading on the Earth with much pride, contempt and disdain.'

[11] Hening, ii, 153.

[12] *Virginia Carolorum*, 313, 314.

[13] Hening, ii, 215. The Assembly later excused him on the ground that it was 'thought unpolitick to debarre ourselves from soe great an advantage as might accrue to us by the Indian trade, when we could not prevent their supply of firearms.' Perhaps also Col. Wood anticipated the ingenious argument of the London merchants in 1692 (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 169) in favor of this practice. 'We assert [the selling powder & Shot & Guns to the Indians] the only conveniency and advantage, because hereby in Case of War or any trouble it lieth in the power of the English to withhold both from them, by which they will at least for a considerable time be uncapable of procuring it, & so made more dependent, whereas were their dependence on arrows (as formerly) they would be offensive without remedy.'

[14] *History and Present State* (1705), i, 68.

[15] *Occaneechi Island* in the Roanoke below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan was visited by Bland and Wood in 1650 and by them named Charles Island, but apparently it was not then occupied. The Siouan tribe known as the Occaneechi (*Handbook Am. Indians*, ii, 103) seem then to have been living on the Dan River, about the site of Danville, where Lederer visited them in 1670. After Bland and Wood established their Carolina trade a Tuscarora town on the upper reaches of the Cape Fear River (say in Alamance County, N. C.) became, as Lederer testified, 'a place of great Indian trade and commerce,' and it was apparently to intercept this trade that at some time between 1670 and 1676 the Occaneechi moved down the Dan and occupied the island which was crossed by the trading path and thenceforth bore their name. The manoeuver was so successful that the

Occaneechi island became a native Venice. Beverley says, significantly, (iii, 24) that 'tho they have been but a small Nation' their tongue had become a sort of general language, which is understood by the chief men of many nations, as Latin is in most parts of Europe and *Lingua Franca* quite thro the Levant.' After their massacre by Bacon in 1676 the Occaneechi moved into North Carolina where Lawson visited them, and their island in Virginia became the property of the second William Byrd, who describes it in his *Journey to Eden* (ed. Basset, p. 286 ff.)

[16] It is a coincidence that the Southern Railway Company has succeeded not only to the commerce of the 'Occaneechi trading path' between the falls of James River (Richmond) and the Cherokee country of North Carolina, but as well to that of the Susquehannock 'plain path' from the north. Between the indians and the railway this last named commerce followed, as we shall see, the 'Carolina road.'

[17] Hening, ii, 193.

[18] The Monacan were then still living at the 'Monakin Towne' which had been established as the north end of the indian dead line by the Virginia indian treaty of 1646. It was on the south bank of the James in what is now Powhatan county. Here Lederer visited the Monacan in 1670 and here, after they had left, the French Huguenots were established in 1699. See Beverley (1705), iv, 45.

[19] 'When they are about to undertake any war or other solemn enterprize the King summons a Convention of his great men to assist at a Grand Council, which in their language is called a *Matchacomoco.*' Beverley (1705), iii, 24.

[20] Hening, ii, 218. On May 27, 1664, the Stafford Court, at its first meeting, had ordered 'that Capt. John Alexander shall forthwith presse six men and horse and goe to the Mansattero Indians to see if he can discover which Indians they were that had lately committed that Murther above at Potomeck.' As here used 'Mansattero' was probably intended for 'Manhattans', but it is apparent that Capt. Alexander's embassy was to the Susquehannocks at the mouth of Susquehanna river.

[21] The report is printed in *Va. Mag.*, iv, 119, from C. O. 5: 1371.

[22] There is confusion here with 'T. M.'s' narrative. Although the Commissioners wrote at the time and from official records and 'T. M.' thirty years after the event, it is not likely the latter would have failed to record the murder of a son. Probably the Matthews who suffered that loss was the John Matthews who, on July 2, 1669, patented the land south of the mouth of Hunting Creek, where the Potomac fort was soon to be built (Hening, ii, 326). This John does not seem to have been any relation to 'T. M.:' he could not have been 'T. M.'s' son, John, who lived to 1735 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 202), and he did not have the education to be expected of 'T. M.'s' brother, for, in 1677, he signed the Stafford grievances with his mark (*Winder Transcripts*, ii, 238).

[23] *Bacon's Rebellion*, in Force's Tracts, i, No. 8. 'T. M.' was William Fitzhugh's correspondent, Thomas Matthew, of Cherry Point, in the parish of Bowtracy and county of Northumberland (*Va. Mag.*, i, 201). The fact that his Stafford plantation was 'Six or eight miles' above the residences of Mason and Brent, proves it to have been on Aquia, but there is no patent there in his name.

[24] This was the first George Mason, who was soon to sit in the Assembly with T. M. as his colleague representing Stafford. He had

patented his lands on Potomac Creek, at the mouth of Accokeek in 1655 and was buried there in 1686.

[25] The commissioners for the Crown reported this to be 'Major *George Brent*,' but, considering the ruthlessness of his conduct and his knowledge of Indian tongues, revealed by T. M.'s narrative, it seems much more likely that it was the half-breed Giles Brent, second of the name, who was soon to march with Bacon against the Susquehannocks in their refuge at Occaneechi Island and later to march against him. This fierce warrior against his mother's people was born at 'Peace' in 1652 (see the recital of his age in his deed of April 5, 1673, *Va. Mag.*, xvi, 100), but he never justified the name. His English wife was compelled to procure a judicial separation from him in May, 1679, something theretofore unprecedented in Virginia, because of his 'inhuman usage' (*Va. Mag.*, i, 40; ix, 187). He died September 2, 1679, while on a visit in Middlesex and was buried there, far from home, in 'the Great Church Yard' (Parish Register, Christ Church, Middlesex, 1897, p. 22).

[26] They apparently crossed the Potomac from their island in the mouth of Occoquan.

[27] This picturesque incident is a confirmation of the racial identity of the Doegs, for the Nanticoke were notorious for their practice of witchcraft (*Handbook Am. Indians*, ii, 25).

[28] It seems probable that this was the John Pimmitt whose naturalization is recorded in Hening, ii, 447; iii, 479. The name persists on the Virginia map. In 1692 Samson Darrell testified in the Stafford court with reference to his "frontier plantation at Pimmit's' and in 1715 (*N. N.*, 5: 105) his son, William Darrell, taking a grant for that plantation, defines the location as 'Pimmetts, alias the Upper Spout, Run falling into Potomack River below and near the falls thereof,' i. e., at Chain Bridge. As 'Pimmit's Run,' this stream is marked on Gooch's map of 1731 as it is on all modern maps.

[29] The Susquehannocks had refused to join the Iroquois confederacy, and for years maintained war with their kinsmen. In 1675 an epidemic of small pox had so depleted their strength that, as 'T. M.' says, they were driven from their 'castles' on the Susquehanna.

[30] In 1640 Maryland built a fort for the Piscataways. In 1890 W. H. Holmes (*Village Sites in Tidewater Virginia*, MS. Bureau of Ethnology) found the remains of an indian village on Matapoint Creek, in Prince Georges County, Maryland, which he identified as the *Mattpament* on the Smith map. Mr. T. T. S. Bowie, who owned the property, then showed him the plat of a survey in 1702 on which was marked 'Indian fort' and a trail leading from it in the direction of Piscataway Creek and the Potomac. It seems likely that this was the fort besieged in 1676.

[31] *Trueman's Massacre*: Such was the disgraceful report which went out to the world at the time, but it is a pleasure to record that the Virginian leaders (Col. John Washington and Major Isaac Allerton: their commission is printed in *W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 86) were subsequently exonerated of all responsibility. The Susquehannock ambassadors were done to death by Maryland troops on the order of their commanding officer, Major Thomas Trueman. The Maryland Government promptly repudiated his action and impeached him. (*Md. Archives*, ii, 485.) Having, after trial, duly found him guilty, a bill of attainder was then brought in against him. The lower house of the Maryland Assembly urged, however, that Major Trueman did not deserve death, alleging that the enormity of his crime was mitigated by 'the unanimous

consent of the Virginians and the general impetuosity of the whole field, as well Marylanders as Virginians upon the sight of the Christians murdered at Mr. Hinsons.' To this the upper house replied that it was doubtful whether the evidence justified the defense that the Virginians had consented. (*Md. Archives,* ii, 501.) To clear up this point, Sir William Berkeley thereupon ordered a court of inquiry on the conduct of Col. Washington and Major Allerton, at which they completely cleared themselves. The record of this enquiry was spread on the minutes of the Westmoreland Court, where, fortunately, it remains to testify for the honour of Virginia. (*W. & M. Quar.,* ii, 38; iv, 86). Major Trueman eventually escaped with a fine and degredation from office, (Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 292); but even that punishment distinguishes Maryland from Massachusetts in relation to the similar and contemporary brutality of Major Samuel Moseley in King Philip's War. (See Adams' *The Founding of New England* (1921), p. 357.)

[32] *Journals H. B.,* 1659-93, p. 73.

[33] So testified in 1736, Thomas Harrison (1665-1746) of Chipawansic who was one of those who withdrew from Hunting Creek in 1676 (*Westover MS.,* ed. Wynne, ii, 106). Beverley enforces this with his statement (i, § 113) 'that to this day [1705] they have seated very little beyond the boundaries that were then inhabited."

[34] All the current criticism of Berkeley's decay is summed up in the Maryland pamphlet *Hue and Cry,* published in London in 1676 (*Md. Archives,* v, 134), 'Old Governor Barkley altered, by marrying a young Wyff, from his wonted publicq good to a covetous fools age, relished Indian presents.'

[35] *Va. Mag.,* v, 64.

[36] Hening, i, 293.

[37] Hening, ii, 326. This fort was the second on the Potomac, the first, intended as a refuge for shipping, was built in 1666 after the Dutch foray in Hampton Roads. It was at 'Yeohocomico,' in Northumberland (Hening, ii, 256; *W. & M. Quar.,* ix, 237); in 1672 it was 'very ruinous' (Hening, ii, 293, 513); in 1691 Governor Nicholson found there only 'six guns buried in the sand.' (*Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1689-92, No. 1308.)

[38] See *ante.,* p. 60.

[39] So the Crown Commissioners testified in an annotation upon the Stafford grievances of 1677 (*Winder Transcripts,* ii, 238).

[40] Hening, ii, 433.

[41] The most lucid accounts of this massacre are in the contemporary report printed in *W. & M. Quar.,* ix, 1, and Philip Ludwell's despatch to Secretary Williamson, June 28, 1676, printed in *Va. Mag.,* i, 178.

[42] *Md. Archives,* xv, 149; v, 250, ff.

[43] *Handbook Am. Indians,* i, 336.

[44] *Winder Transcripts,* (Va. State Library), ii, 236.

[45] *Md. Archives,* viii, 384, 536.

[46] *Md. Archives,* xv, 375.

[47] Nanjatica, or 'Nansattico' was a village on the north shore of the Rappahannock, in King George, belonging to the Machotic group which long survived its neighbours. It is mentioned in the enumeration of the Virginia indians, 1669 (Hening, ii, 275), and in the Virginia indian treaty of 1677 (*Va. Mag.,* xiv, 289), and is marked on Herrman's map (1670). See *Handbook Am. Indians,* ii, 24. There was also a Maryland indian village of that name.

CHAPTER SIX

Virginia's Contact With the Long House

SCARCELY had the Potomac settlement begun to know rest from the depredations of the Susquehannocks before that frontier was harried by a more powerful, if not terrible, native foe.

In 1675 the Long House, having definitely conquered the lands of the Conestoga on the Susquehanna, became neighbours of Maryland and Virginia. Their historian, Cadwallader Colden,[1] says that the Jesuits living among them at once egged them on to attack the surviving Algonquin tribes who had then become tributaries of the southern provinces. The purpose of this intrigue was to bring on conflict with the English and so to destroy, in the interest of France, the good relations with the Iroquois which the government of New York inherited from the Dutch. Colden broadly hints also that the Dutch traders, still resident in New York, backed up the advice of the Jesuits for their own purposes. This pleasant project narrowly failed of its objective.

The Iroquois, then generally termed Senecas by the southern people, duly inaugurated a wearing down process on the Maryland and Virginia indians; and it was for that reason, as much as to end the Susquehannock war, that Col. Henry Coursey, of the Maryland Council, was sent to Albany in the spring of 1677 as ambassador for Virginia, as well as Maryland, to make a treaty of alliance with the Long House;[2] and that two years later he was followed by Col. William Kendall of Virginia on the same mission.[3] But the Iroquois never had the confidence in the Virginia government they had for the other colonies; and their white advisers, whoever they were, jealous of Virginia's skin trade, easily persuaded them to forget the treaty and be prepared promptly to disavow the consequences as the evil deeds of irresponsible young men. In the spring of 1681

there were new outrages on the Potomac, which Lord Baltimore[4] described:

'These Northern Indians pretend no desyne of mischiefe towards the English, but tell us they're resolv'd to destroy all our neighbouring indians, whome when they're subdued, conquered and destroyed, I believe their next desyne will be against the Inhabitants of both these colonies, whose stocks of cattle and hoggs they already make bold with; and especially in Virginia, where these savages kill and destroy hoggs and cattle afore the faces of the Owners of them, and if the English make any opposition they're immediately fir'd at by these Indian villians.'

In Virginia a false confidence in the Iroquois treaty, as well as long experience with Maryland indians, at first lead Nicholas Spencer to suspect that the culprits must be the still powerful kinsmen of the Doegs. 'It is supposed,' he wrote to Lord Culpeper, then in England,[5] 'to be the work of the Nanticokes from the eastern shore across the bay. The inhabitants in their discontent irrationally attributed the massacres to the Seneca indians by the instigation of the Jesuits in Canada and the procurement of Lord Baltimore in order to cut off most of the protestants of Maryland. They have afflicted themselves with these wild and gross apprehensions for some time.' A month later Spencer had more and better information, he had learned that the 'inhabitants' were only partly mistaken; whereupon, more justly than Baltimore, his instinct lead him to put his finger on the effect of the Iroquois raids, though he had not yet divined the inspiration or ultimate purpose of the policy which actuated them.[6] Facing the unpleasant facts, he showed the degradation of fear in the suggestion of a desperate remedy:

'The inhabitants of the extreme parts are in great fear of the Senecas who have inflicted many insolences and injuries, robbed the houses, frightened the people and wantonly and maliciously killed the stock. Either they wish to provoke the inhabitants against them, or they wish to show, by sheer mischief, how little they regard us. The consequences in either case be bad. The Senecas are so remote a people that we cannot hope to reach them at home, while it is equally difficult to find them abroad. The hazard too is great. It is a stout, numerous,

rapacious people composed of many nations, receiving all sorts of outlying indians and, therefore, an ungoverned people, with whom no treaty can be depended on. The old men say that they cannot restrain their young men. The Susquehannas who escaped the siege of the Susquehanna fort have joined the Senecas and become their people. These same Susquehannas are implacable against the English; they and other neighbouring indians moved the Senecas to their late raid to the South. We shall be infested with these so long as the Susquehannas live among them. The Senecas can be hired to do anything and the only expedient I can suggest is to bribe them to give up their Susquehannas to a neighbouring tribe to be dealt with after their manner, or to the English to be transported.'

Ludwell wrote at the same time that he had an appointment to meet Lord Baltimore in order to suggest this plan for a new St. Bartholomew's eve. It does not appear how Baltimore received the suggestion but, at all events, in the spring of 1682, Col. Coursey was sent again to Albany. His reported proceedings[7] reveal nothing more than a formal renewal of the treaty of 1677; and as the outrages continued, it would seem that, fortunately for the reputation of all concerned, the Machiavellian policy of Messrs. Spencer and Ludwell either failed or was abandoned.

The Virginia Assembly itself had vacillated between desire to protect the frontiers and to avoid expense. In 1680[8] they recited that 'the holding up and maintaining' of Berkeley's notorious forts at the heads of the four great rivers 'is deemed an absolute necessity . . . against the incursions of Indian enemies;' but, in November, 1682,[9] it was comfortably resolved that the danger was 'for the most parte removed by peace concluded with those Indians then our enemies' and that the forts could be dismantled. This was promptly done, but, to salve its conscience, the Assembly adopted a practical suggestion made to them by Lord Culpeper, while on his second brief visit to the colony. This was the provision in each of the counties of Henrico, New Kent, Rappahannock and Stafford, at the expense of the colony, of small bands of volunteer light horsemen, whose duty it should be, by ranging the woods, to prevent surprise. No record of the activities of these earliest rangers has survived;

but it is apparent that they were not infallible for when Lord Howard of Effingham came out as governor at the end of 1683, he at once announced a policy of vigorous action against the Iroquois. This decision was actuated by the incursion of a large band of 'Senecas' into the Northern Neck to attack the tributary Rappahannock nation there resident, resulting in a pitched battle upon the tobacco fields where Charles Carter later built his 'Cleve.'

The New York government, mindful of their own interests, deprecated punishment and advised new efforts for peace. This counsel prevailed. Within six months of his arrival in Virginia, Lord Howard himself undertook a mission to Albany. His willingness to go to this trouble seems to have made a great impression. A treaty was duly negotiated[10] and, on its ratification, each side ceremonially buried an axe in the Council House at Albany. A year later the first William Byrd and Edmund Jenings of the Council escorted to Albany a band of 'great men' of the Virginia indians, when they too received and gave a formal assurance of the covenant.

The Iroquois had agreed 'that because of the Mischief that has been done to the People and Castles of Virginia and Maryland, we must not come near the Heads of your Rivers, ncr near your Plantations, *but keep at the Foot of the Mountains*: for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we shall not be trusted for the future, but looked on as Robbers.' This was in effect a bargain by which, in consideration of immediate peace, Virginia admitted the Iroquois' title to her interior, including both sides of the Blue Ridge.

One of the consequences was that the Iroquois now established a regular road to the South, east of the Blue Ridge,[11] crossing the mountains at the 'indian thoroughfares,' later known as Ashby's and Williams' gaps, and so thenceforth regularly frequented the piedmont. It was in consequence of this provision of Lord Howard's treaty that for forty more years old Prince William of necessity remained a frontier of river plantations.

Although Colden suggests that the Jesuits among the Oneidas were still plotting to make trouble between their converts

and Virginia and, in 1687, seemed for a moment almost to have succeeded in consequence of a casual contest in the back woods under the Blue Ridge, Lord Howard again frustrated the intrigue. Taking advantage of his vacation in New York during the summer of 1687 once more to meet the Sachems in Albany, he renewed his former treaty; and so the Iroquois were induced to keep bright the covenant chain.[12]

It remained for world politics to set off the next frontier fireworks.

What the New England historians call 'King William's War' with Louis XIV, which began in 1689 and ended with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, was fraught with fate in America, for it inaugurated the consolidation of the colonies. This process began when the English government called on the provincial assemblies to contribute 'quotas' of men and money for the common defence against the border warfare waged by Frontenac, the able French Governor of Canada. The northern colonies responded, being in great danger and suffering acutely, but Virginia merely debated, feeling herself remote from the seat of war. Governor Nicholson insistently urged the expediency of co-operation, arguing that Virginia was not as immune as she seemed to be, and specifying that there were well established war paths from the north leading to the heads of the Virginia rivers; and he sought to bring home an appreciation of these facts by sending a Virginia burgess, Miles Cary, to attend a colonial congress in New York.[13] At first the Assembly refused both men and money, being persuaded, as Beverley says, that the demand was merely a scheme of New York to protect her indian trade for her own selfish advantage; but ultimately, under the spur, Virginia sent £1000 as her contribution to the imperial war chest.[14] Nicholson made the best of the situation. Despite Beverley's slur that he 'knew no law except that of Morocco,' he was a real soldier, his vision was always clear and he never lacked energy. He had, too, the advantage of having learned, during his service in New York, something of the French influences at work among the northern indians and appreciated that the Iroquois now loomed as a real menace to the Virginia frontier. All of this appears from his reports, made in 1690:[15]

'I arrived here on the 16th May and found the people in alarm at news of great depredations made by the French and Indians in New England and New York. I, therefore, went to view the heads of the rivers that lie exposed to these enemies . . . our upper plantations are remote and very open to attack, I wish an order could be sent to forbid more out plantations. In case of war with the Indians those settlers must return lower down or run great risk of being cut off. . . .

'If New England fails against Canada, the war will probably reach the head of the rivers in Pennsylvania (where little resistance is expected from the Quakers), Maryland and Virginia; for the Five Nations, though still our friends, cannot be governed as formerly. The English are distracted in their sight and the French make great offers to gain them.'

On such representations the Assembly was moved to pass its act of April, 1691, 'for the better defence of the Countrey.'[18] This was a revival of Culpeper's rangers. Authority was granted Nicholson to raise 'one lieutenant, eleaven souldiers and two Indians on the head of each great river, well furnished with horses and other accoutrements to range and scout about the heads of the said great rivers for which they serve, and in such other places as shall be most likely to discover our enemies.'

The Potomac settlements were, of course, still the most exposed of any in Virginia and the minutes of the Stafford Court at the time give us a vivid picture of the 'alarums and excursions' they experienced; though as it turned out, for the moment, there was no real danger.

David Strahan, who kept the Occoquan ferry, was commissioned Lieutenant of the Potomac Rangers and at once set upon his duty, for undoubtedly there were indians in the Stafford woods. In October, 1691, John West, then living on Hunting Creek, had a visit from seven 'Senecars' who told him that they were a detachment of a hunting party then 'at Rappahannock to hunt Beaver' and had come to the Potomac to call on the Emperor of Piscataway, who had 'desired them to keep in their dogs that they might doe the Englishmen noe hurt in their Stocks and Cattle.' Wherefore they 'desired me to tell the Englishmen not to be afraid for they will or would not doe the Englishmen any hurt.' So they de-

parted 'up the River towards Sugarland a hunting.' But shortly after, the dogs of another band of indian hunters fell foul of a cow and Robert Brent lost a mare from his brother's plantation at the mouth of Little Hunting Creek. Thereupon Strahan and the rangers followed the indian tracks until, on November 25, 1691, they came upon six of them in a cabin, where they found 'the Tail and part of the skin' of Brent's missing mare. On this evidence they arrested the six indians and delivered them into the custody of the second George Mason, then sheriff of Stafford. Amid great excitement a courier was at once despatched to warn the Governor. Examination of the prisoners developed, however, that they were a party of Maryland indians under the command of the 'King of the Doegs' and had crossed the Potomac for hunting only. The 'King' testified that under instructions from the Emperor of Piscataway, he had kept his dogs muzzled while 'within range of the Stocks of the inhabitants,' (John West and John Holmes confirmed this by admitting that 'the dogs came muzled to their houses,') and that the mare had been killed, rashly and without his consent, by 'a young man of the Mohooks being in his company,' which young man, he added, was 'ravenous in his inclinations and indeed all one a dog.' Two great men of the Maryland Najaticoes thereupon appeared in court and offered as indemnity for the mare two hundred arms length of roanoke. On this the Stafford Court released the prisoners. But the 'great fears and dread of the inhabitants' were not quieted. There were still 'daily alarms,' so on June 8, 1692, under instructions from Nicholson, the Stafford Court assembled a conference of all the justices and militia officers of the county to consider what should be done. They resolved that Strahan should 'continue his ranging in the upper Parts of the County and Freshes of Potomac,' and that his activity should be supplemented by 'ten men under the command of Capt. Thomas Owsley . . . to range and scout from above Occoquan to the head of the River.'

Upon report of this action Nicholson himself visited Stafford. In a despatch dated July 16[17] he says:

'The upper parts of the Potomac were much affrighted by mischief done near the falls on both sides the river. Some of the inhabitants had left their plantations (who are since returned) and others were about to do the like (for the settlements on the Upper Potomac are very stragglingly located) but I prevented them. . . . While in Maryland, I had an account of strange Indians being on the Upper Potomac, so I went near a hundred miles on the Maryland side,[18] saw its borders with this Colony and what posture of defence they were in. . . . I dare not wholly believe the accounts that are sometimes given as to our frontiers and as to the Indians, for there are conflicting interests and every man tries to promote his own interest before the King's.'

Whether or not Nicholson's peregrinations 'diverted the People from Melancholy thoughts' as his Council maintained,[19] the immediate result of the Governor's visit to Stafford was to set the Potomac Rangers to work with great activity. Their report for the ensuing Summer has survived and is interesting not only as a record of a characteristic activity of Virginia frontier life, but as the first testimony from the interior since Lederer, though it takes us over an entirely different territory, and not much further afield than the heads of the creeks of what is now Prince William and Fairfax.

A Journiall[20] *of our Ranging, Given by me, David Strahane, Lieut. of the Rangers of Pottomack.*

June 9th, 1692: We ranged on Ackoquane & so back of the Inhabitants & thence South. We returned & discovered nothing.

June, the 17th: We Ranged over Ackoquane & so we Ranged Round Puscattaway[21] Neck & ther we lay that night.

And on the 18th came to Pohike & ther we heard that Capt. Masone's[22] Servt. man was missing. Then we went to see if we could find him & wee followed his foot about halfe a mile, to a house that is deserted, & we took the track of a great many Indians & we followed it about 10 miles & our horses being weary & having no provisions, we was forced to returne.

June the 26th: We Ranged up to Jonathan Mathew's hs.[23] along with Capt. Masone, & ther we mett with Capt. Housely[24] & we sent over for the Emperour, but he would not come & we went over to the towne[25] & they held a *Mascomacko* [council] & ordered 20 of their Indians to goe after the Indians that carried away Capt. Masone's man, & so we returned.

July the 3d: We Ranged up Neapsico, and so back of the Inhabitants &c.

July 11th: We Ranged up to Brent-towne & ther we lay &c.

The 19th: We ranged up Ackotink & discovered nothing &c.

So we Ranged once in the week till the 20th Septbr: then we marcht to Capt. Masone's & ther we mett with Capt. Houseley & his men, so we drawed out 12 of our best horses: & so we ranged up Ackotink & ther we lay that night.

Sept. the 22d: We Ranged due North till we came to a great Runn that made into the suggar land,[26] & we marcht down it about 6 miles & ther we lay that night.

Sept. the 23d: We marcht to the suggar land and the 24th we Ranged about to see if we could find the trace of any Indians but we could not see any fresh sign. The 26th marcht to Capt. Masone's & there I dismissed my men till the next march.'

Such ranging continued into the new century, being stimulated from time to time by other outrages which may or may not have been perpetrated by the Iroquois;[27] but the real motive for the precaution is revealed by a despatch from New York by Lord Bellomont[28] at the beginning of 1700:

'Our 5 nations of Indians are the only Barriere at present between the French of Canada and Virginia & Maryland, as well as between the French and New York. Now if the French can so seduce those Nations as to turn them against us, Virginia and Maryland will be quite destroyed: With the greatest ease imaginable 300 of those Indians with their usual rapidity would not leave a planter or plantation in those two Provinces in two months, for the planters live scatter'd and there is not a town in either of them.'

If in the event the Iroquois never dared to declare war on Virginia, the great confederacy remained a constant cause of anxiety to the colony by reason of the persistence of its policy to absorb all the eastern tribes. This policy was extended during Spotswood's consulship beyond the Virginia tributaries to the southern indians. The methods employed varied from persuasive diplomacy to active hostilities. During the Carolina war against the Tuscaroras the Iroquois abetted that unfortunate people; but, when real assistance was not forthcoming at

the moment it was vitally needed, and the Tuscaroras were driven to a refuge 'upon the head of Roanoak' and thence scattered over the entire Virginia piedmont,[29] they turned against the Five Nations. In the resulting hostilities the Tuscaroras suffered[30] so that Spotswood was enabled to induce them, by promises of protection, to agree to concentrate on the Rapidan, there to constitute a barrier between the Virginia settlements and the Iroquois.[31]

Meanwhile, the Long House continued to frequent the piedmont of old Prince William and to engage in casual depredations. In December, 1710, a party of them appeared at the head of Rappahannock and alarmed the inhabitants of Richmond County; in the year following a 'Seneca King' was killed by a Virginian during a hunting expedition, in consequence of which there were 'frequent murders on the frontier.'[32] As late as August, 1720, a hunting party of Iroquois once more forayed far down into the Northern Neck in hot pursuit of some Rappahannock indians who had been 'poaching' in the highlands, but this time the invaders were so few in number that they were ignominously arrested by the authorities of Richmond County.[33]

Spotswood chafed under these and similar insults. When in 1713, an Iroquois party plundered a trading caravan enroute from Fort Christanna to the Cherokees, he planned to lead a punitive expedition against them, but could secure no support. The hand of the Assembly was forced, however, in 1717 by an Iroquois raid against ambassadors from the Catawbas while encamped under the protection of Virginia at the very gates of Christanna.[34] Christopher Smith was then sent to New York to require that government to challenge the Five Nations with the fact that Lord Howard of Effingham's treaty had been violated; and that, if they wanted peace, deputies must at once come to Virginia to apologise and renew the covenant chain. On their side the Iroquois disavowed any intention to denounce their treaty with Virginia. They excused the crime of their 'young men' by rehearsing that the Catawbas had, themselves, treacherously murdered ambassadors from the Five Nations some years before, they denied that they knew these latest victims

were under the protection of Virginia, and they offered to brighten the chain if Virginia would, for that purpose, send commissioners to Albany where the original treaty had been made. Spotswood was not satisfied. He wanted to fight and, finding that the governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania agreed with him, himself posted off for New York to remonstrate with Brigadier Hunter, then Governor of that province. There he was allayed with a promise that Col. Peter Schuyler, of Albany, would make it his business to bring about a satisfactory accommodation.[36] Henceforth the negotiations dragged for the ensuing five years largely on the point of etiquette as to where the ambassadors should meet. Finally, in November, 1720, Spotswood wrote to Schuyler, outlining his terms, and demanding that the Five Nations should accept them as a protocol preliminary to a meeting; and in September, 1721, the Governor of New York secured such an agreement from the indians.[37] A month later 'the Deputies of those five nations attended here at Williamsburg'[38] nominally to give assurances that a ratification would follow if Virginia sent commissioners (and, incidentally, liberal presents) to Albany, and so assuaged Spotswood's dignity. In the May following, the Assembly enacted the bargain and asked Spotswood to go to Albany himself to consummate it; representing justly enough, but in terms which flattered the Governor, that he was, in such a business, Virginia's most effective ambassador.[39]

After bidding the Assembly an affectionate, and, as it turned out, a final, farewell,[40] Spotswood was in Albany in September, 1722, and there, in the council house where Lord Howard had buried the hatchet thirty-two years before, he exchanged ratifications of the new treaty with a great parliament of Sachems.[41] By this solemn compact the Iroquois and their allies agreed never again to cross the Potomac or the Blue Ridge into Virginia without a pass from the Governor of New York, in consideration of a corresponding prohibition on the Virginia indians. In conclusion, Spotswood romantically enough gave the Iroquois one of his golden horse shoes, advising them to bring it with them whenever they came to Virginia as friends, calling attention to the significance of the inscription.

The theatre of Virginia's contact with the Long House now shifted to the Valley, where, in 1738, Iroquois war parties, marching south by the new Warriors' Path, back of the Blue Ridge, to do battle with the Cherokee and Catawba, first committed casual outrages upon the earliest settlers of Augusta.[42] When these insults were repeated, the Iroquois sachems, hard put to it to defend their young men, gradually developed an interpretation of Spotswood's treaty of 1722 to the effect that as it did not carry with it any grant of lands west of the Blue Ridge the Virginians there settled were invaders and not entitled to protection. At first Governor Gooch sought to avoid an issue on this point by arranging a peace between the Long House and the southern indians which would keep the former out of Virginia; but when those tactics failed, Thomas Lee's treaty of Lancaster followed in 1744. Thereby Virginia acquired the Iroquois title to 'all the lands within the said Colony as it is now or hereafter may be people and bounded.' It remained to have this grant specifically confirmed with reference to the proposed settlements of the Ohio Company on the river of that name, and this was accomplished by Joshua Fry's treaty of Logg's Town in 1752. Finally, Virginia was a party, in 1768, to the general treaty of all the colonies with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix,[43] and thus ended the chapter of her contact with the Long House.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[1] *History of the Five Nations,* New York, 1727. Hugh Jones heard in Virginia the same thing of both Jesuits and Dutch (*Present State,* 1724, p. 17). Beverley (i, §95) had meanwhile brought the charge against the English indian traders in New York.

[2] The proceedings are set out in *Md. Archives,* xv, 149; v, 250.

[3] *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* iii, 321.

[4] In his letter of July 19, 1681, printed in Scharf, i, 285. The facts on which this statement is based are given in detail in *Md. Archives,* v, 349; xvii, 96.

[5] July 25, 1681, *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1681-85, No. 185, where are printed also contemporary letters from Philip Ludwell to the same effect. In view of their suggestions it is of interest that the names of the authors of these letters were not made part of the official record.

[6] In 1683 Spencer felt assured that "the principal aim of the Senecas is the destruction of our neighbour indians' (*Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1681-85,

No. 1406). He now had all the threads in hand, but had not yet taken in the pattern of the Jesuit web.

[7] *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* iii, 321.

[8] Hening, ii, 469. William Fitzhugh wrote (*Va. Mag.*, i, 28) at this time, "We are at present very quiet from our Indian enemy."

[9] Hening, ii, 498. The provision for rangers in this act originated a policy followed in Virginia for more than a century.

[10] July, 1684. The proceedings are printed in Colden, *Five Nations* (1904 ed., i, 34). See also Lord Howard's speech to the Assembly, 4 November, 1685 (*Legislative Journals of the Council,* i, 67).

[11] In Joshua Fry's Description of Virginia, written in May, 1751, to accompany the Fry & Jefferson map (C. O., 5: 1327, p. 363) he makes this clear. Referring to the indian road west of the Blue Ridge, established by Spotswood's Iroquois treaty of 1722, Col. Fry says: "The Indians had been ever since the year 1684 in Possession of a Road by Treaty *on the east side of the Blue Ridge* and frequently hunted on the Lands between the Falls of the Rivers and the Mountains."

[12] See Colden, *Five Nations* (1904 ed., i, 52), and William Fitzhugh's letter of July 4, 1687 to Nicholas Spencer (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 259). The Council minutes for October 21, 1687 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1685-88, No. 1574) give the record of Lord Howard's proceedings in Albany.

[13] *The Virginia Carys,* 100.

[14] Beverley (1705), i, 103; *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1693-96, *passim; Va. Mag.*, xxiv, 73.

[15] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, Nos. 1023 and 1164.

[16] Hening, iii, 82; renewed annually until 1695, *ibid,* 99, 115, 119, 126.

[17] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, No. 2344.

[18] He probably meant a hundred miles north from St. Mary's, where he says he visited the first royal Governor of Maryland—Lionel Copley—then newly installed in office. There were then no English seatings in Maryland north of the Eastern Branch, but it is possible that Nicholson went up the river as high as Great Falls.

Nicholson gave a pleasant turn to the necessity for his policy of personal energy thus illustrated. He said (*Cal. Am. & W.* I., 1699, p. 310) that in Virginia it was not possible to repeat "the saying of Severus the Emperor who, when he lay ill of gout at York and was asked how he could govern that great Empire being lame, made answer that he did it by his head and not his heels."

[19] *Va. Mag.*, xx, 124. It was on one of these visits to Stafford that William Fitzhugh entertained Nicholson and "first hansell'd" that famous silver plate in which he had invested his fortune.

[20] *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 44, printed also in *Legislative Journals of the Council,* iii, 1508. With this is a return of John Taliaferro, Lieutenant of the Rappahannock rangers of his payment to his indian scouts their statutory fee of "12 yards of Duffils" and "3 Barrells of Indian corn." Unfortunately, Taliaferro's journal of his ranging is missing. For Strahan see also *Journals H. B.*, 1659-93, p. 425.

[21] This was, as we have already noted, the neck between Little Hunting Creek and Great Hunting Creek, lying immediately opposite the Piscataway indian town on the creek of that name in Maryland, which had been patented in 1653 and 1654 for the second Giles Brent. See his deed of April 5, 1673 (*Va. Mag.*, xvi, 100) describing it as 'commonly called and known by the name Puscattaway neck.'

[22] This was the second George Mason (d. 1716) soon afterwards County Lieutenant for the northern part of Stafford, who had recently removed from his father's house Accokeek, in Potomac Neck of lower Stafford, to Pohick (Rowland, i, 20.).

[23] This was the John Matthews on whose land, below the mouth of Great Hunting Creek, Berkeley had, in 1676, built his fort against the Susquehannocks.

[24] This was Thomas Owsley, sometime Clerk and burgess for Stafford, who, as we have seen, had recently been appointed to command an extra company of rangers. See his letter to Col. Addison of Maryland in *Md. Archives,* xiii, 282. In 1694 he had a Northern Neck grant of lands on Pohick adjoining the second George Mason.

[25] The reference is to the Emperor of Piscataway, head chief of the tributary Maryland indians, whose relations to Virginia we are about to rehearse.

[26] *The Sugar Lands*: Beverley (1705, ii, 21) records that this region of sugar bearing maples on the Potomac at the present boundary of Fairfax and Loudoun had been discovered by these very rangers, but as they here mention the 'sugar land' only casually it must have been on an earlier expedition. He says that 'taking their Range through a Piece of low Ground about Forty Miles above the inhabited Parts of Patowmeck River and resting themeselves in the Woods . . . observed an inspissate Juice, like Molasses, distilling from the Tree. The Heat of the Sun had candied some of this juice, which gave the Men a Curiosity to taste it. They found it Sweet and by this Process of Nature learn'd to improve it into Sugar. But these Trees growing so far above the Christian Inhabitants, it hath not yet been tried whether for Quantity or Quality it may be worth while to cultivate this Discovery . . . yet it has been known among the Indians longer than any now living can remember.'

[27] *e. g.* in 1700. See Nicholson's report to the Council in *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1700, No. 632.

[28] *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* iv, 609.

[29] The persistence of their name on the map shows that they extended their excursions across old Prince William as far north as 'Tuscarora Creek' in Loudoun.

[30] See *Journals H. B.,* 1712-1726, pp. 47, 63.

[31] For the plan to seat the Tuscaroras on the Rapidan, C. O. 5: 1316, p. 162. The treaty was dated February 27, 1713/14. After recitals that the Tuscaroras had deserted their old habitations on the frontiers of North Carolina and 'for some time past continue dispersed on the north side of Roanoke River within the bounds of Virginia' where some of them had committed depredations on the English, provided (1) that the Tuscaroras should become tributaries of Virginia, paying an annual tribute of 'three Indian arrows' and should forthwith concentrate on a tract to be selected by Spottswood 'between James River and Rappahannock equivalent to six miles square whereon they may build a fort and town and make improvements,' with liberty to hunt on all unpatented lands 'between the said two rivers.' (2) In consideration of this, Spotswood agreed that Virginia would maintain 'an officer and 12 men' resident at their new fort to protect the Tuscaroras until their safety could be assured by the negotiation of a treaty of peace with 'the Senequas.' Moreover, Virginia was to send to the fort a Minister and Schoolmaster to teach the Tuscarora children English and the Christian religion, and

to appoint there 'a public Mart and Fair . . . at least six times in a year,' at which, under the supervision of Virginia magistrates, the English might resort to trade for 'skins, furrs and other commodities.'

It was thus Spotswood's purpose to create another Christanna. When the Tuscaroras denounced their treaty and returned to their former habitation in North Carolina, Spotswood says. (*Spotswood Letters,* ii, 42, 58, 70, 196) that he planted the Germans, he had taken over from Graffenried, on the lands he had intended for the Tuscaroras, expecting these Germans to serve as a substitute barrier against the Iroquois. Thus was Germanna founded. See *post* p.

[32] *Spotswood Letters,* i, 45, 141; ii, 25, 27.

[33] *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 199.

[34] *Spotswood Letters,* ii, 251; Council Journal in *Va. Mag.,* iv. 368.

[35] *Spotswood Letters,* ii, 258; Callaghan, *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* v, 490, 491. This last record is a good example of the figurative language of the Iroquois which gave great entertainment to the statesmen at St. James. Who does not remember the parody of it by the Duke of Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker.* 'Well-pray when does your Excellency sail. For God's sake have a care of your health and eat stewed prunes in the passage. Next to your own precious health pray, my dear Excellency, take care of the five nations—our good friends the five nations. The Toryrories, the Maccolmacks, the Out-o'-the 'Ways, the Crickets and the Kickshaws. Let 'em have plenty of blankets and stinkubuss and wampum; and your Excellency won't fail to scour the kettle and boil the chain and bury the tree, and plant the hatchet.'

[36] *Spotswood Letters,* ii, 261.

[37] *Pa. Colonial Records,* iii, 82; Callaghan, v, 637, 639.

[38] *Council Journal,* November 1, 1722, in *Va. Mag.,* xii, 340.

[39] *Journals H. B.,* 1712-1726, pp. 319, 347, 350, 354; Hening, iv, 103,

[40] *The Supersession of Spotswood:* It was during this absence that Spotswood was superseded by the arrival in Virginia of Drysdale with a commission as his successor. The cause of this action at this particular time has puzzled the historians, e. g., Dr. McIlwaine's note in *Journals H. B.,* 1712-26, p. xlv. It may be conjectured that Spotswood had written his own official obituary in 1719 (*Spotswood Letters,* ii, 315) when in the midst of his quarrel with Ludwell, Byrd and the others of the 'Luck of Hundred,' the 'Cataline Crew of Male Contents,' as he had picturesquely denominated the Burwell faction, he predicted to the Board of Trade that in consequence of the clamours against him, 'his Maj'tie's Ministers will at length be so tired out that they must for their own quiet change the Administration.' It must be remembered that Spotswood had offended Micajah Perry and that the autocrat of the Virginia Coffee House never forgot a slight.

[41] Callaghan, v, 669, 677. The discussion leading up to the treaty is printed also in *Westover MS.,* ed. Wynne, ii, 249.

[42] See Gooch's speech to the Assembly in November, 1738 (*Journals H. B.,* 1727-40, p. 321). There was another such encounter in 1742 (*Va. Mag.,* xxx, 303). The excuse of the Iroquois sachems, expressed then and reiterated at the Treaty of Lancaster, was that the Treaty of Albany forbade Virginians to pass the Blue Ridge. The terms of the Treaty of Albany on this point were clear; the prohibition was limited to the Virginia *indians.* And yet there is curious contemporay evidence that others than the Iroquois interpreted Spotswood's covenant as they

did. The famous Quaker preacher, Thomas Chalkley, was in Virginia in 1738 at the time of the fight in Augusta. He wrote to his fellow religionists, then seated in the Opeckon in the lower Valley, on May 21, 1738 (Thomas Chalkley's *Journal,* Phila., 1808, p. 277; the letter is printed also in Kercheval, *History of the Valley* (1902 ed.), p. 42): 'the Virginians have made an agreement with the natives to go as far as the mountains but no farther . . . The English going beyond the bounds of their agreement, eleven of them were killed by the Indians, while we were travelling in Virginia.'

[43] The Treaty of Lancaster of 1744 is printed in *Va. Mag.,* xiii, 141, that of Logg's Town, 1752, *ibid.,* 143, and that of Fort Stanwix, 1768, *ibid.,* 23.

Virginia Ferrar, 1651.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Migration of the Piscataways

THE Algonquin tribe, which Smith found established above the narrows of the Potomac and describes as Moyaones, are known to the ethnologist as Conoy.[1] They were close akin to, if they were not identical with, their nearest neighbours, the Anacostans, being like the Doegs also derived from the Eastern Shore Nanticoke. In 1608 they were, as we have seen, already beginning to throw off the dominion Powhatan had asserted over them, and on the death of that potentate they must have become quite independent; for, in 1622, the King of Potomac, charged with the duty of collecting their tribute, held them to be his mortal enemies.[2] Henry Fleet, who knew them well by reason of his long residence among them, gave the key to their politics and to their subsequent history, which we are about to relate, in the statement[3] that,

'there is but little friendship between the Emperor [Powhatan] and the Nacostins, he being fearful to punish them because they are protected by the Massomacks or Cannyda Indians [meaning the Iroquois], who have used to convey all such English truck as cometh into the river [Potomac] to the Massomecks.'

When Leonard Calvert arrived, in 1635, he found the Conoy established in a recognised leadership of the southern Maryland tribes with their capital on that Piscataway Creek which empties into the Potomac 'near opposite' Mount Vernon. Thenceforth the Conoy were known in Maryland and Virginia history as the Piscataways, and their chief was given the old world title of Emperor.

The Maryland colony was, from the first, most successful in winning the confidence of the 'Emperor of Piscataway' and, in consequence, had little trouble with their immediate indian neighbours. In 1640, indeed, Father White and his Jesuit aides

succeeded in converting and baptizing the 'Tayac' (as they called the Emperor) and all his family. They then took his daughter and only child to St. Mary's and educated her as a christian. This Mary thus became the Maryland Pocahontas: as we have seen, she married an Englishman, Capt. Giles Brent, then of the Maryland Council, and, with him, reared a dusky race. In 1666 the Maryland government cemented these relations by making a formal treaty with a successor Emperor and thenceforth the Piscataways were tributaries.[4] As the English settlements spread, new lands were assigned to them north of the Eastern Branch and they apparently resided for some years on the site of Washington city,[5] probably at the mouth of Rock Creek. In consequence of their taking the field with the Maryland troops in the Susquehannock war of 1676, they earned the hatred of the Iroquois, and in 1680 petitioned for, and were granted, permission to move back among the Maryland inhabitants as protection against incursions of these enemies. A location was then found for them in Zachaia Swamp,[6] on what is now called Mattawoman Creek, in Charles County, but even there they had to withstand a siege of the Iroquois in 1681, while Maryland hesitated about going to their assistance.[7]

At the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, the Iroquois maintained that they had 'conquered' the Piscataways as well as the Susquehannocks, but it does not appear that in both cases they did so in the field. It seems that it was the practice of the Maryland indians to poach in the Iroquois' hunting preserve in the interior of old Prince William and, undoubtedly, during the decade after the unsuccessful siege of Zachaia fort, whenever the Iroquois caught them in Virginia they ruthlessly cut them off; but the ultimate subjection of the Piscataways was accomplished more by guile than by arms. The Long House taunted them with the failure of Maryland to protect them in 1681, pointed out that they were become mere women living surrounded by the English, and beckoned them to join forces with those who could and would make men of them. By the end of the century these temptations became resistless. The Emperor complained to the Maryland government that he was unable to control his young men; that they were being seduced by evil

influences. Eventually radical counsels prevailed at Zachaia and the whole tribe abandoned Maryland. Suddenly and without warning, but, of course, with the consent of the Iroquois, the Piscataways moved across the Potomac and into the back country of old Prince William, and thus came into direct contact with the Virginia government.

The immediate cause of this move was dramatic enough.[8]

Early in the spring of 1697 an indian of the Maryland Pamunkeys, called Squire Tom, was hunting at the falls of the Potomac and there fell in with 'some of those Seniquos that live in the mountains, amongst which last was a Susquehanah, a great man, whose name is Mongres.' This Mongres took Squire Tom apart, 'p'sented him with a large belt of Peak and told him his Nation was Ruin'd by the English assisted by Piscattoways, & th' now they were no People, that he had still tears in his Eyes when he thought of it.' Wherefore the wily Mongres confided to Tom that 'not being able to doe anything in Publique he must take his Revenge in private,' and he added that it would be easy to contrive that any crime he committed should be laid to the Emperor of Piscataway. The guileless Tom, flattered by the confidence, was stirred to see in all this an opportunity to distinguish himself, which, of course, was exactly what Mongres had intended. He proceeded forthwith to enlist seven others of his tribesmen and with their aid murdered the wife of one William Wigenton and three children at an outlying house on the head of Aquia. Though they escaped to the woods, Tom and his colleagues were soon run down and apprehended by George Mason, who brought them before the Stafford Court, where they duly testified that the Emperor was the real criminal. Much alarmed, that potentate came over to Stafford and vigorously defended himself, finally extracting a confession of the true story from one of Tom's accomplices. Stafford thereupon hanged seven of the criminals, but, to the chagrin of all the frontier, Tom himself escaped. He fled into Maryland where Nicholson, now Governor of that province, issued a futile proclamation offering a reward for his arrest. Tom had been spirited away by the Iroquois and disappeared forever from the stage of history.

In the midst of this confusion George Mason wrote to Col. Addison that the country 'is so Dam'd full of lyes that I know not how allmost to act.' If this was his situation, that of the Emperor was worse. His people had become flatulent with rumours that the Maryland government was resolved to destroy them; and then it was that the migration began. It seems clear that the Piscataways crossed the Potomac at Little Falls and made their way west, above the Stafford settlements, to some place between the Bull Run Mountain and the Blue Ridge, that is to say, to the upper end of Fauquier.

At the meeting of the Virginia Assembly in October, 1697, Governor Andros made a speech[10] in which he announced that:

'Soon after your adjournement, the Piscataway Indians liveing on the North side of Potomack River, in Maryland, came over to settle on this side, and notwithstanding my reiterate Directions and Orders to the Chief Officers in Stafford County, have not been prevailed with to returne to Maryland, but remaine back in the Woods beyond the little mountains.'

In Maryland the report was that the Emperor had established himself at a fort 'beyond the ffirst mountain' of Virginia. When Thomas Tench and John Addison of the Maryland Council visited this fort a little later in the endeavor to persuade the Emperor to return to Maryland, they described their journey from Capt. Mason's house on Pohick, as follows:

'About nine a Clock, being the ninth, we set out towards the Mountains, and, with much difficulty forceing through thickets and deep Runnes of water where no path appeared, we got within Seven miles of the Indian ffort and lodged that night. Early the next morning, being Thursday the 10th instant, we got to the ffoot of the Mountain, from thence toyled in walking up and down the sd. mountain to the ffort, which Judged to be at least two miles.[11] The sd. ffort is built between two mountains and corn planted on the West side.'

These descriptions, coupled with the fact that there exist at 'Yelverton,' near The Plains, archeologically late remains of an indian village, work shop and cemetery,[12] in a country which never had a settled indian population, are strongly per-

suasive that the first halting place of the Emperor was in the valley between Pignut and the head of the Rappahannock range of Fauquier.

The migration of the Piscataways greatly disturbed the governments, both of Maryland and Virginia, for it was deemed ominous of such subjection to the Five Nations as, it seemed, inevitably must breed trouble. Every effort was made to get the Emperor to return to Maryland. He was consistently cheerful in the presence of all the ambassadors who were sent to him, and willingly promised anything they asked, but he did nothing at all. In the Assemblies of both provinces a resort to force was debated but both discreetly concluded that that was inadvisable,[13] and so the Emperor was not molested. Perhaps his bacon was saved by a diplomatic discussion as to jurisdiction arising between Andros and Nicholson[14]; which was not allayed by charges, vocally preferred by the Maryland indian traders, that the migration had been promoted by the Virginia indian traders in order to get the custom of the Piscataways. Nicholson had to be content to keep up the morale of his other tributaries, who remained restlessly in Maryland, by advising them that 'he could have the Emperor of Piscattoway & his Indians knocked in the head, but that he lets them alone to be sick & starve in the Mountains.'

This was not mere boasting. The transplanted Piscataways soon began to feel the lack of the supply of fresh fish on which from time out of mind they had largely subsisted. Under such an economic pressure the Emperor made another move and in the spring of 1699 established himself on that large island in the Potomac at Point of Rocks, thenceforth for long known as 'Conoy Island.'[15] There he built a new fort for his ninety bowmen. Contemporaneously several more horrid murders of English women and children in the Hunting Creek neighbourhood[16] stirred Stafford to new appreciation of the danger from this Piscataway stronghold. It was admitted that probably the outrages had been committed by roving Senecas and not by Piscataways but it was believed that the criminals, whoever they were, made their headquarters with the Emperor.[17] The Stafford court thereupon again appealed to the Governor

for help to remove this nest of danger to the whole frontier, and the Council decided to invite the Emperor to Williamsburg for conference. By direction of Nicholson, now once more Governor of Virginia, the Stafford court sent two of its members, Giles Vandercastel and Burr Harrison, to carry the summons. Their report[18] shows that the Emperor was wary but hardly polite: he said he was 'very Bussey and could not possibly come or goe down, but if his Excellency would be pleased to come to him, sume of his great men should be glad to see him . . . ffor he desired nothing butt peace.' Governor Nicholson, being a soldier and anticipating that he might be required to lead a punitive expedition against Conoy Island, had ordered that the Stafford ambassadors report an itinerary of their journey. We thus have the earliest record of details of the topography of northern Fairfax and Loudoun beyond the limits of the rangers of 1692. The report, from which we have quoted, begins:

'The Distance from the inhabitance [to Conoy Island] is about seventy miles, as we conceave by our Journeys. The 16th of this Instance Aprill we set out from the Inhabitance and ffound a good track ffor five miles, all the rest of the daye's Journey very Grubby and hilly, Except sum small patches; but very well for horse, tho nott good for cartes, and butt one runn of any danger in a ffresh and then very bad.[19] That night lay at the sugar land, which Judge to be fforty miles.

'The 17th day we sett the River by a small Compaise, and found itt lay up N. W. by N. and afterwards sett it ffoure times and alwayes ffound itt neere the same corse. We generally kept about one mile ffrom the River.

'About seven or eight miles above the sugar land we came to a broad Branch of about fifty or sixty yards wide: a still or small streeme; itt took oure horses up to the Belleys, very good going in and out.[20]

'About six miles ffarther came to another greate branch of about sixty or seventy yeards wide with a strong streeme making ffall with large stones, that caused our horses sometimes to be up to their Belleyes and sume times nott above their knees; so we conceave if a ffresh then nott ffordable.[21]

'Thence in a small Treck to a smaller Runn,[22] about six miles, Indeferent very.

'And soe held on till we came within six or seven miles of the forte or Island, and then very Grubby and greate stones

standing Above the ground like heavy [hay] cocks;[23] then hold for three or ffoure miles, and then shorte Ridgges with small Runns untill we came to the forte or Island.'

Again there was no war. Virginia continued to send embassies asking them to go away, but the Piscataways persisted in their refusal to have anything to do with that government. The diplomacy of Maryland was, however, eventually more successful; for in June, 1700, Governor Blakiston was able to report that the Emperor had come in and was then again established in Charles County.[24] But he did not bring all his people with him. The next year orders were given the Maryland rangers to resume their duty 'because the affair of the Piscattaway and Aquakick indians does not yet seem to have the wisht for conclusion of being come in and quietly settled among us.'[25]

And so it was that when, in 1712, Christopher de Graffenried visited the upper Potomac to investigate for himself the possibilities of establishing a colony on the Shenandoah,[26] he found the Piscataways very much at home on Conoy Island. He called their village *Canavest*[27] and, in doing so, recorded[28] some new topography:

'When we came to a small village called Canavest, a very pleasant and enchanting spot about 40 miles above the falls of the Potomac, we found a troop of savages established there, and in particular a Frenchman from Canada, named Martin Charetier,[29] who had married an Indian woman or savage. He was in great credit among the savages beyond Pennsylvania and Maryland, and at the alluring proposals of Mr. M.[30] had settled himself there, leaving for this his place where he was well established in Pennsylvania. This same Martin Charetier had also made the journey to Senantona[31] to look for mines with Mr. M. and contributed a good sum of money to it. This man warned us that the Indians, who were in the vicinity of this mountain of S. where the mines were said to be, were much alarmed by the war which we were having with the Tuscaroras,[32] and told us not to risk ourselves on so dangerous a journey without necessity. We gave heed to this, postponing the plan for a more secure occasion and time. We made an alliance, however, with these Indians of Canavest, a very necessary thing, in connection with the mines which we hoped to find in that

vicinity, as well as on account of the establishment which we had resolved to make in these parts of our small Bernese colony which we were waiting for. After that we visited those beautiful spots of the country, those enchanted islands in the Potomac River above the falls. And from there, on our return, we ascended a high mountain standing alone in the midst of a vast flat stretch of country, called because of its form Sugar Loaf[33] which means in French pain de sucre, taking with us a surveyor, the above named Martin Charetier, and some savages. From this mountain we saw a great extent of country, a part of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Carolina. By use of the compass we made a map, and observed particularly the mountain Senantona where our mines were said to be. We found that this mine was situated beyond Virginia,[34] and not beyond Pennsylvania as indicated on the map which had been given us.'

The maps to which Graffenried here refers[35] give us not only further detail of local topography but an intimate picture of the life of the Piscataways on Conoy Island. Michel had pictured four wild geese on the islands in the Potomac just below the Catoctin hills, while a noble swan stands proudly on the site of Leesburg. Graffenried, on his map, shows a stream omitted by Michel, flowing from a source in the Blue Ridge and emptying into the Potomac near the spot occupied by Michel's geese. He labels this 'R. de Hiccari' but inserts in its fork with the Potomac a significant inscription, reading (in French) 'There is in Winter such a prodigious number of swans, geese and ducks on this river from Canavest to the Falls that the Indians make a trade of their feathers.' When we find this stream labeled 'Goose R.' on the Gooch and Keith maps and 'Cokongoloto *anglice* Goose Creek' by John Warner, it appears not only that Graffenried was the first to map one of the most important of the natural features of modern Loudoun but that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the green and charming Valley it drains was at once a sportsman's paradise and an emporium of Indian millinery.[36]

The Piscataways continued to hold Conoy Island until Spotswood's diplomacy, at the treaty of Albany in 1722, persuaded the Iroquois, whose subjects they had now certainly become, to move them north to a new home near Bainbridge, Pennsylvania. Steadily herded thence, at last they reached

Ohio where, reduced to inanition as a people, they were mingled with other translated tidewater tribes and finally disappeared.[37]

It seems probable that during this process the last Emperor and some few followers remained in Maryland. At all events, there are today in Prince Georges and Charles counties several hundred people of mixed indian, white and negro blood who live apart from their neighbours and distinguish their exclusiveness by calling themselves 'We-Sort,' meaning 'Our Sort.'[38] They are reputed to be descendants of the Emperor of Piscataway in the same sense that the surviving mixed blood Pamunkeys, living on the Virginia river which bears their name, are descendants of Powhatan.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] *Handbook Am. Indians,* i, 339, 953.

[2] *Smith's Works,* ed. Arber, ii, 586. It was this enmity which brought on Jamestown's war with the Nacotchtanks in 1622-23. See *ante.,* p.

[3] Henry Fleet's *Journal* (printed in Neill, *Founders of Maryland,* 1876), p. 25.

[4] *Md. Archives,* ii, 25, 488; v, 65.

[5] That careful student of Maryland records, Mr. S. F. Streeter, said (*Historical Magazine,* 1857, i, 65) that this move took place in 1673, but his authority for the date is lacking. On Herrman's map (1673) 'Piscataway towne' is shown on Piscataway Creek, while the Mt. Vernon grant of 1675 locates that property as 'in the ffreshes of the Pottomeek River and neare opposite to Piscataway indian towne of Mariland.' There are, however, several later references (e. g., *Md. Archives,* xx, iii, 244; *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1700, No. 287) to a Piscataway fort on Rock Creek.

[6] *Md. Archives,* xv, 303. The site is marked on Hermann's map (1673), 'Zachkia Swamp als. Pangayo.' It was thus that for some years they are described in the Maryland and Virginia records as 'Zachaia indians.'

[7] *Md. Archives,* vii, 270.

[8] The story is told in detail by the contemporary correspondence recorded in the minutes of the Maryland Council, *Md. Archives,* xxiii, 142-146, 182-188, 226, 295-302, 325.

[9] Squire Tom remained a bogy to frighten the frontiersman for some years. See the petition in which he is named, long after his disappearance, in *Journals H. B.,* 1695-1702, p. 194; *Legislative Journals of the Council,* iii, 1517. Squire Tom, himself, is well lost to view, but one wishes there was more to record of Mongres.

[10] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, pp. 105, 109, and printed also in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 55.

[11] It is evident that they missed what is now known as the Thoroughfare Gap and so had to climb the Bull Run Mountain, but on their return journey they must have found the gap for there is no further mention of mountain climbing. They did, however, then get lost in the woods of Bull Run, to wander aimlessly until they came upon the forest plantation of Giles Vandercastel on the upper waters of Accotink.

[12] See Miss Annie Lee Peyton's paper in the *Smithsonian Report*, 1879, p. 447.

[13] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, pp. 113, 159; *Maryland Archives*, xxii, 33, 89, 127.

[14] There is a most amusing report of the embassy of Messrs. Thomas Tench and William Dent to Andros at Jamestown in November, 1697, with an account of a visit to the new college of William and Mary and an incidental rehearsal of the uses of hospitality in promoting diplomacy. *Md. Archives*, xxiii, 295.

[15] It is so marked on Jefferson and Brooke's map (1746), on Fry and Jefferson's (1751), and on Thomas Jefferson's (1787), but is now marked 'Heaters Island' on the U. S. topographical survey map, a regrettable example of the loss of an historically significant name.

[16] See Col. Mason's reports in *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 69; *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 158.

[17] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 158.

[18] *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 63.

[19] Difficult Run.

[20] Broad Run.

[21] Goose Creek.

[22] Limestone Creek.

[23] The phenomenon which gives Point of Rocks its name.

[24] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1700, Nos. 297, 417, 418, 599.

[25] *Ibid.*, 1701, No. 447.

[26] See *post*, p. 613.

[27] The ethnologists relate the names *Conoy* and *Canavest* to *Kanawha*, and argue that this is evidence that the Nanticoke reached the sea coast from a place of origin on the south bank of the Ohio.

[28] In the French version of his *Journal*. Todd, *Graffenried* (1920), p. 347.

[29] *Martin Charetier*: In 1692 a large band of strange indians turned up at Augustine Herrman's Bohemia Manor, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and asked permission to remain. They said they were 'Stabbernowles,' that they had 'come from the southward, formerly fled from the Twittawees [Miami].' With them was a Frenchman with an indian wife. At first he was identified, with picturesque detail, by some imaginative Marylanders who had been in New England, as 'Mons Casteene, the grand Enemy of the English [in Maine] . . . but since upon better Enquiry and examination we find our mistake and him another person named Martin Shortive' (*Md. Archives*, viii, 486, 524). This was, undoubtedly, the Charetier Graffenried found on the Potomac some years later.

[30] Franz Louis Michel was Graffenried's partner and fellow Swiss,

who had, in 1706, explored the Shenandoah River and claimed to have discovered that silver mine in Massanutten mountain which the settlers of Germanna were invited over to exploit. Mr. C. E. Kemper says that the tradition persists in the Valley to this day that there is silver ore in the Massanutten hills.

[31] This was intended for *Shenandoah.*

[32] Referring to the Tuscarora war in North Carolina, following the massacre of 1711, which destroyed the New Bern colony. What alarmed the Shawnees in the valley (then in alliance with the Iroquois) was a breach of faith with the Tuscarora after peace had been made. See *Handbook Am. Indians,* ii, 842.

[33] Sugar Loaf still bears that name as the most conspicuous natural feature of Maryland looking across the Potomac from Loudoun.

[34] That is to say, beyond the Blue Ridge.

[35] See *post,* p. 613.

[36] *Cokongoloto*: Thus also is derived the name of that other Goose Creek in Maryland which once flowed beneath the site of the Capitol of the United States and gave Tom Moore a laugh when it was called Tiber.

Northern Virginia has already forgotten the wealth of water fowl it had less than a century ago. As late as 1828 Capt. Basil Hall (*Travels in North America,* London, 1829) describing his sail down the Potomac from Washington to Potomac Creek, speaks of 'cutting our way through myriads of canvass back ducks which literally blackened the surface of the water till our paddles set them up.' This is amply confirmed not only as to ducks but as to geese and swans as well, by the spirited articles in Sears' *United States* (1828) p. 310, and Martin's *Gazetteer of Virginia* (1836) p. 482. The description there given of 'tolling' swans with a dog and of stalking geese from the cover of a horse are truly delightful. The Summer duck (*Anas Sponsa,* Linn.) was the only one of his family who bred among us, and he has left his name on the map of lower Fauquier, to match his cousin, the goose of the upper end.

[37] *Handbook Am. Indians,* i, 339.

[38] Mooney in *Thirty-fifth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology* (1921), p. 17.

PART TWO

The Pioneers on the Potomac

CHAPTER EIGHT

Chotank

THE story of the plantation life of George Washington and his more intimate friends in the Mt. Vernon neighbourhood has been told so often and so well and has such a strong hold on the imagination that one finds it difficult to realize how late that society was in blossoming. Before a just estimate can be made of the pioneers of the region it is, then, necessary to clear the mind of preconceptions. A few dates will suffice for this. It was not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century that those whom Dr. Moncure Conway has picturesquely styled the Barons of the Potomac, seated themselves in old Prince William. Even after that, such traditional northern Virginia worthies as the Lees and Fitzhughs still maintained their residences below Potomac Creek. The second George Mason had, indeed, about 1690, established himself on Pohick and there his son, the third of the name, lived after him until, about 1730, he moved across the Potomac to Chickamuxon Creek, in Charles County, Maryland:[1] but the Mason house at Pohick was so much an outpost of civilization that it was named in Spotswood's treaty with the Iroquois of 1722 as the place on the frontier where the indians were to deliver runaway slaves falling into their hands.

It was not until 1734 that Capt. Augustine Washington, seeking a healthier residence for the young children of his second wife, moved from his grandfather's house, Wakefield, on Pope's Creek in Westmoreland, to the high land of the plantation on Little Hunting Creek, which likewise he had inherited from his grandfather, but he, too, was only a temporary resident of old Prince William; for, in 1739, when his modest home was destroyed by fire, he moved again to the house where he died, on the north bank of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg.[2]

It was not until the spring of 1741 that William Fairfax

established his residence on the south bank of Dogue Run and built Belvoir,[3] where Lawrence Washington married his daughter in 1743; and it was not until after that marriage that the original part of the present house at Mt. Vernon was finished.[4] It was not until 1746 that the fourth George Mason came of age and removed from Marlboroughtown to his property on Dogue Neck, below Pohick Bay, where he built Gunston Hall in 1758.[5]

But as there were *fortes ante Agamemnona* so there was a highly coloured life on the upper Potomac many years before George Washington's chariot lumbered through the mud of Fairfax County roads. It did not, however, make up such a civilization as the 'Barons' developed a century later. The fact is that the crepuscular society of old Prince William was necessarily crude. Many of its characteristics may doubtless be traced to the fact that the lands in the 'freshes' were originally taken up, as we have already noted, by speculative non-residents, so that when actual planting began and Stafford was organized, the upper end of the community became, as it long remained, largely one of 'quarters' worked by indentured servants, who soon became yeoman planters on their own account. It was for this reason that the Stafford families of light and leading, residing on and below Potomac Creek, assumed as a badge of social distinction the designation, 'Chotank,' and continued to wear it long after that lower parish had been given its later name, 'St. Pauls.'[6] Here, indeed, there was practised before the end of the seventeenth century the baronial hospitality which has coloured so much romantic literature. It will suffice to make the point by citing an entertaining account of a Christmas frolic at 'Bedford' in 1686, matching that of 'Old King Cole' himself, which was recorded by a Huguenot gentleman. He had been a guest of Ralph Wormeley at 'Rosegill,' in Middlesex, and was escorted by his host *en route* to Maryland. After they had crossed the Rappahannock into the Northern Neck the narrator continues:[7]

'Mr. Wormeley is so beloved and esteemed in these parts that all the gentlemen of consideration in the countryside came

to meet him and, as they would not leave, it resulted that by the time we reached Col. Fitzhugh's we made up a troop of 20 horse. The Colonel's accommodations were, however, so ample that this company gave him no trouble at all; we were all given beds, though we had to double up. Colonel Fitzhugh showed us the largest hospitality. He had good wine and all other things to drink, and a frolic ensued. He called in three fiddlers, a clown, a tight rope dancer and an acrobatic tumbler, and gave us all the divertissement one could wish. It was very cold but no one thought of going near the fire because they never put less than the trunk of a tree upon it and so the entire room was kept warm.'

In contrast to this nacent aristocracy, the majority of the population, including the first residents of the 'freshes' and the early yeomen of Chotank itself, though a vigorous race and having outstanding individuals among them, did not bear the reputation of being given to the amenities. Beverley refers to their characteristics as bad manners and 'tarpaulin language."[8]

We have seen some of these men in action in relation to the indians, and we now turn to such glimpses as the surviving records enable us to have of their domestic life.

To clear ones mind of the prepossession of those pius traditions which have somewhat distorted Virginia's past in the minds of many of us, it is necessary to realize that until well into the eighteenth century Stafford was such a small frontier outpost as has been since reproduced down to the present generation, many times in the process of western expansion of America. Its difference from similar communities of later days was chiefly that it was purely English, in blood and breeding. Wide as was the nominal area of the county, until after 1724 the total population was little more than that of one of our court house towns today.[9] Most of that limited population was grouped about Potomac Creek so that those who lived further to the north were scattered over widely separated plantations. It is not surprising then to find, in the recurring difficulty experienced in filling vacancies in the county court, convincing testimony of the small proportion of educated men who resided on this frontier. This limitation, natural under the actual conditions, became indeed acute in the second gener-

ation after the English bred immigrants had passed off the scene. Henry Meese, who established himself on Potomac Creek in 1665, and at once became County Lieutenant of Stafford, was sworn of the Council after Bacon's Rebellion; but he soon returned to England and the territory of old Prince William did not again have the honour of that supreme provincial dignity for sixty years.[10] The Stafford families which stand out in social distinction during the latter years of the seventeenth century in addition to the Brents, Masons and Fitzhughs, were Williams, Heaberd, Dowding, Fossaker, Townshend, Norgrave, Mildmay and Travers. None of these survived into the eighteenth century, but their places were filled by the Chotankers, whose roll may be called with equal brevity: Alexander, Bernard, Buckner, Clifton, Dade, Fitzhugh, Foote, Hedgman, Hooe, Massey, Stuart, Thornton, Washington.[11]

Until long after the American Revolution, the important office of County Clerk was always held by a man of education; and in Stafford during the seventeenth century the Clerks were Anthony Bridges, Samuel Haywood, John Withers, Thomas Owsley, Thomas Claiborne and the second William Fitzhugh. At the end of the century Malachi Peale (who lived on that tract of Giles Brent's land between Potomac Creek and Aquia which was known as Peale's Neck and Potomac Neck long before it was known as Marlborough Neck) and Martin Scarlet of Burbages Neck on Neapsco, loom of local importance. Edward Maddocks, who married the widow of the first George Mason, and Edmond Helder,[12] were the physicians. The first lawyers, men of education and parts, as revealed by their pleadings, were Gerard Lowther, Francis Hammersley, George Brent of Woodstock (who began his career as a surveyor) and the first William Fitzhugh.

The greater part of the time of the county court was, of course, taken up with a mill of petty lawsuits to collect debts, to adjust disputed land titles and to interpret wills, but its more characteristic business, racy of the time, was the regulation of the morals of the community by means of that social engine which has recently been dubbed 'pitiless publicity.' The equipment of stocks and pillory was constantly in use 'for the

punishment of Drunkards, Rioters and Tumultuous Persons, Swearers, profaners of the Lord's name.' The records show many examples of discipline by public odium for such offenses, but reveal also adjudged cheats sitting in the stocks, bearing placards with inscriptions 'in capital letters' announcing their offense; while 'pilfering persons,' mutinous servants and fornicators publicly receive lashes 'well laid on.' The court undertakes not only to capture and return a runaway wife, but requires those who insulted its dignity humbly to apologise on bare and bended knees in its presence 'and before the whole country.' A constant endeavor of the court is to secure a true return of tithables for the purpose of the poll tax, for it seems then to have been as epidemic a vice to conceal the full enumeration of the roster of a plantation as it was, against the statute in such cases made and provided, 'to tend Seconds.' In this relation also we see the court following one of Virginia's earliest practices by exempting from taxation in their old age those who were needy and had been 'long livers' in the community.[13] Another frequently exercised function, indicating the source of the steady increase of local population, was to issue certificates of immigration as the basis of head rights for land grants.[14]

The people, even the gentry, lived at home in the utmost simplicity. Thus in 1691 the widow of Edward Mason received as her paraphanalia from her husband's estate such a homely equipment as 'one Bed and Covering, one small Chest and Box, one small Case, one old brass Candlestick, one old Warming Pan, one Pestle,[15] one old iron box, one pair of Bellows, one old Frying pan, Two dishes, Two plates, one old Bason, one old Pewter Pott, and three Trayes.'

The Huguenot gentleman already quoted gives a convincing description of a typical plantation in 1686.

'People are well lodged in this country,' he says.[16] 'The houses are all of wood. The roofs are made of oak shingles, and the walls of clapboard. Those who are even tolerably well off ceil them on the inside with mortar made of oyster shell lime, which leaves the walls as white as snow. However mean these houses may appear on the outside, for one sees nothing but wood, within they are most agreeable, well glazed and well

ventilated. They make plenty of bricks and I have seen several houses of which the walls were entirely of brick. Whatever their condition may be, for what reason I do not know, they build their houses of two rooms only and several closets, all on the ground floor, with but one or two prophets chambers above; but if they need them, they build several such houses. They have also a separate kitchen, a separate house for the Christian servants and a separate house for the negro slaves, and several houses in which to cure tobacco. So it is that arriving at the residence of a person of some consideration, you would think that you were entering a village. Few ever lock the doors of their houses, because stealing is almost unknown. . . . There are no stables for they never house their cattle, but let them run in the woods. The only risk is of wolves.'

At this time Virginia drew all her merchandise from England, not only hardware but clothes, nay even woodenware and such other things as might easily have been manufactured in the colony. There were, however, no 'store keepers' in the modern sense of one who exposed for sale at all times a stock of general merchandise. The words store and storekeeper had, indeed, already been localized, but they connoted the temporary deposit of the cargo of a ship, exposed for sale. The ship master peddled his principal's wares from creek to creek, bringing the 'store' practically to the door of every planter.[17] The record of a lawsuit in May, 1692, illustrates this practice:

'John Gundry agent for Sr. Hugh Owen, Knt. and Baronet, and Zachary Bevan of Milford in Wales, merchants in company, complaining sheweth that the plt. being Employed by the above said Sr. Hugh Owen and Zachary Bevan, and sent in master of the good ship called the *Katharine* of the port of Milford as aforesaid, had by the abovesd. worthy Gent. Several goods, wares and merchandises put on board the said ship; which said cargoe of goods, wares and merchandises was alsoe intrusted in the hands of the plt. for its sale and disposal, with orders to load in any part of this River of Potomack; and the plt., being well known in these parts, as well as considering his Employers Interest and Instructions as afsd. did on the 3d day of April last past come into the River of upper Machotick and then Immediately did land his said goods and merchandises at the house of one Mr. Nehemiah Storke, a gentleman well known to this worshipful Court, where on Monday

the 5th of April aforesd. he the plt. did begin to Expose his said goods to sale; where several planters and others both of this County and Westmoreland, did buy several goods and merchandising wares of the plt.; and amongst the rest, one William Bennet,[18] the now deft. did on Wednesday the 7th of April come there to the house of the said Nehemiah Storke as afsd. and did take up some goods to the Value of Six hundred pounds of Tobacco with a Promise to come again and take up to the Value of six or seven hhds. of Tobacco which he then pretended to have in his own Tobacco house; after which time the said Bennet did come to the plt.'s said store, and then treat about the price of several goods, but at that time we could not agree; but on Monday the Twentieth day of the month of April the Plt. being at the house of the said Bennet, the deft. did then and there agree with him for one Piece and a remnant of Serge, which with the goods before taken up amounted to the sum of Thirteen hundred and Twenty eight pounds of Tobacco; and the said Bennet ordered the plt. to send up the said serge, he having and keeping the other goods, all of which are now still in his Custody.'

On the bread and butter side of life the early planters were easy going. The system of servile labor laid its withering hand upon their energies. Our Huguenot, fresh from busy hard working France, was deeply impressed with the contrast of the life he found here and recorded his impression with some comprehensible exaggeration.

'The country is so good and fertile,' he says,[19] 'that when a man has fifty acres of land, two servants, a maid and some cattle, neither he nor his wife do anything at all but pay visits to their neighbours. Most of them do not even take the trouble to superintend their slaves at work for there is no household, however small, which has not an ex-indenture man as an overseer, as they call him. To him they assign two servants, with whom he works on the land. The overseer finds himself, in consideration of a third of the tobacco or grain he raises, and thus the master has nothing to do but receive his share of the crop.'

This is undoubtedly so far true that the agricultural practice was determined largely by ignorant overseers, who readily fell into the domestic economy of the indians. At all events

the worship of the Virginia god, Tobo., and the making of the crop of maize, which was the main sustenance for man and beast, were conducted after the aboriginal fashion of a hand hoed husbandry; which was as different from the methods of soil cultivation to which the immigrant Chotanker had been accustomed in England as it was from the tenets of Jethro Tull. The fact, which it is now hard to realize, is that until well into the eighteenth century the use of the plough was almost unknown on the Virginia plantations.[20] We cannot, with Kipling,

'trace on our ancient headlands
The twist of their eight-ox plough.'

But worse than that waste of human labour was the 'old field' system, which did Virginia as much harm as the regime of the double shovel plough which succeeded it. A century after the period of which we now write, Dr. Schoepf described this early lazy man's agriculture critically, as he observed it in lower Virginia, and his description is as true for the end of the seventeenth as it was for the end of the eighteenth century.

'The Virginians,' he says,[21] 'are very easy and negligent husbandmen. Much and very good land which would yield an abundant support to an industrious family remains unused when once a little exhausted, no thought being given so far to dunging and other improvements. New land is taken up, the best to be had, tobacco is grown on it 3-4 years and then Indian corn so long as any will come. And in the end, if the soil is thoroughly impoverished, they begin again with a new piece and go through the rotation.[22] Meantime wood grows again on the old land, and on the new is at pains to be cleared off; and all this to avoid dunging and all the trouble involved in a more careful handling of the cattle if dung is to be had.'

In addition to the use of the hoe, the Chotank yeomen imitated the indian also in his crude method of fishing. That that was a popular industry appears from the number of apprentices bound out to wear makers. There were enough tanners to call for the appointment of an official inspector.[23] Coopering was practiced,[24] if little other wood working, for early

Stafford seems to have prided herself on her cider and perry. That there was no lack of it is apparent from a suit over a 'three tonne cask' which leaked. Nor was there any lack of strong waters. The Court regularly fixed the price of rum, and incidentally attempted to prohibit the sale of it during its own sessions; but that last was something of a work of supererogation, for not only was Court day the festival on which of all others conviviality obtained, but then were frequently settled contracts calling for payment of so many pounds of tobacco 'and a gallon of rum to be made into punch.'[25]

The earliest records give us also glimpses of robust and typically English amusements on Court days, wrestling and play with quarter staff, thereby revealing the presence of recent immigrants, for such sports did not reappear in the second generation of the Virginia climate. There was cock fighting at all seasons. A dispute as to the brand on a horse discloses incidentally a form of sport now forgotten, which had developed in the country, and long preceded the local practice of the fox chase,[26] that of hunting wild horses in the woods. Beverley,[27] writing a few years after the period we are discussing, describes it well:

'There is yet another kind of sport which the young people take great delight in and that is the Hunting of wild Horses which they pursue sometimes with Dogs and sometimes without. You must know that they have many Horses foaled in the Woods of the Uplands that never were in hand and are as shy as any Savage Creature. These having no mark upon them belong to him that first takes them. However, the Captor commonly purchases these Horses very dear by spoiling better in the pursuit: in which case he has little to make him amends beside the pleasure of the Chace. And very often this is all he has for it, for the Wild Horses are so swift that tis difficult to catch them: and when they are taken tis odds but their Grease is melted, or else being old, they are so sullen that they can't be tamed.'

Michel, who was in Virginia at the time Beverley wrote, adds an explanation of the horse pen in the woods, so commonly recited in the land grants:

'The wild horses,' he says,[28] 'are also caught in pits. When it is known which way they go to water a deep pit is dug which is covered slightly. When the horse passes over it, he falls down and can't get out again until he is bound with ropes and pulled out.'

'There are people who make their living by this practice,' adds Michel, and in the Stafford records we find those people recognised as following a trade, termed 'horse coursers.'[29] Eventually this trade was carried on so recklessly that the court had to regulate it in the interest of the whole community, as many horses were penned and taken which were not wild at all but simply turned out for pasture.

These meagre surviving records cannot by themselves enable us to form any real estimate of the community. What manner of men the Potomac pioneers were may perhaps be better appreciated in the following chronicles of some incidents of their political history:

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] Rowland, i, 20, 38. The Maryland house is indicated, but not named, on Robert Brooke's Potomac map, 1737. This third George Mason was drowned in the Potomac in 1735, but he appears on Brooke's map in 'Colo. Mason's Island' opposite the mouth of Rock Creek and 'Col. Mason's Fish House' on the north bank of Occoquan.

[2] See Dr. Slaughter's argument from the Truro vestry book, supplemented by the Havemeyer letters in Conway, *Barons*, 62 ff. There is confirmation of the fact that Augustine Washington was living on Little Hunting Creek in 1737 by the indication there of 'Capt. Washington's' on Robert Brooke's Potomac map.

[3] See *post*, p. 341.

[4] The evidence is assembled in Conway, *Barons*, 105; Wilstach, *Mt. Vernon*, 17. The location is indicated by the name 'Washington' on the Jefferson and Brooke map of 1747.

[5] Rowland, i, 55, 57. The location is not indicated on the Jefferson and Brooke map of 1747.

[6] See *post*, p. 302. In local usage, as the designation of a neighbourhood (almost a civilization, if not a 'state of mind'), Chotank came eventually to include, with the lower end of old Stafford (now King George), the upper end of Westmoreland. The entertaining loyalist adventurer, J. F. D. Smyth, *alias* Stuart, made of it the text for a well known gibe in his *Tour in the United States in* 1784: 'After we had passed the noble river Potowmack we entered one of the most agreeable, as well as respectable, settlements in Virginia, named Chotank. In this place Mr. George Washington was born, who has be-

come somewhat distinguished for being at the head of an inactive timid army which never performed a gallant exploit yet have succeeded in their pursuit far beyond even their most sanguine expectations or hopes.'

[7] *Voyages d'un Francois* (1687), p. 113.

[8] In a dispatch of April 5, 1717, Governor Spotswood reported (*Spotswood Letters*, ii, 227): 'The Inhabitants of our ffrontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as Servants, and being out of their time, settle themselves where land is to be taken up and that will produce the necessarys of Life with little Labour. It is pretty well known what Morals such people bring with them hither, which are not like to be mended by their Scituation, remote from all places of worship; they are so little concern'd about Religion that the Children of many of the Inhabitants of those ffrontier Settlements are 20 and some 30 years of age before they are baptized and some not at all.'

In 1732 when Prince William annoyed Governor Gooch by its turbulence, he wrote (C. O., 5: 1323, p. 23 and *Fulham MSS.*, Virginia, No. 137) to the Lords of Trade animadverting upon the community as consisting of 'People remote from the Seat of Government, always remarkable for their disobedience, mingled with many transported Convicts,' and to the Bishop of London that 'in the Northern Neck the Planters . . . never yet willingly submitted to any laws.'

[9] *The population of Stafford*: The basis of the Virginia poll tax was the tithable and the enumeration for that purpose, usually deliberately under stated, is the only colonial census figure we have. Spotswood reported (*Spotswood Letters*, i, 166) that the fear of a capitation tax made the colony resist all efforts to secure a true enumeration of the inhabitants. By the Revisal of 1705 (Hening, iii, 258) the tithables were defined as 'all male persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards, and all negro, mulatto and Indian women of the age of sixteen years and upwards not being free.' Free women of any age and children of both sexes, free and bond up to the age of sixteen, were thus excluded from the enumeration as well as from taxation. The following table, made up from various sources, must be read with this definition in mind:

1692,	Tithables	in	Stafford	317, *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 68.
1698,	"	"	"	679, *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1701, p. 636.
1699,	"	"	"	708, *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1701, p. 636.
1702,	"	"	"	828, *Va. Mag.*, i, 371; Beverley, (1705)
1722,	"	"	"	1503, *Va. Hist. Reg.*, iv, 19.
1723,	"	"	"	1554, *Va. Hist. Reg.*, iv, 67.
1726,	"	"	"	1800, *Va. Hist. Reg.*, iv, 74.

The Virginia government had a working formula for estimating population, based on the tithables, viz: the total population was assumed to equal the number of all tithables, plus three times the number of white tithables (see Gooch in C. O., 5: 1322, p. 119) and it was apparently by this rule that Beverley stated the population of Stafford in 1702 as 2033. As the tithables in the county had no more than doubled by 1724, when Parson Scott said there were only 650 families, it would seem that in that year the population could not have exceeded 4,000.

[10] The second William Fitzhugh (of Eagles Nest) was, indeed, raised to the Council in 1712, but died before he had seen service. It was William Fairfax who first represented the interests of the 'freshes'

in the Council. Appointed in 1743, he sat until his death in 1757, being President when he died; and was succeeded by his son, George William, in 1767.

[11] The earlier names are drawn from the minutes of the Stafford Court, the later from the St. Pauls parish register, 1725-1773, in *Va. Mag.*, viii, 360.

[12] *Dr. Edmond Helder and his tombstone*: In 1865, while the late Moncure D. Conway was living in London, he published in *Frasers Magazine* a pleasant rehearsal of Virginia's links with the mother country, in the course of which he averred that in the churchyard of St. George's Church at Fredericksburg there was a tombstone bearing an inscription to the effect that it covered the grave of one who had been a pallbearer for William Shakespeare. Literary London at once challenged this statement, whereupon Dr. Conway, admitting that his authority was merely a recent letter from home, began an investigation. He found at once that there was no such tombstone in St. George's churchyard and that the statement on which he had relied was derived from a newspaper story. Finally he traced it to its origin. Mr. C. J. Brown, of Byfield, Massachusetts, sent him a copy of an inscription taken from an old tombstone on Potomac Creek, upon which Mr. Brown had stumbled in 1862, while serving in the Sixth New Hampshire Volunteers. Mr. Jones testified that it was a crude carving, spaced with inebriated 'S's and difficult of decipherment, but that he had, to his own somewhat doubtful satisfaction, made it out to read as follows:

> 'Here lies intered the body of Edmond Helder, Prectitioner in physick and chyrurgery. Born in Bedfordeshire, Obitt, March 11, 1618, Atatis Sua Y6.'

There was no mention of Shakespeare on the stone, that being altogether imaginative newspaper embroidery upon the reported date, 1618. Loyally recanting the statement that he had made in *Frasers Magazine*, but stimulated by the belief that in any event he had come upon 'the oldest English epitaph in the new world,' Dr. Conway persistently pursued the search during the ensuing twenty years. In September, 1884, he combed the banks of Potomac Creek and was rewarded by coming on a characteristic Virginia phenomenon, a survival of that 'profane custom of burying in their gardens and orchards' as the Bishop of London was pleased to call it in 1677 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1677-80, p. 117). Built into the chimney of a modern kitchen he found the stone Mr. Jones had read, but alas, all the inscription had been defaced except the two first letters, 'HE.' Local discussion then developed that several residents in the neighbourhood remembered to have read the inscription and felt able generally to confirm Mr. Jones' copy. And so the old stone was removed to Fredericksburg, where it is still exhibited as the original of 'the oldest English epitaph in the new world.' Dr. Conway finally recorded the story in an entertaining magazine article, which he entitled 'Hunting a Mythical Pall Bearer' (*Harpers Magazine*, lxxii,21). Hence the inscription was reproduced by Neill, (*Virginia Carolorum*, 1886, p. 91).

There is more than a memory of Mr. Pickwick's studies in epigraphy to make one skeptical of this date, 1618. While not impossible, it is not probable. In 1618 ships from Jamestown were trading for corn with the indians resident on Potomac Creek, but it was thirty years later before there was any English plantation there. As, moreover, the name Helder does not appear, among the chirurgeons or otherwise, on any of the lists of the earliest adventurers to Virginia, the

candid mind is persuaded that there must have been some mistake in reading Dr. Helder's date. It was more likely to have been 1678 than 1618. An amateur antiquarium on the lookout for marvels might easily decipher a '1' out of the '7' of a weathering carving.

But it is not necessary to rely altogether on negative evidence to justify such philosophic doubt. In the earliest surviving court order book of Stafford County it appears that on June 12, 1690, Matthew Keene sued William Downing in trespass, alleging that he, the plaintiff, '*together with Edmond Helder late of this County decd.*' had taken title as joint tenants, by deed of John Peake, dated November 14, 1672, to a certain dividend of land patented in 1668 by said John Peake [*Patents,* 5: 179], lying near the head of Potomac Creek on the northwest side thereof; that the said Edmond Helder having died without any partition, he, the said Keene, was entitled to the whole dividend by right of suvivorship; but that William Downing was in possession of a part of the land and refused to attorn. At another term of Stafford Court later in the same year (September 10, 1690) William Downing was sued again, this time by one Mary, daughter of William Russell and wife of James Gallohough (perhaps a sister of the William Russell of Elk Marsh, see *post,* p. 204), who alleged 'that *Doctor Edmond Helder* by his last will and testament in writing' did bequeath to her certain cattle with their increase, and did appoint that she 'should live with William Downing and Mary his wife till the time of her marriage;' that the said William Downing 'being named sole executor in the said will did prove the same,' but refuses to give Mary her cattle although she had complied with Dr. Helder's stipulation, had lived with Downing and his wife and had married with their consent. This William Downing, who was thus doubtless responsible for the latin of Dr. Helder's tombstone, appears frequently in the surviving Stafford records of the end of the seventeenth century, serving on juries and as 'coronet,' later captain, of militia. When the Northern Neck grant books were opened by Philip Ludwell in 1690, he began to take out, by way of confirmation of previous Virginia patents which he had acquired, a series of proprietary grants dated from 1690 to 1711, all relating to lands on Potomac Creek.

The Stafford will book of this time is missing and so we cannot invoke Dr. Helder to speak for himself, but the evidence cited above is nevertheless sufficient to justify any court in finding as a fact that there was living in Stafford as late as 1672 an Edmond Helder who would answer the description of a 'prectitioner in physick and chyrurgery.' To complete the identification it remains then necessary only to find such an one who would also answer to the description of having been 'born in Bedfordshire.' There was a family of Helder, *alias* Spicer, who were seated in Hertfordshire *temp.* Philip and Mary, one of whom purchased, in 1650, the manor of Little Staughton in the County of Bedfordshire (*Victoria County History,* Bedfordshire, iii, 165). Here there lived prior to 1668 one Richard Helder whose will, dated February 24, 1668 (proved in the local Archdeaconry Court), describes him as 'of Little Staughton in the Countie of Bedford, Gentleman.' The parish register of Little Staughton, 1635-1657, is missing and the local record of the baptism of this Richard Helder's children is lacking in consequence, but his will testifies that he raised so large a family of sons and daughters that he found it expedient to bind out several of them as apprentices. One of them, named Edmond, thus became a physician.

In the seventeenth century the Apothecaries Company of London was authorized by its royal charter, to license 'practitioners in physic.'

The records of that Society, at Apothecaries Hall (*Minutes of the Apothecaries Company*, MS., vol. ii, folios 38, 65) reveal the following entries:

1657, June 11, 'Edmund Helder, son of Richard Helder of Staughton, co. Hunts, gent., examined, approved and bound to William Royston for 8 years. Fee 4s 8d.'

1662, Sept. 3, 'Edmund Helder the late apprentice of William Royston, having sued out his indentures, is turned over to Mr. Skelton for the remainder of his time.'

It happens that the reference to the residence of Richard Helder in this record of the Apothecaries Company is an error. At the time that record was made there were, as there still are, two parishes of Staughton. One, the better known, is Great Staughton, which lies on the southwest border of Huntingdonshire, where it adjoins that parish of Little Staughton in the county of Bedford, in which, as we have shown, Richard Helder lived. We may, then, accept as correct the statement on the Virginia tombstone of Richard Helder's son Edmond that the latter was 'born in Bedfordshire,' but there can no longer be any doubt that that tombstone commemorated one who not only died, but was born, many years after 1618.

See *W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 195, for Dr. Tyler's demonstration of a similar misreading of the tombstone of William Harrys on Neapsco ('1608' for '1698'), which had been given currency by Charles Campbell in his *History of Virginia* and was repeated by Alexander Brown in his *Genesis*, i, 150. It may be noted that the present editor has found in the Stafford records several new testimonies sustaining Dr. Tyler's identification of Harrys *alias* Harris.

[13] *Longevity in Stafford*: Despite the change of climate, many of the earliest settlers in Virginia attained great age. Beverley (1705, i, 97) tells an interesting story of an Haroun-al-Raschid adventure of Governor Andros, which, as it relates to Stafford may be here reproduced:

'Sir Edmund Andros being upon a progress one Summer, call'd at a poor Man's House in Stafford County for Water. There came out to him an ancient Woman and with her a lively brisk lad about Twelve Years old. The Lad was so ruddy and fair that his Complection gave the Governor a curiosity to ask some questions concerning him: and to his great Surprise was told, That he was the son of that Woman at 76 Years of Age. His Excellency, smiling at this Improbability, enquir'd what sort of Man had been his Father. To this the good Woman made no reply, but instantly ran, and led her Husband to the Door, who was then over 100 years old. He confirm'd all that the Woman had said about the Lad, and, notwithstanding his great age, was strong in his Limbs and Voice, but had lost his sight. The Woman for her part was without Complaint and seem'd to retain a Vigor very uncommon for her years. Sir Edmund was so well pleased with this extraordinary Account that, after having made himself known to them, he offer'd to take care of the Lad: But they would by no means be perswaded to part with him. However, he gave them 20 pounds.'

[14] After the Culpeper proprietary was made effective about 1677, no lands in the Northern Neck were granted on the Virginia basis of head rights, but the 'rights' of immigrants to the Northern Neck were sold to be used in Virginia proper. Spotswood fulminated against this abuse (*Spotswood Letters*, i, 153).

[15] Hugh Jones describes the practice of 'the Indian invention of pounding Hommony in Mortars burnt in the Stump of a Tree, with a Log for a Pestle hanging at the end of a pole, fix'd like the Pole

of a Laver.' It was not until 1691 that Richard Gibson built on Quantico what was apparently the first public water mill in Stafford.

[16] *Voyages d'un Francois* (1687), p. 74.

[17] In August, 1700, Governor Nicholson reported to the Commissioners of the Customs (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1700, p. 499), 'There is another county on our side of Potomack River which is Stafford (of which I made Capt. Rice Hooe, a member of Assembly, Naval Officer) and is the upper part, and lies upon the river for nigh 80 miles: and altho there be few ships that ride there, yet a great many sloops, etc., trade there from ships.'

[18] See his land grant on Quantico in 1708, *N. N.*, 3: 189.

[19] *Voyages d'un Francois* (1687), p. 65. *Cf.* Schoepf and, later, Dabney.

[20] *The Hand-hoed Agriculture of Colonial Virginia*: Hartwell, Chilton and Blair (1697) give the explanation of the lack of ploughs in the seventeenth century as due to the fact that the characteristic practice of progressively clearing small units of forest land to enlarge the planted area of an estate did not include grubbing out the tree stumps, so that the use of the plough was impracticable during the long years the stumps were rotting. There is ample testimony to support this. Thus the Huguenot gentleman says (*Voyage d'un Francois*, 1687, p. 71): 'The Virginians do not know what it is to work the land with cattle; they hoe all their crops.' Writing in his diary in May, 1776, Landon Carter said (*W. & M. Quar.*, xvii, 17): 'I hear abundance about Plows . . . . My father never used a Plow in the five years from 1727 to '32 in which he died, except one he indulged me with at home to make a little farm of turnips, cabbage and tares . . . and yet who exceeded him?'

These testimonies do not mean, however, that there were no ploughs in the colony. There are inventories to contradict that deduction, e. g., those of Mrs. Frances Jones in 1657 and of Francis Wright in 1713, cited in *Tyler's Quarterly*, v, 209; iv, 184.

[21] *Riese* (1783) tr. Morrison, ii, 32. See also *post*, p. 269.

[22] Philip Fithian (*Journals and Letters*, 1767-1774) explains the temporary construction of the characteristic worm fence with the statement that when an old field was turned out the fences were removed to the new cultivated land.

[23] Under the act of 1691, Hening, iii, 75.

[24] The patents of 1653 testify, e. g., to 'John Bennet of Nominy, Carpenter,' and 'William Strowder, of Nominy, Cooper' (*Patents*, 3: 3; 4: 283).

[25] Beverley gives this popular potation the contemptuous description of 'mobby punch.'

[26] *Fox hunting* with hounds, which has long been the characteristic sport in the hill country of old Prince William, had been naturalized in Virginia before 1739. Writing to a correspondent in England on May 21, 1739 (*Va. Mag.*, vii, 172), John Clayton (the botanist) testifies 'some hunt the foxes with hounds as you do in England.'

[27] *History and Present State* (1705), iv, 75.

[28] *Va. Mag.*, xxiv, 42.

[29] David Wickliff was conspicuous in this trade in 1671. See *W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 182, for his report on 'John Lord's New England mare' and Parson Waugh's excuse for not attending court because both his horses had 'gown into the woods with a company of wild horses.'

Augustine Herrman, 1670.

CHAPTER NINE

Bacon's Rebellion in Stafford

MEMORIES of the American Revolution of 1776 have coloured the glasses through which the most recent school of American history has studied the Virginia rebellion of 1676. The tendency has been to exalt to heroic proportions the motives and the actions of those who followed Nathaniel Bacon. Mere rhetoric does not, however, disguise the sordid detail of the events as recorded by the contemporary annalists. Particularly is this true of the few glimpses they give us of the pioneers of old Prince William at that time. Although the troubles had their origin in Stafford, the scene soon shifted and there is little purely local material on which to estimate, impartially, the character and the state of mind of the Potomac settlements during this exciting period. We are practically confined on the one hand to the contemporary official opinion which described[1] Stafford as 'that ill affected parte of the Country,' and on the other to the prudent protestations of the inhabitants themselves, stating their grievances after peace was restored, viz:[2]

'Wee are altogether Ignorant of the first Sparkle and alsoe of the Incendiaries and Motives that blew it into such a flame, that hath almost ruined and destroyed the Country; there being very few in this County tainted with it."[2]

Doubtless, this last statement was true when it was written, but it is a subject for historical enquiry, made difficult by the loss of local records, as to how far it was true during the days of Bacon's ascendancy. We can only venture a guess that the contemporary official opinion was not altogether unjust; for a generation later, as we have noted, Governors Spotswood and Gooch paint a similar picture of the people of the region, and we know that, in the interval, the lawless outbreak in Stafford at the time of the Revolution of 1688 found fuel in unsatisfied memories of the days of Bacon's Rebellion. If no

Stafford man attracted the implacable notice of Sir William Berkeley and so old Prince William can point to no resident martyr who had the honour to be hanged by him, it does appear that at least twenty of our pioneers found it expedient, whether or not they were tainted with Baconian principles, to claim the protection of the general amnesty offered by the Crown Commissioners in 1677.[3]

During the disturbances Stafford had, then, her full share of activity, if not of credit. Her men marched under the half breed Col. Giles Brent in Bacon's futile second indian expedition and though they accomplished nothing, were later declared to have deserved well of their country;[4] but when it came to civil war and their colonel lead them out again against Bacon himself, the part of Stafford certainly was not heroic. The author of the Burwell MS.[5] highly diverted himself in picturing the preparation for conflict, particularly of the impedimenta of Bacon's army. Modern taste may not admit of quotation of the raciest part of this robust Rabelaisian humour, but here is the substance, which is lively enough: After Bacon had burned Jamestown,

'one Capt. Potter arives in post haste from Rappahanock, with news that Coll. Brent was advancing fast upon him (with a resalution to fight him) at the head of a 1000 men, what horse, what foote, if he durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the Letter but he commands the Drums to beate, for the gathering his soulders under there Collours; which being don he aquaints them with Brent's numbers and resalutions to fight, and then demands here: which was cherefully answered in the affirmative with showtes and acclamations, while the Drums thunders a March to meet the promised conflict. The Soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening themselves of all impediments to expeditious order and good decipling, excepting there Oathes and Wenches . . . Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days journey (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his Laberours before they came to there works) but he meets news in post hast, that Brent's Men (not Soulders) were all run away and left him to shift for himselfe. For they haveing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out o'th Towne they began to be afeard (if they should com with in his reach) that he might beat them out of there lives, and so resolved not to come neare him.

Collonell Brent was mightily astonish'd at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest man and ruin'd the fairest estate in Virginia: which was, by there cowerdize or disaffections, expos'd to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after there owne concernes and lives then to take notes, either of his vallour or estate, or of there owne Credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do or say, contrary to there owne fancies.'

It was after this adventure that Bacon recruited those active adherents in Stafford who were later pardoned. Their record in the field may well have been consistent with their service under Col. Giles Brent. It was probably confined to the satisfaction of long nursed grudges by petty depredations committed upon the property of the local loyalists.[6]

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

[1] Sir John Berry, in *Va. Mag.*, v, 66.

[2] Stafford grievances in *Winder Abstracts* (Va. State Library), ii, 236. Those who signed were Richd Gibson, Thomas Humfry, Edward Humston, Anthony Buckner, Charles Elliott, William Norwood, William Birch, Thomas Barton and John Mathews. None of them was then of the commission of the peace but the paper was attested by Samuel Hayward, Clerk of Stafford.

[3] Minutes of Stafford Court, March 14, 1676/77 in *Winder Abstracts* (Va. State Library), ii, 235. Those pardoned were: 'Capt. Roger Marshall, Simon Thomas, Chas. Hicks, Mr. Wm. Wilford, John Wheatley, Thos. French, Mr. Jonathan Randall, and James Whitman, wch two last entered into bond and gave security, Nathan Thornton, Tho. Merrideth, Tho. Walter, Richd. Wall, John Holmes, Tho. Baich, Joseph Baxter, Evan Jones, Mr. Will Kay, Steph. Haward, Wm. Downeham, Joel Stribling.' There was, moreover, one recalcitrant who refused to take the oath, Jonah Revett.

[4] Hening, ii, 403.

[5] Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings* (1866), 299. The original is now once more in the library of the Virginia Historical Society.

[6] See the record of the destruction of the Westmoreland property of Nicholas Spencer, Richard Lee and John Washington, in *Va. Mag.*, v, 66. The Stafford court minutes of the time are missing but we may fairly assume that they contained similar records in respect to the Brents and Masons, with self-revealing excuses like that of Daniel White of Westmoreland. He testified that his part in these depredations was actuated by a sense of past injustice done him by 'honourlicke men whom I have not bin over fond in adoring, not as they were majistrates but as they were proud men.' *W. & M. Quar.*, ii, 47.

CHAPTER TEN

Parson Waugh's Tumult

THE embers of Bacon's rebellion smoldered on the Potomac for some years after order had been officially restored in 1677. This was due partly to the undisciplined character of the frontier population but chiefly to the diligent stirring of discontent by that 'rank Baconist,' Josias Fendall, during the years of his exile from Maryland. In July, 1681, Lord Baltimore testified[1] that by such influences the people of Stafford were 'as ripe and readdy for an other Rebellion as every they were,' that 'this Fendall has great influence on and interest in most of the rascalls in the North part of Virginia, where he was for some time when he was forced to absent himself from Maryland.' It was the moment when new civil war was expected in England following the dissolution, in March, 1681, of a passionate parliament, the moment of Shaftesbury and Monmouth, of *Absalom and Achitophel,* and Baltimore charged that Fendall, counting on such civil war, was inciting his followers with the promise of a time coming when 'there would be no establisht laws in England and so he and his crew might possess themselves here and in Virginia of what Estates they pleased.' Baltimore was so disturbed that he even suspected the loyalty of Secretary Spencer because that able gentleman had recently entertained Fendall at Nomini,[2] little realizing that Spencer was to succeeded in maintaining order where he himself was to fail.

As all the world knows, there was no civil war in England in 1681. Monmouth's rebellion proved only a flash in the pan. The Whigs had patiently to wait for a more propitious day, as did the 'rank Baconists' in Virginia. But both at home and in the colony there was an uninterrupted attrition of political opinion which served to clarify the issues and to draw party lines.

A history of politics in colonial Virginia is still sadly to

seek. Beverley[3] charges Nicholson with introducing 'the detestable Politicks of governing by Party, by which Feuds and Heart burnings have been Kindled in the Minds of the People; and Friendship, Hospitality and Good Neighbourhood have been extreamly discouraged.' The state papers of Spotswood's consulship enable us to recognise all the stigmata of this characterization in the contests between what had then assumed the names as well as the characters of 'the Governors and Countrys partys;'[4] but it is probable that there was a 'country party' in Virginia at least as long as there was one in England, that is to say, well back into the reign of Charles II.

The nineteenth century historians generally seek to interpret the proceedings of all the Colonial Assemblies retrospectively in terms of the American revolution. They put their emphasis on the occasions when there was resistance of any assertion of the Crown prerogative, but in the next breath, inconsistently enough, rehearse the cavalier constitution of Virginia society and the loyalty of the people. It is probable that both these sentiments were constant, certainly after Bacon's rebellion, and that they connoted even in the seventeenth century recognised, if not formally organized, political parties. As the existence of such parties explains the proceedings of Byrd and Ludwell in the Council and of 'a Conway, a Corbin or a Marable'[5] in the Assembly in 1715, so it might explain the adventures of the first Robert Beverley and of Thomas Milner at the period we are now considering more convincingly than any page of Burk or Campbell. It is a fair conjecture that these able gentlemen were neither more nor less than the leaders of a nacent Whig party, not altogether unrelated to that then consolidating in England. In Stafford certainly there is evidence of the division of the community on such party lines at this time.

Soon after he established himself in Stafford about 1670, young William Fitzhugh began to take a leading part in the affairs of the community.[6] A Tory and a high churchman, he represented Stafford in the Assembly at the time of Bacon's rebellion and for some years thereafter. But in 1680, when Fendall was in Stafford, Fitzhugh was beaten for election by

Martin Scarlet of Burbage's Neck, who was later an avowed Whig. Thereafter Scarlet and Fitzhugh alternated in office and what was evidently party feeling ran high between them and their respective supporters, culminating in 1686 in a mutual preferment of formal charges of malversation in office. As nothing came of either charge, despite the noise both made in the Assembly, it may be fairly assumed that, like many such today, these proceedings were mere moves on the political chess board.[7] At all events they serve to explain the inflamability of Stafford at the time of the 'glorious revolution' against James II. The agitation then set on foot, as we are now to relate, failed to develop the proportions of the contemporary 'Protestant revolution' in Maryland, to which it was closely related,[8] not so much for want of intention as because Nicholas Spencer had a firmer grasp on the reins of local government than did the deputy governors of Maryland.

In March, 1688/9,[9] while the people of Virginia and Maryland were still uncertain as to the course of events in England, the Maryland indians began to swarm across the Potomac, saying they were going hunting, as was their annual custom, in the Stafford backwoods. As it turned out this was literally true, but at this particular season the good people of Stafford, politically panicky anyway and feeling always, as frontier people do, the dread of the unknown and of the wilderness, regarded the movement with suspicion. In such a state of mind Burr Harrison[10] of Chipawansic was fishing on the river off Potomac Creek and got a haul destined to shake Maryland, as well as Stafford, to the foundations. Returning home, he told his news to his neighbours, John West[11] and Ralph Platt and together, threshing over some of Josias Fendall's old straw,[12] they built up a theory connecting the latest news with the movement of the Maryland indians. Accordingly, they went before the Stafford Court and reported, whereupon Harrison was ordered to examine the indians and report again. He apparently got most of his colouring matter from a Piscataway named Wawoostough, who was later denounced by his Emperor, as 'a runnaway from them and an Idle person.'[13] On such testimony,

pieced out elsewhere, Harrison made up, in a deposition, a startling record, viz:

'That on Saturday last he met with a boate goeing up the River that came lately from St. Maries and after inquiring what newes in those parts they told him that Coll. Pye was lately heard to say that he did hope before Easter day to wash his hands in the protestant blood and that if he had the prince of Orange there he would thrust his sword up to the Beame in him. And they did further informe the said Harris that there were two or three masters of shipp dayly looking out for Coll. Pye to carry him on board shipp in order to transport him for England.'

But what followed was more disturbing:

'And further the said Harris declared there yesterday came over from Pomonky with him an Indian called Chicarter, a warr captaine that was going to Capt. Brent, and told him Capt. Brent had sent for him, and further the said Indian told him that they did heare the Englishmen in England had cut off their King's head and that there were abundance of dutchmen comeing in a great many ships and that they should bring abundance of Match Coats and other things with them . . . that the King of Piscattaway hath hired the Seneca Indians by reason that they might have the better opportunity to kill the people of Virginia [telling them] that they must make haste and Kill the protestants before the shipping did come in for after the shipping came they will then Kill the papists and then they would Kill all the Indians.'

This roorback was at once spread broadcast among the people, not only of Stafford but of Maryland. Across the Potomac it grew with the food it fed on. John Addison of Maryland wrote to John West that he heard that 9,000 French and Senecas had landed at Capt. Bourne's upon the Cliffs of Anne Arundel and had murdered Bourne and his family, wherefore he invited instant help from Virginia. Another Marylander, John Courts, wrote to Lawrence Washington that he heard that 10,000 'foreign indians' had inforted at the head of Patuxent. The Maryland authorities kept their heads and took prompt action, which soon allayed the panic north of the Poto-

mac. All that was necessary was to establish and publish the fact that there were no Senecas in Maryland.

But in Stafford there was another story. There the people abandoned their plantations and arrayed themselves in arms. A Maryland officer reported that 'the people enfort themselves [not only] in Stafford County but all over that Collony, from the bordering part of which we doe dayly here the beating of drums and volleyes of shott.' The Maryland authorities apparently interpreted this activity as preparations for an invasion of their territory. They were even moved to charge that the hope of plunder in Maryland was the real motive for starting the agitation.[14] But no such invasion was contemplated. Stafford had already concentrated on her own affairs: she had caught the infection of a disease then endemic in most of the English colonies in America.[15]

The Brents, who had lived in Stafford for many years, were Catholics. They had been discreet in their relations with their protestant neighbours, and had never been molested. Indeed, in 1668, the Stafford County Court gave the first Giles Brent a certificate[16] that they had had '21 years' experience of his fidelity in not seducing any persons to the Roman Catholic religion.' But Burr Harrison's news from Maryland offered an opportunity for fanatical agitation and there was one in Stafford ready to take full advantage of it.

John Waugh had then been parson of Potomac (later known as Overwharton) parish[17] for at least twenty years. He came from the north of England and was a man of education and parts, but a natural agitator. He had been suspended at least once from his ministerial function for violating the law and was constantly quarreling with his neighbours and the local authorities,[18] but he seems to have had a strong hold on the majority of his parishoners. His cloth did not deter him from active participation in politics. He aligned himself with Martin Scarlet against William Fitzhugh and preached Whig doctrine in opposition to the Tory influence among the local gentry. In religion, as might be expected, he was what was called at the time 'of enthusiastic principles,' meaning evangelicanism mingled with puritanism, and he courted popularity.

Egged on by his son-in-law, the second George Mason,[19] Waugh's sermons now stirred the community to frenzy. George Brent, of Woodstock, implicated by Burr Harrison's testimony, undoubtedly had relations with Maryland indians but, so far as the record developed, these relations had nothing whatever to do with politics. But being like his uncle Giles, a Catholic and so now under a new suspicion, George Brent became on a sudden the target of a passionate popular attack.[20] A sea captain then in the Potomac observed[21] that 'the Stafford men were wholly intent to kill, rob and burn what Capt. Brent had.'

In this crisis, the members of the Virginia Council resident in the Northern Neck, Messrs. Spencer, Lee and Allerton, being under no illusion, showed their eminent good sense. Secretary Spencer wrote[22] that 'to take off the clamours against Capt. Brent and to justify his innocency, wee ordered his house to be searched for Arms and Amunicon and directed him to take up his being at Coll. Fitzhugh's, where the people might be assured he could not converse with any designing any ill against the inhabitants.' But, as it happened, Fitzhugh, Brent's law partner, though protestant, was an out-spoken Tory, and the choice of an asylum was perhaps not happy. Although the search developed that Brent did not have in his house sufficient arms for his own defence, association with him put even Fitzhugh in danger. The latter wrote,[23] soon after, that he had his 'house most part of the time constantly thronged and in daily expectation of being plundered by the Rabble, and once of being treacherously murdered.'

Over these troubled waters Parson Waugh rode the whirlwind. Beginning as a colonial Titus Oates, under the inspiration of his fellow enthusiast, John Coode, the whilom parson of Maryland who was about to lead a successful revolution in that province, Waugh gradually developed into what appeared for a moment to be a menace to the Virginia government. From general thunder against the Catholics, he evolved the more dangerous thesis that there 'being no King in England, there was no Government here,' and that the people should remain in arms in their own defence.[24] This advice, smacking significantly of the doctrine which Lord Baltimore charged Fendall

with preaching in Stafford in 1681, was followed; the alarm spread to the Rappahannock settlements, and serious consequences were averted only by renewed vigorous action on the part of Messrs. Spencer, Allerton and Lee. Assuming the authority of the entire council for the emergency, they anticipated the formal proclamation of the accession of William and Mary,[25] arrested the ring leaders, Waugh, Harrison and West, forbade the parson to preach, and suspended George Mason from the command of the Stafford militia.[26]

Parson Waugh was eventually brought before the General Court at Jamestown and there, as William Fitzhugh records,[27] 'made a publick & humble acknowledgment, by a set form drawn up by the Court and ordered to be Recorded, and is appointed to do the same in our County Court . . . with a hearty penitence for his former faults and a promised obedience for the future, which he sincerely prays for the accomplishment of and for the sake of his Coat to do so.'

With this submission by its leader, the tumult died down as suddenly as it had begun. The danger was over but Parson Waugh himself did not long remain quiet. The surviving records of the Stafford Court reveal one more incident of his congenital *intransigeance*.

The election for burgesses in 1691 seems to have been particularly bitter. Scarlet and Fitzhugh were again the candidates and Scarlet prevailed. In doing so he grievously hurt his opponent's feelings. Fitzhugh complained to the Stafford Court with hot indignation that Scarlet had asserted publicly during the canvass 'that neither Law nor Justice had been adm'r'd in this County since I sat upon the Bench for nothing was Law or Justice but what I [Fitzhugh] said was soe.' Resenting this imputation, Fitzhugh reminded the Court that he had been their colleague since 1683, when he was commissioned second in rank to the first George Mason, that, although after the death of that worthy in 1686 he had succeeded as presiding magistrate, he had always polled the Court before assuming to speak for it. In this situation, he complained, Scarlet's charge did not merely reflect upon him but was so heinous an insult to the Court

itself that out of respect for that cornerstone of local government, as well as in assertion of his own dignity, he felt compelled to refuse to sit on the bench again until Scarlet had received 'condign punishment.' The Court was evidently embarrassed, for several of them were Scarlet's political allies, but Scarlet himself came to their support. From his own seat on the bench he made a vigorous and manly answer and ultimately assured Fitzhugh that he had no intention of reflecting upon his character. Much relieved, the Court again summoned Fitzhugh to preside over its deliberations, whereupon he wrote them another letter, now turning his guns on Parson Waugh. This entertaining, if somewhat incoherent, communication was duly spread on the minutes and certified to the Governor, as follows:[28]

Gentlemen, My Longe absence, now this four Courts together, occasioned as most of you know, or I dare say have been creditably informed, through occasioned absence or Violent Sickness all but the first court in June; and why I did not then sit my Letter to the Court I hope fully clears and Mr. Scarlets acknowledgment and Sorrow, which he sent me by Mr. Hayward, for his Passionate words made me immediately forget the same, and did design to have resumed my Place which fell out to be the second Wednesday in August; but before that time my business called me to the head of the bay, from whence I returned not till the last of August accompanied with a Raging feaver constantly attended with Vomitings which without intermissions violently held me till the Court in September was over, afterwards I had some intermission and hopes of Recovery; but these hopes were soon over for my distemper reseised me again as Violent as ever; so that the Latter end of that week before your October court, and the week your court was, I was againe so ill as not to Venture out of my chamber nay for some days hardly out of my bed; now thank God its Pretty well over and I find myself hearty and Strong considering my late Circumstances; and therefore I know you'll think it reasonable to Expect me at this Court, and Truly I should gladly wait on you and Joyne with you in discharge of that Service we all owe to their Majesties and the Countrey; but I am deterred by an Information that I had not by uncertain Report but by a general and Credible Relation of a most mischevous and dangerous Riot committed by Parson Waugh to your forces and to the judges in Cathedras, telling you as you were a Sitting Court, the Countrey then in

the Court house, as you were then Taxing him for his ill behaviour in soe rudely & violently Siding with and defending that Fellow Darnell[29] and some other great Enormities that he had committed in the Court house yard, he immediately answers (not regarding that you were then their Majesties Court and then sitting and the Countrey Present Expecting your dispatch of their businesse, that he came there to Correct the Irregular Proceedings of your Court, than which I think a greater affront and Indignity was never Put upon a Court; also he said in full hearing of your worps. as I am informed and of the Countrey then Present that I was a Papist and did not deserve the Kings Protection, which you know is enough to let the Rabble to do a mischief to the Person so Taxt, besides many other Violent and ill behaviours of his during the whole days first Sitting; which Violent actions of his were neither then Punished nor by the Court represented to the Lieut. Governour and Councel nor to the Attorney General; but Perhaps you may say the Lieut. Governour has had a relacon. thereof and I'me apt to believe so too, that they may be reported to his honour. But, May it Please your worships, you must think, and I have such honorable thoughts of him as I cannot think otherwise than, that he would in all his actions Proceed Legally and think rightly and Justly of every man till the contrary be proved either by record or evidence and not give any great heed to uncertain Reports, well knowing that Reports are made according to the affections of the Party relating, as if from an Enemy; a little fault will be aggravated to a very great crime and if from a friend a great crime made a very Small fault; for he cannot reasonably nor honourably think otherwise of the Lieut. Governour upon the hearing of this relation if he has heard it, but that he must argue to himself or Perhaps to the Council too, this must be a malicious Report. Perhaps the Person might Speak a Peevish word and his Enemies have aggravated it to this height which a Bedlamist would never have Committed, 'noe noe, he will say, I can never believe i,t what for a man of Reason a man of Learning and a Clergyman too and one that not long since has been at considerable charge and Trouble for Passionate Expressions of a farr inferiour nature to this, certainly the relation is uncertaine; and besides may he say it may reasonably be Supposed it is not soe, for surely I should have then heard of his Punishment, and by the greatness thereof have fudged of the heinousness of his crimes; or if the court had omitted or doubted to inflict a present Punishment on him they would certainly have represented it to me, or to me and the Council or at least to the Attorney General to have had a

Vindication of soe great an indignity, Especially being their Majesties Justices and then Sitting in Curia, tho they might have Passed it by in their Private Capacities; But Passing with Impunity there and noe representation made here, nor application made to the Attorney Generall makes me believe the report as hyperbollical as generally reports are Carried up and downe here.' Thus I apprehend the Lieut. Governour and Councils sentiments must be Supposed if they have heard it; and now Gent. to come and apply it Particularly I must tell you my thoughts, that I doubt your Inst. Sitting your Selves; for my self Such words as he Spake openly of me, may Endanger to Throw me upon the Fury of the Rabble, but to be sure can never admit me a Quiet Sitting and to maintain the dignity of the Place I sit in as I ought and will, or will never sit; for he that went so farr without committing a Crime, for crimes are known by their Punishment, may boldly dare to Proceed further; from the Trouble of which I pray God keep you and him from the wickednesse of Perpetrating. Thus Gent. I have rendered you the occasions of my former absence and the reasons that I cannot be Present with you at this Court according to my wishes I beg Pardon for my Length & Conclude myself your Worships ready and Obedient Servant.

Will. Fitzhugh.

It does not appear whether Fitzhugh ever again took his seat on the bench, but henceforth, certainly during the remainder of his life, Malachi Peale was the presiding magistrate. Fitzhugh seems, however, to have held on to the county standard; for twice, in February, 1691/2, and again in November, 1693, the court ordered it to be removed from Fitzhugh's house to that of Peale.

Martin Scarlet died a member of the Assembly in 1695.[30] Parson Waugh apparently could not find another candidate whom he deemed capable of taking up Scarlet's political mantle, for at the ensuing election in 1699, he got himself returned as a burgess for Stafford. This was a daring attempt to set aside a political precedent in Virginia, and it failed. Following the practice of the English parliament, which prohibited a clerk to sit in that body, and the Assembly's own previous determination to the same effect, Waugh was promptly unseated by the Assembly; 'being a Clergyman,' they said, he was 'disabled from Serving as a Burgess.'[31] This is our last record of Parson Waugh.

He gave up his cure, certainly the frontier duty, before 1702[32] and died in 1706.[33]

William Fitzhugh also was now dead.[34] The passing of these three vigorous personalities, Waugh, Fitzhugh and Scarlet, marks the end at once of the century and the chapter of pioneer life in Chotank.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

[1] In a letter from Maryland to the President of the Privy Council, 19 July, 1681, printed (from C. O. papers) in Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 285.

[2] See the depositions in *Md. Archives,* xv, 364, ff.

[3] *History and Present State* (1705), iv, 76.

[4] *Spotswood Letters,* ii, 341.

[5] *Journals H. B.,* 1712-1726, p. 169.

[6] There is a documented record of his career in *Va. Mag.,* vii, 197. His invaluable letter book has survived to throw many side lights on Virginia civilization at this time.

[7] *Journals H. B.,* 1659-1693, p. 268, ff; *Legislative Journals of the Council,* i, 110; *Va. Mag.,* ii, 131; xix, 149.

[8] *The Protestant Revolution in Maryland*: The best account of the ousting of Lord Baltimore's government at this time, written with documents not available to the earlier historians, is Dr. B. C. Steiner's paper in American Historical Association *Report,* 1897, p. 279. The Virginia tumult which precipitated it is noticed from tradition in Burk, *History of Va.,* ii, 305, and *DeBowe's Review,* xxx, 89.

If James II had maintained himself on his throne, Rachel might then have usurped Leah's title of the 'Old Dominion.' The weight of the younger sister's official influence was put on the side of caution and the proclamation of William and Mary was delayed until local malcontents had their opportunity, while in Virginia the English revolution was promptly and heartily accepted.

[9] The story is told in detail in the minutes of the Maryland Council, *Md. Archives,* viii, 70 ff.

[10] *Burr Harrison* (1637-1706), whom we have already met on his embassy to Conoy Island in 1699, was the immigrant ancestor of the family of that name ever since leaders in Prince William, Fauquier and Loudoun (See *Va. Mag.,* xxiii, 214 ff.). He was the son of Cuthbert Harrison, of St. Margaret's Westminster (Hayden, 512), and came to Stafford before October 25, 1669, when, with William Harrys and Thomas Baxter, he patented 1,200 acres on 'Asmale Creek that falls into the River Occoquan.' It is a curious fact that in this land grant [*Patents,* 6: 295], as in all the records of his participation in Parson Waugh's disturbance, Burr Harrison's name is spelled Harrys or Harris. It was not until he became a justice of the Stafford court in 1698 that the records show it correctly (e. g., *N. N.,* 2:305). The parish register of St. Margaret's Westminster is, however, conclusive that Burr's father's name was Harrison. The 'William Herris' who

was buried on Neabsco Creek in 1698 'by birth a Britaine, a good soldier, a good husband & kinde neighbour' (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 195), was undoubtedly of this family, probably the 'William Harrys' named in the land grant of 1659.

[11] *The Wests of Fairfax*: The John West of the text was the ancestor of the numerous family of that name who intermarried with the Pearsons, Chapmans, Harrisons of Chipawansic, Dades, Alexanders, Carlyles, Minors and other Potomac families, and were of political importance in Fairfax during Washington's day, as appears from the frequent reference to them in his diaries. The generations of this family are left in some confusion by reason of the loss of records in Stafford, Prince William and Fairfax, but a coherent account of it was compiled in *W. & M. Quar.*, x, 65. This note is an attempt to supplement that pedigree by identifying the more conspicuous Wests according to their public services.

I & II. The John of the text seems to have been the son of John West and Susannah Pearson who is mentioned in a re-grant of Northumberland lands made in 1698 (*N. N.*, 2: 295), and to have lived beyond 1704 in the neck between Dogue Run and Accotink on lands which he had purchased from William Green and which were afterwards included in the Belvoir estate (*Cf.* John West's letter to George Mason of 1702 in *W. & M. Quar.*, x, 65; *N. N.*, 3: 15, dated February 16, 1703/4, by which 'John West, sr.' acquired the escheat lands of Ralph Platt, deceased, i. e., the Platt of the text; and the statement by Hugh West to Prince William court May 26, 1740, *Prince Wm. D. B.*, D: 391, that he was then in possession of lands on Accotink which had been conveyed to 'his ancestor John West' by William Green).

III. It seems to follow that it was a son of this John West[2] (probably married to a daughter of Burr Harrison) who, on December 23, 1706, was named in *N. N.*, 3: 153 first among a group of kinsmen (John West, William Harrison, Thomas Pearson and Thomas Harrison) to whom was granted 4639 acres on the south side of Great Hunting Creek below the fork; being the lands subsequently referred to in Fairfax records as the 'Harrison patent;' and it was probably he also who headed the list of the Truro vestry elected in 1714 (*Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 21). There are scattering records of him in the surviving Prince William records for the years 1738 and 1739, which show that his wife was named Mary and that he owned lands (and perhaps lived) on the north branch of Little Hunting Creek, i. e., where the 'West's Grove' of later generations stood (See *Prince William D. B.*, D: 36, 195). He must have died before 1748, for he was not included in the Truro vestry elected in that year, but the loss of a portion of the earliest Fairfax Will Book has destroyed the record of his will, if any, and with it the evidence of the names of his children.

IV. Lacking the will of John,[3] it is probable, but remains conjecture, that the Hugh, William and John West of the fourth generation, for whom there are many records, were his sons. There is, however, no evidence for the statement (included in the account of this family in the *Richmond Critic*) that Benjamin West (1738-1820) the painter, who was born in Pennsylvania, was of kin to them.

When Hunting Creek warehouse was built in 1731, it was on the lands of Simon Pearson (Hening, iv, 268), but before 1740 those lands had passed to Hugh West (cf. Hening, v, 104, 364), and on the original survey for Alexandria in 1749 (*D. A. R. Magazine*, March,

1921) the site was identified as that of 'Mr. Hugh West's H° and Ware H°.' It was accordingly this Hugh West who was, in 1740, in possession of the original John West's lands on Accotink and subsequently sold them to George William Fairfax, as the latter records in his will. He married his cousin Sibyl, daughter of the William Harrison of the N. N. grant of 1706 (See *Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 331, confirmed by the recitals in the deed of John West, jr. to George Washington, dated September 21, 1772), was a junior vestryman of Truro in 1744 and headed the list at the election of 1748. He sat in the Assembly as a burgess from Fairfax from 1752 to 1754, when he died, leaving a will (*Fairfax W. B.*, B: 74) in which he named his sons, who are enumerated below.

We assume that the William West of 'West's Ordinary' at the head of the Bull Run Mountain (see *post*, p. 494) was a brother of Hugh. The persuasive evidence is that Parson William West, son of Hugh, was recorded in 1749 as 'William West, Jr.;' while Charles West, son of William of 'West's Ordinary,' conveyed to Washington in 1772 a portion of the West lands included in the 'Harrison patent' of 1706.

It was another brother of Hugh, the fourth recorded John, who was the most conspicuous member of this family during the years preceding the Revolution. This John[4] was elected to the Truro vestry in 1749 'vice Jeremiah Bronaugh deceased,' and in 1754 served under Washington as a lieutenant of the Virginia regiment (*Va. Mag.*, i, 279). He was present at the death of Jumonville and was then sent to Winchester in charge of the French prisoners (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, i, 86) with the result that he was deprived of the honour of being at Fort Necessity and of receiving with his colleagues the thanks of the House of Burgesses (*Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 198). Although he was active in recruiting service during that summer (*Letters to Washington*, i, 7, 29), like his Colonel he resigned his commission at the end of the campaign. It appears from *Mrs. Browne's Diary* that he had in 1755 already married his cousin, Margaret, daughter of Simon Pearson and widow of William Henry Terrett (one of the original proprietors of Alexandria), and was then living in Alexandria as a merchant on a lot recorded in his name on the organization of the town. Being for many years a justice of Fairfax, he was named 'first' in the commission of 1770 (Bulletin, Va. State Library, April, 1921) and was the 'Colo. West' of Washington's diary of 1760 and following years. In 1755 he succeeded to his brother Hugh's seat in the Assembly and was re-elected at intervals until 1776, when he retired. He died in 1777, leaving a will (*Fairfax W. B.*, D: 4) in which he named an only son, Roger, who was several times a delegate for Fairfax after the Revolution.

V. The commissions for Fairfax in 1764 and following years include with 'John West,' a 'John West, jr.' who had made his first public appearance in 1758 when he was elected clerk of the Truro Vestry. He was later county surveyor. As appears from the will of John Colvill of Cleesh, he had married that Colvill's daughter before 1755 and was later co-executor with Washington of his wife's uncle, Thomas Colvill. He lived at 'West's Grove,' near Alexandria on the lower road leading to Mount Vernon, where Washington visited him several times on the business of Thomas Colvill's estate. In that connection Washington was later severe in his condemnation of him, but George Mason names him in his will as an 'old and long tryed friend' (Rowland, ii, 471). This 'John West, jr.,' being the fifth

of his name, was the eldest son named in the will of Hugh West, and so a nephew of 'Colo. John West.' On the retirement of the last named he was in turn elected to the Assembly of 1776 and thus sat in the Virginia convention of that year. This was, however, his only legislative service, for, a few months after his uncle, he died in 1777 (His will is *Fairfax W. B.*, D: 25).

In addition to a sister Sibyl, who became the second wife of John Carlyle (Spencer, *Carlyle Family*, p. 18), John West, jr., had several younger brothers who are also named in their father's will, and for all of whom lots in Alexandria were purchased at the 1749 sale on the organiization of the town (*D. A. R. Magazine*, March, 1921), viz: Hugh, a lawyer in Alexandria, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Minor, sat in the Assembly from 1756 to 1758 as a burgess for Frederick, and died in 1767 (His will is *Fairfax W. B.*, C: 7); George, named for his maternal uncle, George Harrison of Fairfax, was surveyor of Fairfax, married a daughter of Townshend Dade, and died in 1786 (His will is *Fairfax W. B.*, E: 134); and William, who took orders in England in 1761 (Fothergill), was the second parson of Fairfax parish (Bishop Meade), and subsequently removed to Maryland, where he served several parishes before he died in 1791 (*Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.*).

VI. The final record of the name here significant is that of John West.[6] He was a son of 'John West, jr.,' and appears in Washington's diary as a candidate for the Assembly in March, 1786, when he was rejected by the interest of Washington, who, smarting under the indignities to which he had been subjected during the administration of the Colvill estate, records the defeat in his diary with evident satisfaction. Eventually, however (in 1806), this John West succeeded to a seat in the legislature, which by that time was almost his hereditary right.

[12] See Spencer's letter to Culpeper, July 25, 1681, quoted *ante*, p.....

[13] *Md. Archives*, viii, 90. Secretary Spencer, in his despatch of April 27, 1689 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, No. 92, p. 32), throws an interesting side light on the situation, in respect to this indian:

'Suspecting the reality of the Indian's information, I ordered him to be secured, not doubting but by re-examination to discover the certainty of the designed forgery, but the notorious persons who set the Indian to work prevented a detection of their villainy by probably destroying him. The party sent to apprehend him weakly entrusted him to West and Harris, who offered to bring him in: and he has since been discovered, murdered in the woods, by West, who had best reason to know where to find him. He and others are to answer for their part in the matter.'

[14] *Md. Archives*, viii, 82.

[15] In *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Fiske has an illuminating note collecting the facts as to anti-catholic agitation in the colonies at this time, and discussing the philosophy of it.

[16] *Va. Mag.*, viii, 239.

[17] See *post*, p. 302.

[18] *Parson Waugh*: The Waughs were yeomen in Cumberland and Westmoreland and produced several men of parts, including the first bishop of Carlisle, a contemporary of our parson, who was also a John Waugh (1655-1734) and son of another John. (Transactions, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, 1895). Parson Waugh does not himself appear on the lists of either of the English universities

but had had a classical education somewhere, as appears from the fact that the Stafford Court several times called him in to 'test' latin for them. The first record of his peculiar temperament is in 1674, when Berkeley suspended him for celebrating a marriage without a license (*W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 182). Although he then promised never to do the same again, the Stafford Court was put well beyond its depth in 1691 in the legal complication arising out of a marriage the Parson had celebrated for a girl of nine. There are glimpses of him keeping the ferry over Potomac Creek and frequently engaged in litigation over land titles. On one occasion he warned the Stafford surveyor, Theodorick Bland not to proceed with a survey or he would break the chain, which he forthwith proceeded to do. Parson Waugh accumulated titles to 6350 acres of land on Potomac Creek and the 'forest' at its sources, which he passed on to his eldest son (See *N. N.*, 1: 495; 5: 126.).

[19] Rowland, i, 19.

[20] *The Papists in Stafford*: The prejudice thus engendered persisted but does not seem to have interfered with the activities of the Brents. In 1681 Lord Culpeper reported that the Stafford rangers refused to ride because their captain was a papist. That this was George Brent and that he continued to hold his commission appears from a claim allowed to him by the Assembly in 1684 for pay as captain of horse (*Journal H. B.*, 1659-93, p. 255.). In 1688 he was moreover elected one of the burgesses for Stafford. But after the revolution of that year, to-wit in October, 1691, the records of the Stafford Court show that a motion was made to tender the test oath to George and Robert Brent, alleged to be popish recusants; that in December, 1692, an information to the same effect was before the grand jury to the end that they might be barred from practicing law (See also *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 46); and in May, 1693, Richard Gibson represented to the Court that 'of all which there seems to be little or no notice Taken, but they suffered to go on.' Gibson was subsequently required to apologise to the Court for what he said on this occasion. Gibson's animus was not altogether religious, but was fomented by a lawsuit in which George Brent had worsted him. The final record is in October, 1696 (*Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 74), when the Assembly had before it a grievance that 'several Roman Catholicks are employed by the said Lords Proprietors to bear offices' in the Northern Neck, and refused to take any action, resolving that 'the laws in such cases do provide sufficient remedy.' This attitude of the Virginia government is explained by the fact that the Brents discreetly kept their religion to themselves and were generally respected in the community.

[21] *Md. Archives*, viii, 93.

[22] *Ibid.*, 92.

[23] *Va. Mag.*, iii, 257.

[24] Spencer's despatch, April 29, 1689, *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92. No. 93.

[25] The Virginia Council had, on April 26, 1689, ordered the proclamation to be made on May 23rd, following. See Va. Council Minutes in *Randolph MS., Va. Mag.*, xx, 5.

[26] *Ibid., Va. Mag.*, xx, 3, 10.

[27] *Va. Mag.*, iii, 255.

[28] Stafford Court Order Book (*MS.*), November 11, 1691.

[29] This refers to a Stafford *cause celebre* in May, 1690, in which David Darnell of Freestone Point was punished for trading trash

tobacco. (See *post*, p. 392). It does not appear whether Waugh Darnell, who appears in the land grants of the next generation, was a son of this David, but if so his name would suggest either that David Darnell was in some way connected with the parson by marriage or else named a son for him in appreciation of his support at this time.

[30] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 46. Fitzhugh recorded the event as 'sudden' (*Va. Mag.*, v, 170). A fragment of Scarlet's tombstone, found in 1903 on Burbages Neck, is given in *W. & M. Quar.*, xi, 145. In 1692 he had testified to the Stafford court that 'I have lived in the County of Stafford near thirty years long before' Fitzhugh did, which would bring him back to 1640. He must have meant that he was in Virginia at that date.

[31] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 140; the precedent relied on is in Hening, i, 378. It is interesting that the parson's son of the same name subsequently represented Stafford (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 13).

[32] Commissary Blair certified, in July, 1702 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 377), that John Frazier was then minister of 'Overworton.' Waugh may have continued to minister in Chotank, which had now become 'St. Paul's.'

[33] Dr. Tyler (*W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 189) gives the date from the surviving index of Stafford wills. In that year Parson Waugh's son, John, had a land grant as 'John Waugh, junior,' but his subsequent grants in 1710 are made to 'John Waugh.'

[34] In October, 1701. See *post*, p. 189.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Thomas Lee at the Falls

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century, Stafford, scarcely free as yet of dread of indian outrages, was beginning to creep north of Great Hunting Creek and to make scattered clearings for 'out plantations' as well in the creek valleys as on the shore of the great river. The immigrants were now in a new country—the lands of the Anacostans, who long had occupied that portion of the 'freshes' which lay above the Doegs; which may be identified generally as including both banks of the river in the vicinity of the future sites of Alexandria and Washington city. It was, when the English came to occupy it, a pleasant region, of which Henry Fleet's warm and often quoted eulogy in 1631 still lives:

'This place,' he said,[1] 'without all question is the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country, and most convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter. It aboundeth with all manner of fish. The Indians in one night commonly will catch thirty sturgeons in a place [i. e. below the Little Falls] where the river is not above twelve fathom broad. And as for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them and the soil is exceedingly fertile: but above this place the country is rocky and mountainous like Cannida.'

This description, especially in relation to the abundance of game, is testimony that the Anacostans dwelt on the edge of the great wilderness. Above them there were no 'old fields' to bear witness to a past or present agricultural population. The land grants thenceforth show that the only clearing in the forest were 'poison fields' resulting from the indians' fire hunting; thereby adding another proof that the boundary of the forest primeval was the head of navigation below the Little Falls. Here then it was that the tidewater tribes came into contact

with the northern indians, a place where different races met to trade, to exchange news and to fight. Capt. John Smith himself recognised this fact by confining his name 'Patawomeke' to the navigable waters;[2] and when the English ventured further up stream than Smith had ever gone, that is to say above the falls, they found that the northern indians themselves gave a new name to the waters there. To them the river now became *Cohongarooton* or Goose River, so called, from the multitude of geese which frequented it in winter.[3]

Before we follow the earliest settlers into the forests above the Falls and look on at their seating of the territory which was destined to become upper Fairfax and lower Loudoun, it may be expedient, in the interest of historical perspective, to take note again of the delay which preceded that immigration. Fortunately, there survives a convincing testimony to bring home the fact. We have seen Burr Harrison of Chapawansick pushing his way through this forest on his embassy to Conoy Island in 1699, and have read his report that it was then uninhabited. A generation later his son, Thomas Harrison of Chapawansick, completes that picture. In the deposition he made for Col. Byrd in 1737, already cited for other detail, the latter bears witness to the continuing mystery of the backwoods as late as 1700.

'About 50 years ago,' he says, referring to a period a decade after the Susquehannock war, 'Sundry families seated again about Hunting Creek, but at that time the falls of Potowmack were not known as ever he heard of. But about 36 or 37 years ago [i. e., 1700] when he went up to live at Hunting Creek he had heard people talk of going up thither to fish.'

To the historian the Falls of the Potomac will always suggest Lee of Virginia. With the instinct of that noble fish, the sturgeon, the first of the Lees showed his descendants the way up stream. He pushed his interests as far as Great Hunting Creek; and as soon as it was possible his grandson resumed the forward movement and planted himself at the Falls. It thus seems that it must have been an inherited confidence in a race destiny on the upper Potomac which dictated that memorable

prophecy, recorded before the middle of the eighteenth century, that in time the colonies would declare themselves independent of Great Britain and would here plant the seat of their government.[4]

Thomas Lee, fourth son of the second Richard Lee of 'Mt. Pleasant,' in Westmoreland, achieved his own conspicuous career. Born in 1690, he had, according to his family chronicle,[5]

'none but a common Virginia education, yet having strong natural parts, long after he was a man, he learned the languages without any assistance but his own genius, and became a tolerable adept in Greek and Latin. . . . By his industry and parts [he] acquired a considerable fortune, for being a younger brother, his paternal estate was small.'

He may well have visited the falls of the Potomac as a boy, for sport. Others from Westmoreland were doing so at this time, among them Daniel McCarty, Lee's neighbour at home and soon to be his brother-in-law; who, in 1709, was the first to take a land grant on the upper river, at the Sugar-lands.[6] But what fixed Thomas Lee's own interest and, at the same gave him his start in life, is that in 1711 he was, at the age of twenty-one, appointed resident agent for the proprietors of the Northern Neck. This came about as the immediate consequence of a woman's whim. Margaret, Lady Culpeper, widow of the Virginia Governor, died in May, 1710, leaving her daughter, Catherine, Lady Fairfax, then also a widow, to carry on, alone, the responsibility of an involved estate, a part of which was the Northern Neck proprietary. Lady Fairfax could not understand why so broad a domain as she understood she had inherited in Virginia did not yield her a larger income. Among other self-constituted advisers, she listened to the suggestions of one of her late husband's bailiffs who, writing darkly just before her mother's death, had filled her mind with suspicion:

'There are some papers of moment relating to the Virginia estate,' he said,[7] 'in the hands of a certain person I know which will be of use, and upon an order from your ladyship I presume he will deliver them. That Mr. Perry is a sharp man

and I fear you are but very indifferently dealt with by him and his friend in Virginia, and if I don't help you to a chapman for it (which you shall soon hear further from me about), I doubt not of putting your ladyship and your lady mother in a way to make more of it yearly than hath been made since Mr. Perry and his friend's management thereof.'

On this, Lady Fairfax ended the Northern Neck agency which her mother had established, and cut off all relations with that great Virginia merchant the first Micajah Perry, and 'his friend,' Col. Robert Carter, of Corotoman. In their stead she turned over her affairs to Thomas Corbin, another London merchant, whose house had been identified with Virginia for two generations; and he in turn nominated, as the Virginia residents, his brother-in-law, Edmund Jenings, and his nephew, Thomas Lee. At the moment, Jenings was in England. As he was not immediately to return to the colony, the duty fell on young Lee to take over the estate books and begin the new agency; and for four years he was in sole charge in Virginia.[8]

Lady Fairfax's power of attorney to Lee was dated December 11, 1711,[9] but he did not begin to sign grants until September, 1713. His notes on the grant books, and particularly his inauguration of the practice of entering the surveyor's plats with the grants,[10] testify to the enthusiasm and thoroughness with which he then took hold of the job. Although the greater number of the grants he issued were on the waters of Elk Marsh and Occoquan, it may fairly be assumed that his zeal carried him on tours of observation over all parts of the proprietary where it was safe to go at all; but it was not until 1716, when his uncle, Jenings, returned to Virginia and himself took over the responsibility, that Lee made use, for his own account, of the information he had acquired.

Following McCarty's Sugarlands grant of 1709 there was a long interval before other surveys were made on the upper river. The first conspicuous ones were those of Alexander Scott, the parson of Overwharton. In December, 1716, he took a grant of 946 acres 'on the South side of, and near the head of, a run called by said Scott and others Scot's Run,

issuing out of Potowmack river between Difficult and Pimmett's Run above the falls of said river;' and a month later followed this up with another for 770 acres 'on the north or upper side, and near the head, of Pimmet's Run *alias* the Upper Spout Run, falling into Potowmack river and near the falls thereof.'[11] A year later Lee, himself, followed this lead. Beginning with a small grant of 285 acres, issued by Jenings in the name of Richard Lee[12] 'on the upper Side of Lee's Creek, being the second great branch issuing out of the south side of Patowmack River above the Sugar Land Island,' he closed the books of the Jenings agency in August, 1719, with two grants in his own name, aggregating 3,700 acres, at the Falls and on the lower side of 'Lee's Creek.' Thereafter, during Robert Carter's second agency, Thomas Lee went on until he had accumulated 16,000 acres between these landmarks, the greater part of which was in what is now Loudoun, on either bank of Broad Run.[13] It is of interest that in doing this he made an earnest and persistent attempt to impose his name upon the stream we know as Goose Creek. If he did not succeed, that name is nevertheless perpetuated in the vicinity: in lieu of 'Lee's Creek' the town of Leesburg honours his memory.[14]

While Thomas Lee acquired a large area of agricultural lands in the Sugarlands, it is significant that his grants at and between the Great and Little Falls were on the river bank, where the land was poor. His ambition was not so much to plant tobacco, as to control the commercial destiny of an extensive back country. Before Alexandria and Georgetown came into existence he dreamed of establishing a seat of commerce at the head of Potomac navigation. Having earlier secured the strategic sites, he waited patiently for population to make them valuable. But, as it befell, the seating of the upper Potomac was delayed by the creation of the 'manors,' and, when at last the expected commerce of the region began, Lee's plans proved abortive. It remained for others to realize his vision. One can now conjecture that a cause of Lee's failure was his unwillingness to share opportunities with the Scots merchants who were the dominant traders in the Potomac and had it in their power to make or mar any mart on that river; at all events,

he certainly showed an uncompromising tenacity in his negotiations with Robert Carter in 1728, when that potentate wished to build an ore dock below the falls, and could have helped him.[15] By this last miscalculation Lee alienated the entire Carter family, and it would be characteristic of the intrigues among the dominant Virginia families of the time to credit to the Carters an adverse and persistently effective political influence upon all that Lee sought henceforth to accomplish at the Falls in his own behalf. Although he was advanced to the Council in 1733 and lived to achieve, by seniority of service, the presidency of that body and so to have the honour of ending his life as Commander-in-Chief and acting Governor of the colony after Gooch's return to England,[16] he had not been able to secure the designation of his lands at the Falls as the location of a public tobacco warehouse until 1742, a decade after the Scots had laid the foundations of their later towns on the Quantico and Hunting Creek.[17] He seems, indeed, to have played here a lone hand. Even after Lord Fairfax arrived in the colony he did not enlist his interest, but saw him give a powerful support to the Scots on Hunting Creek. His only confidential associate in this effort seems to have been Francis Awbrey, that forgotten worthy, the first citizen of Loudoun, who played a large part in the earliest settlement of the upper Potomac but died too soon to be of material aid to Lee's plans.[18]

The site at the mouth of Pimmet's run had, indeed, every natural advantage for an *entrepot*. As compared with its successful rivals, it was first in the field. Here Henry Fleet had traded with the Iroquois. It was, too, a main crossing of the river used by the Maryland indians and by the white men who succeeded to their lands. From the Virginia shore extended thence inland north and west those two trails which became the Sugarlands Rolling Road and the Falls Rolling Road and were used as their access to the upper country by a large proportion of the earliest English immigrants from the South. The relation with Maryland was of enough importance to justify a ferry here prior to 1737,[19] and that that ferry was then frequented is evident from the fact that Francis Awbrey found it profitable

to convert it into a public ferry in 1738, and, before the warehouse had been established, to maintain an ordinary on the Virginia shore to serve the travel there.[20] While Thomas Lee, and after him his eldest son, made what they could of these opportunities, it does not appear that their venture was ever a business success. Both Alexandria and Georgetown blanketed them. The premonition of this fate was the removal in 1748, after Francis Awbrey's death, of the public ferry to Analostan Island over against the then nascent settlement of Georgetown.[21]

But despite their setbacks, the Lees maintained their belief in the Little Falls site. In 1772 Philip Ludwell Lee laid out on it his proposed, but never realized, town of Philee,[22] and he maintained the 'Falls Warehouse' to the end of his life in 1775. That warehouse was, indeed, continuously recited in the tobacco acts down to that of 1792;[23] but after its site had been included in the District of Columbia, and the navigation of the Potomac had been opened around both the Little and Great Falls, a successor was established at the Great Falls.[24] There at last it seemed for a moment that Thomas Lee's dreams might take on substance. The activities of the Patowmack Company lead to the incorporation of the town of Matildaville at the new warehouse site. While on Bryan Fairfax's land, this town was a speculation by General 'Light Horse Harry' Lee who had then succeeded to some of Thomas Lee's Falls property.[25] For some years Matildaville was a commercial focus of great activity and promise, but fate was implacable against Thomas Lee's ambition, even in the third generation. If his vision was realized in principle when Washington city was laid out, none of his descendants had in it the reward he intended for them. His inheritance had passed to the merchants of Georgetown.

The significant historical fact in respect to the settlement of the territory above the Falls is that the immigration thither was delayed until, under the terms of Spotswood's treaty of Albany of 1722, the Iroquois had withdrawn beyond the Blue

Ridge and had removed with them the danger to the English frontier from the Piscataway fort on Conoy Island. The McCarty, Scott and Lee grants, secured prior to that treaty, were all adventures in the wilderness. It was, indeed, only after Robert Carter opened his new books at the beginning of his second Northern Neck agency, in the spring of 1723, that a few individual planters began to seat themselves on small holdings beside the greater grants which had preceded them, and ten years later before there was more than a scattered series of forest clearings reaching up the ridge trail. During this period we can trace in the land grants the northward progress through the valley of Four Mile Creek[26] of such locally characteristic names as Pearson, Broadwater, Elzey, Gunnell and Lewis, past that conspicuous natural landmark, 'the Rock Stones called Brandymore Castle,'[27] and over the divide until they reached 'the Clerke's Folly in the Poison Fields above Difficult.'[28]

Contemporaneously, settlers were also pushing through the McCarty, Lee and Carter 'manors' above Difficult and seating themselves on the banks of the river beyond the Falls. One of the earliest of them was Philip Noland[29] who, in 1724, took a grant at the mouth of Broad Run, where he was joined a year later by Francis Awbrey, whose daughter he married. In 1728 Awbrey took another forward step and crossed Goose Creek to accumulate broad holdings of the limestone lands on the river below the Catoctin Range. The largest parcel was 'on the side of Potowmack river about five or six miles above the mouth of Goose Creek,' where beside the 'Big Spring' he made his residence. Eventually he took also a grant above 'Clerk's run,'[30] at what must already have been a familiar river crossing, and there established the original Point of Rocks ferry.[31]

This last survey overlapped an Irish settlement opposite the mouth of Monocacy, which had been in existence at least from the beginning of 1725. It was apparently a bridgehead pushed across the Potomac by immigrants who were then crowding into Maryland from the north to establish the community afterwards known as Fredericktown.[32] In January, 1724/5,[33] William Hawlin (spelled in the records also Hallin and Halling) took a grant of 535 acres, described simply as

'above Goose Creek on Potowmack river side' but identified by subsequent references at first as 'below the Yaller Rocks' and later as 'on both sides Red Rock Run.' Above this, in 1729,[34] Margaret Hawlin had a grant of 416 acres '15 or 16 miles above Goose Creek and about two miles below the Kitchen Mountain' which is further located by references in later grants to 'Clerk's Run.' 'The widow Hawlins' thenceforth for some years remained a landmark and in her vicinity lands were occupied, not always under the formality of a grant, by Irishmen who had come out of Maryland. One of these was that John Tuton who is mentioned in Awbrey's Point of Rocks grant, and from later grants seems to have been bought out by Awbrey. In like manner Amos Sinclair[35] bought out the widow Hawlin, and in 1731 took, in his own name, several original grants in the same vicinity. Catesby Cocke[36] and Benjamin Grayson,[37] earliest speculators in Loudoun lands, followed with grants on the head waters of Limestone.

Thus was made the original map of Loudoun as far north as the Catoctin range (the widow Hawlin's 'Kitchen Mountain'); for beyond that boundary there was already another story.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

[1] *Brief Journal* in Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, 1876, p. 27.

[2] *Smith's Works*, ed. Arber, i, 52. There has been much fanciful interpretation of this passage, but see Bozman's sane and lucid comment in his *Maryland*, i, 138.

[3] *Cohongarooton*: The map called Capt. John Smith's did not show the falls of the Potomac and inscribed the name 'Potawomeck flu.' only at the mouth of the river. One who read that map without the aid of the accompanying text was thus justified in taking the Smith map as authority for applying the name Potomac to the entire river, including the part above the falls, when that landmark was reached in the progress of discovery up stream. This seems to have been Robert Carter's judgment, for he extended the designation, Potomac, in the earliest land grants above the falls (1709). It was, doubtless, for that consideration that Graffenried followed suit on his map of 1712. In 1737 Col. Byrd seized upon these testimonies for the purpose of his political argument (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 125) and made them the authority for his claim that the 'head' of the Potomac was the confluence of what he denominated two tributaries, Shenandoah and Cohongarooton. It is significant, however, that Lord Fairfax's com-

missioners replied to Byrd by pointing out that in common usage the name, Cohongarooton, extended down to the falls, wherefore no convincing argument could be drawn from that name for limiting the proprietary at the mouth of the Shenandoah. The difference in nomenclature thus asserted is clearly brought out by Ferdinand John Paris' report to the Penn heirs in 1737 (See *post*, p. 621). He said, 'Lord Fairfax's Comrs., you'll observe, describe the upper part of the River thus, 'Potowmack River, called Cohongaroota by Col. Lee since the date of the patent;' but on the other hand the King's Comrs. describe it thus, 'Cohongarooto River, so called from its head to the mouth of Shenondo.'' Thomas Lee is thus shown to have been an advocate of the application of the name Cohongarooton above the falls. He was, undoubtedly, following the indian practice which he had learned during his Northern Neck agency and could point to a similar interpretation not only on some of the early maps which followed Smith generally but sought to extend his system of nomenclature (e. g., Herrman, 1673, who gave the name 'Turkey Buzzard' to the main river above the Eastern Branch, and John Senex, 1719, who labels it 'Namaughton,' apparently adapting for that purpose the name, 'Nameroughquena,' which Smith had assigned to the Anacostan village on Alexander's Island) but also on that 'General Map of the known and inhabited Parts of Virginia' which Governor Gooch sent to the Lords of Trade in May, 1731 (See *post*, p. 617). Here the Falls are laid down and the river is clearly divided by them as 'Potomack R' below and 'Cohongarouton R' above. As 'Shanando R' is also indicated, this was not due to any misapprehension of topography. That Thomas Lee was consistent in his practice, even after common usage had crystalized Robert Carter's nomenclature, appears in his will of 1749 (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 121) which refers to the river above the falls as 'Cohongaronto or Potomack.'

[4] Lee, *Richard Henry Lee* (1825), p. 7, seems to be the source of this tradition. The authority given for it is the memory, by an old man, of a conversation with President Lee.

[5] *Lee of Virginia*, p. 103.

[6] *N. N.*, 3: 248. Daniel McCarty (1679-1724), son of Dennis who died in Richmond County in 1694, represented Westmoreland in the Assembly from 1705 until his death, being speaker in 1715 and 1718. He married Ann, daughter of the second Richard Lee and widow of the second William Fitzhugh. His M. I. in Yeocomico churchyard is reproduced in *W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 97.

[7] *The Fairfax Correspondence*, (ed. Bell, 1849) ii, 242.

[8] *Edmund Jenings*: It appears (*Acts P. C.*, Colonial, ii, 825) that in 1713 William Cocke was appointed to Edmund Jenings' place in the Virginia Council on the allegation that the latter was then living in England 'to recover his health and settle his private affairs' and 'intends to return no more.' But he did return in the spring of 1716 and was reinstated in the Council in consideration of his previous important service. Jenings' private affairs were now seriously involved by debts to Micajah Perry; and, though he was old and in bad health, he could not afford to forego any source of income. The result was that he took over the local management of the proprietary, leaving to his nephew, Thomas Lee, only the charge of the estate office, which remained at Mt. Pleasant in Westmoreland. The result of this was that the business of the proprietary suffered, there were complaints in the Assembly, and both Jenings and Lee were superseded (see *post*, p. 231).

[9] *Westmoreland D. B.*, 5: 56. It would be interesting to know whether Lady Fairfax's selection of her new agents was made on the advice of old Philip Ludwell who, in 1711, was still living in England. Having married Lady Fairfax's cousin, Frances Culpeper, the widow of Governor Berkeley, he had become a kinsman. Thomas Lee eventually married a granddaughter of this Philip Ludwell, and so tied that particular knot of Virginia cousins still tighter.

[10] Robert Carter did not continue Lee's practice in this respect, but William Fairfax resumed it in 1739. As a consequence, N. N. books 5 and E are the most helpful of the entire series for present day research.

[11] *N. N.*, 5: 79, 131. For Pimmett's Run, see *ante.*, p. 75.

[12] This seems to have been Thomas Lee's brother, the London merchant. The second Richard Lee died March 12, 1714/15 (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 77). He had been trading in partnership with his brother-in-law, Thomas Corbin (*Acts P. C.*, Colonial, ii, 492), and at home in Virginia served the office of Naval Officer for the Potomac district. After his death these functions were distributed among his sons. The third Richard Lee went to London to join the Corbin house, and Thomas Lee succeeded as Naval Officer in Virginia.

[13] Thomas Lee's grants on the Potomac above the falls are *N. N.*, 5: 176, 240, 241; A: 111; B: 162; C: 1; F: 188.

[14] Lee was following the common precedent of the earliest landholders at the mouth of a stream when he wrote 'Lee's Creek' into his land grants. But when 'King' Carter resumed the proprietary agency and had a dispute with Lee about some lands which he wanted himself, he translated the indian name of the stream and so established the designation Goose Creek (*N. N.*, A: 118; B: 61). Lee accepted this in a grant of 1728 (*N. N.*, B: 162), but that he had not done so with good grace is evident from the fact that when he came to write his will, in 1749 (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 121), he called the stream 'Goose *or* Lee's Creek.'

[15] See *post*, p. 422.

[16] Thomas Lee was sworn of the Council October 24, 1733 (Council Minutes, C. O., 5: 1420, p. 142). Governor Gooch's last Council was on August 26, 1749, and on September 4th following, Lee was sworn as Commander-in-Chief and acting Governor. His death was reported to the Council by his successor, Lewis Burwell, on November 21, 1750 (*ibid.*, 1423, pp. 400, 477).

[17] Hening, v, 143. The first inspectors at the Falls Warehouse were Daniel French and Townshend Dade (C. O., 5: 1423, p. 208).

[18] *Francis Awbrey* (1690?-1741) makes his appearance in the Virginia records in the 1694 will of his uncle, Henry Awbrey of Essex (Transcripts of Essex Records, 1692-95, in Va. State Library, p. 352) as the 'youngest son of my brother, John Awbrey.' His father may have been that John Awbrey who died in Westmoreland in 1720 (Crozier, *Westmoreland Wills*, p. 35) but no Francis is named in that will. In 1717 he established himself (*N. N.*, 5: 135) in the fork of Pohick and thenceforth until 1731 was active in the contemporary land speculation in the territory which became Loudoun. In Robert Carter's *Letter Book* he appears several times as 'Frank Awbrey,' working apparently in close co-operation with Thomas Lee. His own land grants at this time (*N. N.*, B: 106, 166, 202; C: 30, 102, 185) were on the Horsepen of Broad, on Cub, on the branches of Four Mile, on Catoctin and Goose and on Potomac above Goose Creek. On the

organization of Prince William in 1731 he was included in the first commission of the peace and the next year became the inspector of the Pohick warehouse and a member of the Truro vestry. In 1739 he served the office of Sheriff of Prince William, and, in 1741, he died (See his will in *Prince William W. B.*, C: 341). The Truro vestry book had shown him building a 'chapel above Goose Creek' between 1733-35, the location of which (*post*, p. 304) proves that at the end of his life he lived beside the 'Big Spring' near the site of Leesburg. This is confirmed by the name 'Aroberry,' indicated on the Potomac below the mouth of Limestone, on the early maps (Jefferson and Brooke, 1746; Fry & Jefferson, 1751, and Thomas Jefferson, 1787), all of which apparently derived it from a sheet now missing of Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737.

Francis Awbrey's will mentions his wife, without any clew to her identity; sons, John, Thomas, Richard, Francis, George, Henry and Samuel; daughters, Elizabeth Nowland and Sarah. John Awbrey was a surveyor and sometime inspector of the Hunting Creek Warehouse; his will and that of his brother Richard, were proved in Fairfax in 1743. As recited in his father's will, Francis, jr., lived on the Pohick lands, where he had voted in 1744 (Boogher). George, Henry and Samuel were under age at their father's death, as recited by his will, by which they took inheritances on the Potomac above Goose Creek. There George died in 1753, when his will was proved in Fairfax Court. Thomas is cited, *post*, note 31.

[19] Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737 shows 'Magee's ferry' here and he mentioned it also in his expense account of that survey (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 229). This ferry may have been established as early as 1720, when the Maryland record shows that the 'Prince Georges road' was open as far north as Rock Creek.

[20] For Awbrey's Falls ferry license see Hening, v, 66. By his will (1741) Awbrey left to his son, Richard, 'fifty acres of land reserved at the falls where the ferry and ordinary is kept.'

[21] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 262, 325.

[22] Hening, viii, 622.

[23] Hening, xiii, 479.

[24] The transfer must have taken place in 1792 when the inspection was established at Great Falls by the act last cited; for while Andrew Ellicott's well known survey of the 'Territory of Columbia,' drawn in that year, includes the original warehouse site, there is no indication that such a facility was then in active operation.

[25] His right was derived through his first wife, Matilda, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, for whom the town was named. See *post*, p. 559.

[26] The name appears as early as 1694 (*N. N.*, 2: 14) and undoubtedly was assigned in the exploration of the Howson (Alexander) grant of 1669 (*Patents*, 6: 262), which included its mouth, because that landmark was substantially four miles above the mouth of Hunting Creek.

[27] *N. N.*, A: 113. This appears to have been what is now called 'Minor Hill,' which tops the drainage ridge between the waters of Pimmett's and Four Mile runs.

[28] *N. N.*, C: 88: As appears from some surveys of 1736 and 1742, which remain of record in the Land Office in Richmond, Difficult was the northern limit of the characteristic small tracts by which eastern Fairfax above Hunting Creek was seated. When Lord Fairfax inspected that territory in 1736 he found so few seatings between Difficult and the Sugarlands that he was enabled there to interpose

below the Carter's Frying Pan tracts that Great Falls manor of 12,588 acres which he later gave to Bryan Fairfax (*N. N.*, E: 38; I: 124).

[29] See *post*, p. 503.

[30] *Cf. N. N.*, B: 166 and F: 224.

[31] *The Point of Rocks Ferry*: In his will of 1741 Francis Awbrey mentioned a river tract above 'Clerk's run,' on which he identified 'the ferry landing' and 'the ferry road.' This tract was devised to the testator's son, Thomas Awbrey, who perfected the title (*N. N.*, F: 224) and was in possession of it in 1769, when a public ferry was licensed there (Hening, viii, 369). It does not appear that this ferry was much frequented, for in 1775 (*Loudoun O. B.*, E: 30), when the county court had under consideration a proposal to improve the road approach to it, it was objected that Thomas Awbrey did not maintain 'a proper boat for the ferry.' Thomas Awbrey died in 1787 (See his will in *Loudoun W. B.*, C: 258), and there is no record of this ferry in the revisals of 1794 and 1819. In 1834 (*Acts*, 1833-34, ch. 150, p. 179) Rebecca Johnson, then holding Thomas Awbrey's lands, revived the ferry 'from her lands in the county of Loudoun across the Potowmac to the Point of Rocks on the Maryland shore,' and the Loudoun records show that in 1837 Margaret Graham had succeeded at once to the Awbrey lands and to the ferry privilege. Thenceforth this ferry continued to function until it was superseded in 1847 by the bridge built by the Potomac Bridge Company 'at or near the Point of Rocks, opposite the Patomac furnace property' (*Maryland Laws*, 1846-47, ch. 99; *Acts*, 1846-47, ch. 158, p. 145).

[32] These people crossed the Potomac partly because the cost of entry for land was less in Lord Fairfax's office than in Lord Baltimore's, and partly because the Monocacy valley had then been preempted by Maryland land speculators, e. g., John Digges. For the Fredericktown settlement see Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882), i, 358.

[33] *N. N.*, A: 118.

[34] *N. N.*, B: 215. Margaret Hawlin seems to have been the widow of the original William Hawlin; and it would follow that the William Hawlin, who was one of the Truro processioners in this region in 1743 (*Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 19), was probably her son. The name persisted in the neighbourhood. It was another William Hawlin who in 1816 revived Josias Clapham's ferry below the mouth of Monocacy (See *post*, p. 503).

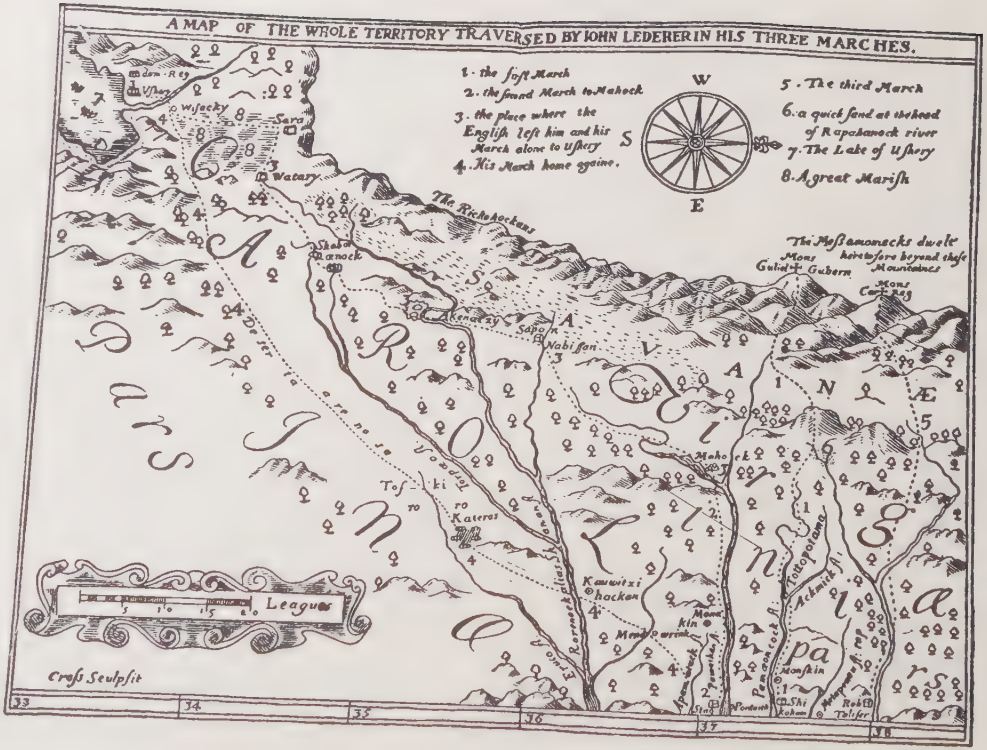
[35] *N. N.*, D: 56. 'Amos Sinkler' voted at the Prince William election in 1741 (Boogher, 117). 'Sinclare' is marked, with reference to a house immediately opposite, but above, the mouth of Monocacy, on all the maps which followed the Potomac survey of 1736.

[36] *Catesby Cocke*: Dr. William Cocke (1672-1720) 'an English Physician, born of reputable parents at Sudbury in Suffolk, and educated at Queens College, Cambridge' (See his M. I. in Bruton church, Goodwin, p. 39), married a sister of Mark Catesby, the naturalist, and emigrated to Virginia, where in Spotswood's time he became Secretary of State, and died dramatically on the bench of the General Court.

His son, Catesby Cocke (1702-*post* 1762), was bred in the Secretary's office and as soon as he could qualify was preferred to a clerkship. It was thus that about 1728 he came to live on the Potomac as clerk of Stafford. On the organization of Prince William (1731) and Fairfax (1742) he was successively transferred to the same function in those new counties. His last official service was in 1746, when

he resigned his clerkship to live out the remainder of his life in retirement. During all the years of his active life (1728-1746) he was an energetic speculator in Northern Neck lands, principally in the region above Goose Creek (his grants range from *N. N.*, B: 155, to F: 304), but his residence was on the upper shore of the Occoquan, near the ferry landing opposite the first Prince William court house (See his name there on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737). At the end of his life, however, he removed to Dumfries, where he died after 1762 (His will, if any, is missing: the last record of him is a deed he executed September 14, 1762, recorded in *Prince William D. B.*, P: 262). Of this period there is an amusing entry in Washington's diary on January 12, 1760, that he was told at Dumfries 'that Colo. Cocke was disgusted at my house [Mount Vernon] and left because he saw an old Negroe there resembling his own Image.'

[37] *N. N.*, D: 84. *Benjamin Grayson,* who voted at the Prince William election in 1741 (Boogher, 117), was one of the earliest of the Scots merchants to be established on Quantico, where Dumfries was to arise, for there, in 1736, was born his well known son, William. The latter, after brilliant service as colonel of a regiment of the line in the Continental army and subsequently in the Continental Congress, was the first Senator to represent Virginia in the Congress of the United States. Dying in 1790, he left a reputation which, says Grigsby, 'may fitly fill one of the brightest pages in our annals' (See *Virginia Convention* of 1788, i, 194). Grayson County was named for him in 1793.



JOHN LEDERER, 1672.

CHAPTER TWELVE

When the Convicts Came

FOR more than half century after Stafford was organized, the original constitution of the community remained socially unchanged. The population included, with a few large landholders like the Brents, the Masons and the Fitzhughs, an increasing proportion of small planters. In the second generation family ties with 'home' had indeed been generally broken and the typical Virginia family, forgetting the traditions of its local origin, was becoming creole;[1] but the lamp of English nationality was kept tended among them by politics, by periodical contact with the crews of the tobacco ships, and by the continuing infusion of free English men and women imported as servants under indentures.

These new comers worked in the fields but their masters often worked with them, and they were uniformly treated as members of the planters' families on the footing of apprentices in England.[2] There was nothing servile about them socially or otherwise and they soon graduated into the planter class. There had been, of course, slaves on the Potomac from the earliest settlements on that river, but as it required more capital to equip a plantation with them than with English servants, the number of slaves increased slowly. In the Stafford of the end of the seventeenth century where there was little wealth, the few negroes were mostly house servants.[3] It was this characteristic of the community to which the Assembly alluded in 1699 when it spoke of 'the poorer sort [of planters] whose servants are for the most part Christian."[4]

These simple and patriarchal conditions survived until the frontier was widened in 1722. They are reflected in an important document which may be taken as the final statement for the first period of the history of old Prince William.

In 1724 the Bishop of London, charged with the super-

vision of the clergy in Virginia, sent to them a questionnaire as to the conditions in their several parishes. One who responded was Parson Alexander Scott, whom we have already met as one of the earliest land speculators on Cohongarooton. His report on Overwharton parish, which then included all of old Prince William, testifies vividly what a small and homogeneous community it still was:

'The bounds of my Parish is not Known,' he said,[5] 'it being a frontier parish, but is inhabited near 80 miles in length and in some places near 3 miles, in others near 20 miles in breadth, and about 650 families. There are no Indian nor other Infidels among us but Negro Slaves, the Children of whom, and those of them who can speak and understand the English Language, we instruct and baptise if permitted by their Masters. Divine Service is performed but once every Sunday either in Church or Chappels by reason of the Great distance the inhabitants have to go to Church or Chapel, Some living about 15 miles distant from either, and the plantations being but thin Seated. Notwithstanding, I have then generally as full a congregation as either Church or Chappels can contain and can well be expected in such a thin seated place. I administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper 6 times a year, and generally have betwixt 80 & 100 Communicants each time.'

Even as Parson Scott was writing, a profound modification of the community life had begun. The spread of the seated area had created a demand for more and cheaper servants to work the land, and that demand was being met by the introduction of a new element in the population, which soon gave serious concern to all responsible men resident above the Rappahannock.[6]

The newcomers were the convicts who, in pursuance of the act of Parliament of 1718,[7] had been 'cast for transportation' to 'the plantations.' If it be true, as Professor Pollard has recently asserted, that 'the purpose of Elizabethan projects of colonization was less to reproduce desirable communities in new worlds than to expel undesirable elements from the old,'[8] Virginia had in 1718 enjoyed a half century of respite from such importa-

tions. In April, 1670, the General Court ordered[9] 'that it shall not be permitted to any person trading hither to bring in and land any jail birds or such others who, for notorious offences, have deserved to dye in England,' and the Privy Council duly confirmed this order, for which Virginia sent Lord Arlington its grateful thanks.[10] Beverley was thus able to say in 1703:[11]

'As for Malefactors condemn'd to Transportation, they [the Virginians] have always receiv'd very few and for many years last past their laws have been severe against them.'

But when he came to rewrite his book in 1722 the historian found it necessary to revise this passage to read:

'As for malefactors condemned to transportation, tho' the greedy planters will always buy them, yet it is to be feared they will be very injurious to the Country, which has already suffered many murders and robberies, the effect of that new law in England.'

England had, indeed, now perpetrated what Benjamin Franklin later termed 'the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another."[12] Virginia protested again promptly, but this time in vain. In 1722, the Assembly accordingly addressed itself to mitigating the evil. The recital of the act then passed 'concerning servants and slaves,' is the first chapter of a degrading story. 'Whereas,' said the Burgesses[13] 'of late years many persons convicted of ffelonies and other notorious crimes in Great Britain, have, according to Act of Parliament made in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George [the First], been transported into this Colony, and not only great frauds have been committed by the persons intrusted with their Importation, but many Cruel murders and frequent Thefts and Robberies have been and still are committed here by such Convicted persons, whereby the lives and estates of his Majesties good subjects are in great danger.'

In this situation the Assembly debated but, fortunately, rejected a curious plan. 'I cannot here omit mentioning,' says Hugh Jones,[14] who was in Virginia at the time, 'a late design of seating all convicts that should be imported into Virginia in a county by themselves under the care of proper overseers who should confine them from doing any Hurt, and keep them to their labour by such methods as are used in Bridewell. The Land intended for this new county is very good and fit to produce Hemp and Flax, which they were there solely to cultivate and manufacture, from whence the county was designed to be called Hempshire.' While the declared intention of this proposal was to supply the royal navy with cordage, there may well have been a cynical implication of expectation that the unfortunates might provide their own halters.

The protective provisions of the act of 1722 as it passed were however less novel, being limited to the discouragement of those planters who bought the convicts, by requiring them to register with the county court the names and the offenses for which their servants had been transported. The avowed purpose was the same which dictates the rule of the hunting field that a kicking horse shall have a red ribbon tied into his tail. In this respect the law had the appearance of a mere measure of police; but the experienced British government was not unreasonably suspicious of the Assembly's motive. The act was accordingly promptly disallowed by the Crown, on the ground, assigned by the Privy Council,[15] that 'the difficulties it imposes on the importers of convicts almost amount to a prohibition of the transportation of felons from Great Britain;' and it is altogether likely that that was precisely what Virginia hoped to accomplish.

As every reader of Defoe's novels will remember, the surplus of English jails was henceforth disposed of to contractors[16] who became promoters in ordinary of colonial emigration, succeeding to the function of the kidnapping 'spirits.' The fact that Virginia and Maryland attracted English ships to freight their bulk tobacco and could use white servants as well as negro slaves in their agricultural practice caused them to re-

ceive more than their fair share of these 'king's passengers.' It seems that most of those who now came were sold in the newer parts of the provinces and, being the cheapest servants obtainable, the newly seated Irish and Huguenot planters of Stafford took a substantial number of them. They included not only educated unfortunates like George Washington's first tutor and women of the Moll Flanders type, but degraded gin fiends out of Hogarth's pictures, sturdy beggars, even gypsies.[17] After completing their stipulated seven years of plantation servitude and being forbidden to return to England at the risk of being hanged, many of these miserable creatures became idle vagabonds in the colony. Living from hand to mouth at cock fights and horse races, they seem not only to have betaken themselves to murder and theft on their own account, as recited by the Assembly, and to debauching good servants as stated by Hugh Jones; but to have become hireling tools for vicarious acts of revenge or spite. The precedent of arson had been set for them in the general and passionate resentment aroused among the obscurantist element of the planters by Governor Spotswood's abortive tobacco inspection act of 1713, as appears from the thunders of the Assembly in its act of 1714 'to prevent the malitious burning and Destroying the Public Storehouses of Tobacco Agents;'[18] but the first evidence of the commission of that particular crime by convicts is in reference to a private dwelling.

The story, preserved from tradition in *Lee of Virginia,* is well known of how Thomas Lee lost, by fire, his ancestral house, 'Mt. Pleasant,' in Westmoreland and in place of it built 'Stratford' with the aid of a royal bounty sent him on that occasion. William Parks' *Maryland Gazette*[19] gave at the time an account of the fire but ventured only a discreet hint at the cause. The *Gooch Papers* now available[20] materially amend Parks' estimate of the loss and otherwise modify the tradition, but add to the interest of the incident.

In a despatch of March 26, 1729,[21] Governor Gooch advised the Lords of Trade:

'Nor, my Lords, are these all our Fears: the secret Robberies and other villainous Attempts of a more pernicious Crew of transported Felons, are yet more intollerable: witness the Dwelling House & Out Houses of Mr. Thomas Lee which in the night time were sett on fire by these Villains and in an instant burnt to the ground, a young White Woman burnt in her bed, the Gentleman, his wife and three children[23] very providentially getting out at a Window, with nothing but their Shifts & Shirts on their backs, which was all they saved, not two minuits before the House fell in; and this was done by those Rogues because as a Justice of the Peace, upon complaint made to him, he had granted a warrant for apprehending of some of them. They are not yet discovered. In consideration of this Gentleman's misfortune, which he is not well able to bear, and as it arises from the discharge of his duty as a Magistrate, I have been prevailed upon to interceed with your Lordships, that his Case may be recommended to his Majesty, for his royal Bounty of two or three hundred Pounds towards lessening his loss, which was the more considerable by a very good Collection of Books.'[23]

The burning of 'Mt. Pleasant' was not an isolated act, for arson had now become epidemic in the Northern Neck. In an act of 1730[24] the Assembly recited that it was 'frequently practiced' and the Governor commented[25] that the severe penalties of that act were very necessary 'in a country which is so much crowded with convicts, who after they have committed a crime may easily be concealed by their abettors until they find means to escape into another government.' Again,[26] he particularized by describing the Northern Neck as 'a part of the Country remote from the Seat of Government where the common people are generally of a more turbulent and unruly Disposition than anywhere else, and are not like to become better by being the Place of all this Dominion where most of the transported Convicts are sold and settled.'

If legislation was necessary in this situation it proved ineffective. 'Abettors' continued to abet and 'transported felons' to burn not merely private dwellings but tobacco inspections and other public buildings as well. Thus, following the burning of 'Mt. Pleasant,' the tobacco warehouses at Coan, in Northumberland; Deer Creek, in Lancaster; and Falmouth, in King

George, were similarly destroyed in March, 1732;[27] and, in the June following, the parish church of St. Mark, then recently built in Spotsylvania at public cost, was consumed by fire and there was 'good reason to suspect it to have been wilfully and maliciously done:'[28] the motive was assumed to be no greater than that some of the frontier parishoners found its location inconvenient.[29] Arson was not the only crime. Several churches were robbed of their plate[30] and horse stealing was common.[31] That the government was alert appears from the fact that Attorney General John Clayton was at this time recommended for an increase of salary 'as criminal Prosecutions are become of late more frequent . . . occasioned chiefly by transported convicts whose morals are not changed by change of air.'[32] But the climax came in 1746 with the conflagration of the Capitol at Williamsburg, which the overwrought Governor (who, like Mr. Walter Shandy, must have been reading the midieval forms of excommunication in the *Textus Rofensis*,) addressing the Assembly, was moved to ascribe 'to the horrid Machinations of desperate Villains, instigated by infernal Madness. God forbid I should accuse or excuse unjustly! Yet I may venture to assert such Superlative Wickedness could never get Admittance into the Heart of a Virginian.'[33]

And still the convicts came. On July 22, 1737, the *Virginia Gazette* announced:

'We hear from Potomac that a Ship is lately arriv'd there from London with Convicts. Capt. Augustine Washington and Capt. Hugh French took their Passage in her. The Former is arrived in Health but the latter dy'd at Sea and tis said of the Goal Distemper which he got on Board.'

Virginia now had recourse, for her own protection, to a diabolically ingenious device. In May, 1740, the Assembly recited[34] that 'Whereas his Majesty hath been pleased to send instructions to the lieutenant governor of this colony to raise and levy soldiers for carrying on the present war against the Spaniards in America, and this present general assembly being desirous upon all occasions to testify their

loialty and duty: and taking into their consideration *that there are in every county within this colony able bodied persons fit to serve his majesty who follow no lawful calling or employment;'* wherefore the County Courts were directed to impress that kind of cannon fodder to make up Virginia's quota, carefully excepting, however, 'any person . . . who hath any vote in the election of a burgess or burgesses to serve in the general assembly of this colony or who is or shall be an indented or bought servant.' By the process of elimination this left only ex-convicts available for the press. Such then were many of the Northern Neck soldiers Capt. Lawrence Washington commanded before Carthagena and saw die of the ravaging fevers which then wasted an English army; and so also was old Prince William purged of some of her criminal immigrants.

Barradall's simple but cynical device proved effective beyond its contemplation. Not only did it fill out Virginia's quota of troops in 1740 but it created a precedent of which other colonies took advantage with the hearty co-operation of the Virginia government. Indeed, the available supply of ex-convict soldiers was soon exhausted. Excusing himself in August, 1746, for his failure to recruit a larger quota for William Shirley's provident but unaccomplished *'delenda est Canada'* expedition,[35] Gooch wrote[36] to the Duke of Newcastle:

'I sent away the week before last for Albany, by his Majesty's ship *Fowey,* stationed here, one Company which, with the utmost care and endeavor during my Indisposition, are all the Men could be raised in this Government. For three years past here has been a Succession of Recruiting officers from Georgia, Jamaica and South Carolina who carried away all the idle Fellows out of a country settled only by Planters.'

And *still* the convicts came. Every year there graduated from the Northern Neck plantations a new crop of undesirable citizens whose places were taken by new importations. In 1748, passing a strong act against vagrancy,[37] the Assembly referred to them in the language of Barradall's act of 1740, reciting that 'divers idle and disorderly persons having no visible estates or employment and who are able to work,

frequently stroll from one county to another, neglecting to labour and either failing altogether to list themselves as tithables or by their idle and disorderly life render themselves incapable of paying their levies when listed.'

In such an atmosphere a new revisal of the fundamental laws of the colony brought before the Assembly for reconsideration the 'Act concerning servants and slaves' which had stood on the statute book since 1705.[38] This act regulated the mutual duties of master and servant, making one rule for christian servants and another for slaves. There was no convict problem in Virginia when it was passed and, in consequence, the provisions in respect to the 'redemptioner' were little different from the custom contemporaneously enforced in England upon apprentices, stern but not implacable discipline. On the other hand, all masters were required to provide for their servants wholesome diet, clothing and lodging and, under severe penalties, were prohibited from administering 'immoderate correction' and, specifically, from whipping 'any christian white servant naked without an order from a justice of the peace.' Furthermore, when the servant's time expired the master was required to set him up as a potential planter with 'freedom dues' consisting of 'ten bushels of indian corn, thirty shillings in money or the value thereof in goods and one well fixed musket or fuzee of the value of twenty shillings at least.' In dealing with the new problems created by the introduction of convicts after 1718, these provisions had in practice apparently been ignored: at all events when the Assembly of 1748 considered the legislation of 1705 and it was proposed to re-enact it without substantial change, the burgesses from the Northern Neck[39] objected. They urged that as one rule had been made for redemptioners and another for slaves when they were the only two kinds of servants, so now a separate and more severe rule should be made for the convict servant; that he had been transported for punishment and to treat him in Virginia as well as the honest redemptioner and, indeed, better than he had ever been treated before, would encourage the government at home to send more convicts, and moreover 'may confirm an Odium

on this Country that we are like those we encourage, and honest Men will not chuse to live in such Company.' The argument on the other side has not been preserved but, being in the middle of the eighteenth century, it certainly was not humanitarian. Doubtless the lowland planter, who then controlled the Assembly, but did not have to live immediately along side the released convicts as did the gentlemen from the Northern Neck, argued comfortably that so long as England insisted on sending convicts out, it was better for the Dominion that after they had completed their terms they should be encouraged and equipped to take post on the ever widening western frontier, where they would serve as bulwarks for the lowlands against the French and indians. Virginia had ample precedent in thus disposing of guests who were either uninvited or uncongenial, e. g., the Huguenots of Manakin Town, the Germans of Germanna and Germantown, and, most recently, the 'Swissers' and the dour Protestant Irish who had been encouraged to swarm into the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania and now, to the undisguised delectation of those tidewater Virginians who had lead an unsuccessful fight against the extension of the Culpeper proprietary, were giving no end of trouble to Lord Fairfax. We can hear some complacent successor to the practical philistinism of Col. Byrd asserting roundly that all these socially unassimilable immigrants had served a purpose useful to the tidewater; let the convicts do as much and let those who had bought and used them on their plantations bear the burden of equipping them for a similar service.

Whatever were their arguments, the 'tuckahoes' controlled the debate.[40] The Northern Neck was out voted and the new bill[41] even increased the 'freedom dues' to 'three pounds, ten shillings current money.' When this reached the Council the representatives of the Northern Neck in that body, Thomas Lee and William Fairfax, renewed the fight. In turn they also were out voted but they filed a strong dissent[42] and ultimately were supported by the Governor in a report to the Lords of Trade.[43] The consequence was that the new 'Act concerning servants and slaves' was one of the ten included in the Revisal

passed at the session of 1748 to be disallowed by the Crown. On October 31, 1751, the Privy Council held that the provisions of this act

'whereby convicts transported from this kingdom for Felony are declared to be entitled to the same care and Freedom Dues that are given for Encouragement to Volunteers for service by Indenture . . . in its tendency is contrary to the Design of the laws of this Kingdom relating to Felons,'

and soon after Governor Dinwiddie assumed office he proclaimed that the act of 1748 was void.[44]

Despite the compliment of the Privy Council, commending the Assembly for its diligence in revising its laws as 'worthy of imitation' in the other colonies, Virginia vocally resented that particular veto;[45] but it is interesting to find that the tidewater men made no further effort to promote the immigration of convicts. In 1753 the act 'concerning servants and slaves' was introduced anew, duly amended to except convicts from all its 'humanitarian' provisions, and on that basis it was passed by the Privy Council and became law.[46] The Assembly had permanently discarded Edward Barradall's comic mask, and after Thomas Lee's death he was avenged upon the convict class for the burning of 'Mt. Pleasant.'

Thenceforth the successive crops of convicts made a recognisable contribution to the population of northern Virginia. Like weeds, they scattered their seed. Some of that seed settled down near the Potomac plantations, but some was blown far afield by the winds of fate and germinated on the new frontier beyond the Blue Ridge.

Interesting as may be Virginia's political problems arising out of the convicts, the degrading fact is that whatever the statesmen might resolve, the continued importation of this kind of cheap labor was undoubtedly encouraged by what Beverley had called the 'greedy planter,' after he had come to appreciate its contribution to the problem of providing cheap labor. The evidence of this is that the practice of importation survived the

Revolution. Writing at Nomini Hall on February 25, 1774, Philip Fithian said:[47]

'There is a report that the Jail Fever (or Yellow or putrid Fever) is at one Mr. Atwel's on potowmack in this county; that it was brought in a Ship which came lately with Convict servants; that two have already died, one this morning; and that many of Mr. Atwell's slaves are infected.'

Interpreted in the spirit which has actuated most revolutionary American history, this late testimony might be made out to be a convincing count in an indictment of the persistent insolence and tyrannical exercise of power by that 'ministerial party' in England, against which the Virginia patriots were to wage war. But what shall be said of the recitals of the act of November, 1788:[48]

'Whereas it hath been represented to this General Assembly by the United States in Congress that a practice has prevailed for some time past of importing [from places out of the United States] felons-convict into this State, under various pretences, which said felons-convict, so imported, have been sold and dispersed among the people of this State, whereby much injury hath been done to the morals as well as the health of our fellow citizens.'

Thus it appears that long after she was free to stop the importation of convicts, Virginia permitted the practice and, indeed, prohibited it only when the Congress asked that that be done.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE

[1] The characteristic lack of genealogical links with England, to which Dr. Stanard has called attention in his *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, dates from this time.

[2] *Cf.* Beverley, 1722 (London edition), chapter x.

[3] *Free Negroes*: While William Fitzhugh owned negroes and worked them in the field, he was typical rather of his neighbours in Westmoreland and even more largely in lower Virginia, than of his own frontier county. This is apparent from the Stafford records which contain only occasional references to slaves but many to white servants. Thus, in 1692, it was stipulated on behalf of an English girl, sold

under indenture to a kinsman, that she should not be put to 'country work' (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 27), which could never have been necessary if there had been a question of companionship with negroes. Again, in 1691, a negro named Benjamin Lewis, 'an ingenious brisk fellow,' represented to the Stafford Court that he had been free in England and was imported into Virginia under indenture to serve four years 'as other servants and Indentures are brought in,' that he was consigned to Christopher Robinson, who sold him to 'one Paget of Rappᵃ' who in turn sold him to William Harris of Stafford, who now claimed him as a slave and refused to recognise his indenture, alleging it to be forged. The indenture was thereupon submitted to a jury who found it to be good, and, as it had expired, the Court ordered 'the said Benjamin his freedom,' requiring him, as all successful litigants were required, to pay the jury seventy-two pounds of tobacco. This interesting case reveals none of that degrading fear of a numerous slave population which actuated court proceedings elsewhere in the colony then and later. In this connection it may be noted that until 1723 free negroes voted in Virginia (Hening, iv, 133, and see the discussion in Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia,* Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1913).

[4] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 175.

[5] Perry, *Virginia Church Papers,* 313. With Parson Scott's report on Stafford in 1724 it is interesting to compare Governor Nicholson's comment a quarter century earlier (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1700, p. 499; 1701, p. 634): 'There is another county on our side of Potomack River which is Stafford . . . and is the upper part and lies upon the river for nigh 80 miles . . . about 60 miles of the upper part of it lies away from Virginia, tho it has no inhabited frontiers.'

[6] See the propositions against the convicts from Westmoreland in 1730 and 1732 in *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 69, 123. As late as 1753 the Assembly had before it a proposition from Fairfax to require masters of convict servants to give bond for their good behavior. *ibid.*, 1752-58, pp. 49, 53.

[7] 4 Geo. I, c. 11. (Ruffhead, *Statutes at Large,* v, 174.) In a curious and provocative study of this statute (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, ii, 12) Dr. J. D. Butler collected, out of the *Historical Register,* the statistic that in the ten years after its passage 2138 persons were transported, of whom, Dr. Butler assumed, the majority were sold in Virginia and Maryland. The best of the general historians on the subject is the latest, Professor Edward Channing (*History of the United States,* ii, (1910), ch. xiii.) but there are judicious observatons on these unfortunates in Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 371.

[8] *England Overseas*: See *The Elizabethans and the Empire,* 1922. There is a curious echo of this tradition in the report (*The Times* weekly edition, April 21, 1922) of a recent speech by a British minister before the Canadian Club in London:

'The Home Secretary said he believed there were many people who thought we desired not to emigrate our good men but our 'rotters' (Cries of 'No!'). Nothing could be more untrue, the last thing any thinking Britisher wanted was to send our rotters to the overseas Dominions. We wanted the very best of our people to go overseas to populate the unpopulated areas and make the oversea Dominions an even stronger and better part of our great Empire.'

This modern statesman was, however, merely echoing the famous statement as to the purposes of the Virginia Company, made by the earl of Southampton in 1620, (Stope, *Southampton,* 1922, p.

442), viz: 'the Company who have gained so hopeful a country, which they have bought and compounded for with the natives, and which when once well peopled by English Colonies will find full employment for all needy people in this land, who now begin to swarm in this blessed time of peace under his Majesties happy reign: will provide estates likewise for all the younger brothers, gentlemen of this Kingdom, and also a ready and lasting supply to this Nation of those commodities which in our present condition we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea from heathen princes.'

[9] Hening, ii, 509.

[10] Conway Robinson's note of the *Council Journal,* October 21, 1670 in *Va. Mag.,* viii, 408; *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1669-74, No. 590.

[11] *History and Present State,* 1705, iv, 52.

[12] *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* ed. Smyth, v, 86. He had previously (*ibid.,* iii, 45) retorted, whimsically, to the English argument that the convicts would change their Natures with change of climate, by proposing that the colonies should export rattlesnakes to England in the same expectation.

[13] C. O., 5: 1387; the title only is in Hening, iv, 106.

[14] *Present State,* 1724 (Sabin's reprint), pp. 53, 122. There is no mention of the Hempshire 'design' in the formal entries relating to the act of 1722 in the *Journals H. B.*

[15] *Acts P. C.,* Colonial, iii, 54.

[16] *Jonathan Forward:* Hugh Jones speaks of 'the Methods now practised by . . . Mr. Forward and some Merchants for sending over continually all sorts of Servants . . . loose Villains made tame by Wild and then enslaved by his Forward Namesake.' From the British Treasury papers it appears that one Jonathan Forward, a merchant of London, 'had a monopoly of this business for many years.' (Andrews' *Guide to P. R. O. Materials,* ii, 230.). In *A Progress to the Mines* Col. Byrd confirms this by his reference on the Rappahannock to 'Jonathan Forward who has great interests here.' Dr. Palmer, who had an unfortunate habit of perverting the names he read in MS., prints 'Jonathan *Howard*' in the certificate of exportation of convicts in 1724, given in *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 204. Jones' other playful reference is, of course, to the notorious Jonathan Wild, who, until he was hanged in 1725, employed himself diligently in securing the transportation of those London thieves who refused to do business through his 'fence.'

Forward was succeeded in his unpleasant contract by a 'Mr. Reide' who was exercising that function in September, 1741, when he reported (Historical MSS. Commission Fourteenth Report, App. ix, p. 77) that 29 convicts consigned 'on the *Sally* for Potowmack in Virginia' had risen on the crew, taken the ship into the Texel and escaped.

[17] The offense of eight prisoners who were consigned for transportation to Virginia by the magistrates of Glasgow in 1715, was entered, 'for being habite and repute gipsies.' *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow,* 1691-1717 (1908), p. 525.

[18] The act is not in Hening, but see *Journals H. B.,* 1712-1726, p. 116; *Spotswood Letters;* ii, 96; and a report by the Sheriff of Essex, April 15, 1715, of the burning of 'one of Mr. Buckner's storehouses with some Tobo. and his scales in it.' *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 181.

[19] In 1895 Miss Kate Mason Rowland communicated to the *William & Mary Quarterly* (iii, 265) the following extract from the

Maryland Gazette: February 4, 1728/9: 'Last Wednesday night Col. Thomas Lee's fine house in Virginia was burnt, his office, barns and outhouses, his plate, cash (to the sum of £10,000), papers and everything entirely lost. His lady and child were forced to be thrown out of a window and he himself hardly escaped the flames, being much scorched. A white girl about twelve years of age (a servant) perished in the fire. It is said Col. Lee's loss is not less than £50,000. The fine large house of Col. Carter on Rappahannock [i. e., Corotoman] was also burnt lately.' A later notice added that certain of Col. Lee's plate had been stolen from his house 'sometime before it was burnt,' and remarked significantly, that 'the Governor of Virginia has published a Reward of 50 Pounds and a Pardon to any one of the Accomplices who will discover the rest (except the Person who set fire to the House).'

[20] British Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[21] C. O. 5: 1321, p. 221.

[22] The three children evidently were Richard, b. 17, June, 1723; Philip Ludwell, b. 24, February, 1727; and Hannah, b. 6, February, 1728 (*Lee of Virginia*, p. 125). The next child, John, was b. 28, March, 1729, 'and died the same day.' As this was only a few days after the date of Governor Gooch's despatch, it may be assumed that the experience of Mrs. Lee in the fire was the occasion of the loss of her fourth child.

[23] This recommendation was duly certified to the Treasury and, a year later, produced a warrant in Thomas Lee's favor for £300 (*Cal. Treasury Books and Papers*, 1729-30, pp. 80, 85, 93. See also Gooch's despatches in C. O., 5: 1366, p. 33; 1322, p. 277). 'Mt. Pleasant' was not, however, his property. It had been the seat of his father, the second Richard Lee, who had collected there the library, rich in curious books of ancient medicine, to which Governor Gooch refers (See the catalogue in *W. & M. Quar.*, ii, 247), and on his death passed to the eldest son, the third Richard Lee, who removed his residence to London. It was thus that Thomas Lee occupied the house in 1729 as tenant of his nephew George, eldest son of the third Richard (See the wills in *Lee of Virginia*).

[24] Hening, iv, 271.

[25] C. O. 5: 1322, p. 103.

[26] C. O. 5: 1323, p. 127.

[27] C. O. 5: 1323, pp. 101-110.

[28] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 151. Dr. Philip Slaughter (*History of St. Marks Parish*, 1877) had no record of this fire.

[29] 'There is reason to suspect a sett of People who had projected to have another instead, in their Neighbourhood.' C. O. 5: 1323, p. 89.

[30] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 303, 305.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[32] C. O. 5: 1323, p. 89.

[33] *The Capitol Fire*: See *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 235. The convicts had evidently got on Gooch's nerves. If his brother, the Bishop of Ely, had been called upon to curse them with bell, book and candle, he could not have done better than this. But it never appeared that the Capitol fire was incendiary. Virginia's earliest records, what Gooch called 'the authentic Registers of every Man's Property,' were then saved only to be consumed in another such fire, more than

a century later, at the most tragic moment in the history of the Commonwealth.

[34] Hening, v, 94. The author of this *opera bouffe* bill was Edward Barradall, then Attorney General of Virginia, and sitting as burgess for William and Mary College.

There is an earlier evidence of his subtlety as a draftsman in the act of 1736 (Hening, iv, 514) relating to the Northern Neck proprietary. The job he then did for his client, Lord Fairfax, was not only immediately effective but kept the Virginia courts busy for a century.

[35] *Capt. Beverley Robinson's Virginia Company at Albany*: The Assembly's authority for Virginia's contribution is in Hening, v, 401. With characteristic art Parkman (*A Half Century of Conflict*, chap. xxi) has painted the picture of Shirley's disappointment in 1746. He then had an opportunity to capture Quebec and Montreal and thus complete the work begun by the Massachusetts troops at Louisbourg, but the government at home failed to send the support they had promised, and so Shirley had to wait to see others realize his dream. In 1746 Gooch had been assigned to command on this service a detachment of troops requisitioned from all the English colonies in America, but begged off on account of physical infirmity. The single Virginia company which went spent eighteen months in camp at Albany and then came home having had some illuminating experience of a larger world but no sight of the enemy.

[36] C. O. 5: 1338, No. 4.

[37] Hening, vi, 29.

[38] Hening, iii, 447.

[39] At this session of 1748-49, the Northern Neck Burgesses were,
For Fairfax: Lawrence Washington and Richard Osborne,
Frederick: George William Fairfax and Gabriel Jones,
King George: Charles Carter and Henry Turner,
Lancaster: Joseph Chinn and Peter Conway,
Northumberland: Presley Thornton and Spencer Ball,
Prince William: Thomas Harrison and Joseph Blackwell,
Richmond: Wm. Fauntleroy and John Woodbridge,
Stafford: Wm. Fitzhugh and Peter Hedgman,
Westmoreland: John Bushrod and George Lee.
Culpeper, created at this session, was not yet represented.

[40] *The Northern Neck v. the Tidewater*: The lowland planters continued to control the Assembly on most similar occasions until after the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829. One of the Northern Neck burgesses, who was having his first experience of a legislature in this Assembly of 1748, then learned the secret of Virginia politics—sectionalism. In 1761 George William Fairfax wrote (*The Fairfaxes of England and America*, ed. Neill, 1868,) p. 128: 'I have long observed that the lower members disregard and look upon the Northern Neck as a separate interest, tho' under the same laws.' Those who faced the problems of the 'back country' at that time generally resented the 'tuckahoes.' In 1759 old Lord Fairfax had written (*ibid.*, p. 111) testily of the selfish influence of 'James River' in the Assembly, while in 1756 James Maury, the parson of Frederickville parish, animadverted (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 394) upon the 'gentlemen living in the lower parts of the country . . . . . none of them knowing anything of the back country.' Thompson Mason had the prejudice so deeply implanted in him that

in his will (1785, Rowland, ii, 77) he 'positively directed that neither of my younger sons shall reside on the South side of James River or below Williamsburg before they respectively attain the age of twenty one, lest they should imbibe more exalted notions of their own importance than I could wish any child of mine to possess.'

Governor Fauquier, in his despatch of June 2, 1760 (*Journals H. B.*, 1758-61, Appendix, p. 284) affords us an illuminating glimpse of the operation of the principle of sectionalism on one of the few occasions in which the Northern Neck prevailed. Discussing the act for the reduction of the duty on slaves (Hening, vii, 363) he said, 'the contest . . . is between the old Settlers who have bred great quantity of Slaves and would make a Monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition, and the rising Generation who want Slaves and don't care to pay the Monopolists for them, at the price they have lately bore, which was exceedingly high. These reasons, your Lord[ps] may guess, are not urged in the arguments on either side; but I believe are the true foundation of the Squabble.'

[41] Hening, v, 550.

[42] *Legislative Journals of the Council*, ii, 1034.

[43] Gooch made this report in person after his return to England in June, 1749. C. O. 5: 1327, p. 143.

[44] *Acts P. C.*, Colonial iv, 140; Hening, v, 568. This veto came too late to prevent the printing of the disallowed acts in the Revisal of 1752, and so preserved them for Hening and for us.

[45] *Legislative Journals of the Council*, ii, 1082. This memorial of protest to the Crown is printed also in Hening, v, 432.

[46] Hening, vi, 356. The Northern Neck burgesses made no objection to this act. In the Council, William Fairfax voted for it.

[47] *Diary*, p. 111.

[48] *Code*, 1819, i, 68.

PART THREE

The Seating of the Piedmont

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Brent Town, Ravensworth and the Huguenots

IN 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, Nicholas Hayward, son of a long established Virginia merchant in London, and himself a practising notary public[1] on 'the Virginia walk in the Exchange,' was a worthy representative of the great traditions of the Elizabethan adventurers who had planted the American colonies. With a large vision of the future, he made investments and assumed risks in the new world all the way from Virginia to the Hudson Bay. The fact that he was a brother of that Samuel Hayward, Clerk of Stafford, who was William Fitzhugh's 'entirely beloved and good friend,' brought him into intimate correspondence with Fitzhugh, with the consequence that, although Nicholas Hayward does not once speak for himself in the surviving record, the reader of Fitzhugh's letters must arise with a sense of having made the acquaintance, in him, of a man of sound business, enlightened views, and a pleasant sense of humour.[2]

At the time of the arrival of the first Huguenot refugees in England, this Nicholas Hayward had recently picked up, at a bargain, a plantation on the Potomac adjoining William Fitzhugh's home place, 'Bedford.' Casting about how profitably to turn over his investment, he resisted Fitzhugh's offer to take the land off his hands, and worked out a plan to colonize it with some of the Huguenot refugees. Fitzhugh's imagination was at once captured by the suggestion. He acutely appreciated the opportunity, but, sensibly enough, pointed out that under the extensive habits of Virginia life, which the immigrants would be sure soon to adopt, Hayward's plantation was not large enough for his purpose. He therefore suggested, as an alternative, to send the Huguenots to the great tract (later known as Ravensworth), which Fitzhugh had himself recently entered, on the upper waters of Accotink. Hay-

ward recognised the force of the criticism, but he did not fall in with the alternative suggestion. He wanted to establish in Virginia a 'canton' of his own, a new 'hundred' such as 'particular adventurers' had once upon a time set up on James River in the days of the Virginia Company. Hayward knew that he could secure all the land he wanted because it had now been some years since Lord Culpeper had bought out the other proprietors of the Northern Neck,[3] only to find the estate hanging heavy on his hands. Everybody in London knew that the noble lord was in financial straits. To him Hayward accordingly made the welcome proposal to purchase for cash a tract of 30,000 acres in the Stafford backwoods. The negotiations did not take long, and Hayward proceeded to make up a syndicate to exploit his purchase. He first took into partnership two Virginia merchants, both of whom had been resident in the colony. These were his own brother-in-law, Richard Foote, then carrying on the business of the first Nicholas Hayward, and Robert Bristow, a picturesque survivor of Bacon's Rebellion.[4] Agreeing that it was desirable to have also a resident partner in Virginia, George Brent of 'Woodstock,' surveyor and lawyer, and then the head of the Brent family in Stafford, was selected for this relation.

To these four, as tenants in common, Culpeper executed and delivered a grant, dated January 10, 1686/7,[5] of

'All that tract, Territory or parcel of Land Containing by estimation thirty thousand Acres be the same more or less, Scituate, lying and being in or near the said County of Stafford in Virginia aforesaid, Between the Courses of the said Two Rivers, Rappahannock and Potowmack, backwards at least six miles Distant from the said Main River and from any Land already seated and inhabited, and upon and Between the Southwest and Northeast Branches of Ocaquan Creek[6] and from thence towards the Mountains.'

Upon this foundation Hayward next applied to James II for a royal assurance of religious toleration for his proposed Huguenot emigrants, an assurance which was a necessity in the troublous politics of that year. The petition recited the Culpeper grant and that the grantees

'have projected, and do speedly designe to build, a Towne with Convenient fortifications, and doo therefore pray that for the encouragement of Inhabitants to settle in the said Towne and plantation . . . to grant them the free exercise of their Religion.'

Whereupon, under date of February 10, 1686/7, the King issued, as one of his famous dispensations, a warrant[7] directed to Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, providing that

'wee do accordingly give and grant unto the Pet'rs and to all and every the Inhabitants which now are or hereafter shall be settled in the said Towne and Tract of Land belonging to them as is above mentioned, the full exercise of their Religion without being prosecuted or molested upon any penall laws or other account for the same.'

The town so to be established was forthwith dubbed Brenton, but this was corrupted by local usage into Brent Town, and that came to be the designation of the whole tract.[8]

Prior to the date of the grant, George Brent had begun the development of the property.[9] A year later he still had people on the ground, for in his letter of June 1, 1688, Fitzhugh said to Hayward that he was sending to England 'a skin which is esteemed a Lion's with us here, killed upon your Town tract.' The pioneers opened thither that 'Brent Town road' which appears in the later land grants, extending from the Potomac Path up the Long (or Beaverdam) branch of Aquia and across the divide above the head spring of Dorrill's Run to the lower side of Town (alias Brent Town) Run, and there laid out the town site.[10] The general plan of the proposed community was that of the ancient race inheritance which had been revived for the original settlement on James River but had now been long abandoned in Virginia practice; for security the Brenton colonists were to live together in the town, but to each town lot of one acre was to be appurtenant a farm of one hundred acres in the 'country."[11]

Meanwhile, Hayward was active in London circulating colonization literature through the coffee houses of Soho and

St. Giles and the weavers' shops of Spitalfields, where the refugees foregathered.[12] A copy of his broadside has been preserved by the author of that entertaining little book, *Voyages d'un Francois,* printed at The Hague in 1687. He says it came into his hands after his return to London from Virginia in the spring of 1687. What follows is a translation of Hayward's original French:

'Propositions for Virginia.

'The proprietors of the land situated near [i. e., *proche,* with which locution compare the language of the Brenton grant quoted above] the county of Stafford in Virginia, on the 39th degree, between the southwest and northwest branches of the river called Occoquan Creek, and of the town that they have begun to build, called Brenton, make the following propositions for the encouragement of persons who plan to emigrate into that country and there make a permanent establishment, that is to say,

> 'to the first to present themselves they will sell, for the sum of ten pounds sterling cash, at four *écus* to the pound sterling, 100 acres of land near enough to the town to build a house upon it. Under this offer the purchasers, and their heirs, will become proprietors of the said land in perpetuity, subject only to a quit rent of four shillings sterling per annum [i. e., double the proprietary quit rent].

'Such persons may be assured that the said land is healthy, good and fertile, producing all sorts of grains grown in Europe, such as wheat, rye, oats, etc.; vines and all sorts of fruit, and that the water is excellent.

'At the price above mentioned, the proprietors will give the preference of choice of the situations of farm [*mesterie*] and house in the order of application, but only on condition that the purchasers shall emigrate to become residents. It is the expectation of the proprietors in the future to make another and a higher price for the general sale of said lands.

> 'For the further encouragement of such families as shall first present themselves, who cannot or do not wish to pay cash, and who desire to be assisted by these proprietors, they offer to lease to such persons 100 acres of land for a farm and one acre in the said town for a

house, and to furnish to each family nails and other hardware in sufficient quantity to build a house in size 26 to 28 feet long and 14 to 16 feet wide, and 15 bushels of indian corn for their subsistence the first year, all at an annual rent of 4 *écus* (or one pound) sterling.

'If any shall find 100 acres too much or not enough, what they want may be leased on a basis in proportion to that stated above, but upon the same conditions.

'London, May 30, 1687.

One behalf of the Proprietors,

Nic. Hayward.'

Hayward was, however, only one of a number who were contemporaneously competing for these desirable colonists, and his modest efforts lacked the authority and the organization of those of the proprietary colonies. Even before the Revocation, the French seaport towns had been flooded with Carolina broadsides so that the refugees reached London 'having nothing but Carolina in their minds,' dreaming of it as a land of fruit and flowers. In London they were met by alluring offers from William Penn to seat his 'lower Counties' on the Delaware, and the agents of Carolina renewed their promises and their highly coloured pictures. Even Massachusetts took a hand. The Virginia government itself as yet did nothing, but Hayward had volunteer supporters among the masters of the ships engaged in the Virginia trade. In the *Voyages d'un Francois* the author tells of a conversation with one of them to whom he confided that he planned to establish himself in Carolina, explaining,

'that he had in his hands printed broadsides which made it out to be the most agreeable and the most fertile part of America, and that many people in London had assured him that this was true. The Captain replied that he had been to Carolina two years previously, carrying thirty emigrants from Plymouth, and had left them all in vigorous health, but when he returned eleven months later he found only two alive: that there was not an acre of good land in all South Carolina. One of the sailors here spoke up, saying that when he was there last year in July, half of the population of Charles Town had left or was dead.'

This propaganda may have been effective in individual cases, but it was insufficient to accomplish Hayward's larger purpose. In the end he failed. The company on which he particularly counted, embarked for Carolina.[13] Brenton, *qua* town, forthwith disappeared as in a mirage.

And so it was that after the revolution of 1688 the Stafford 'canton' was still unseated. George Brent, himself a Catholic, then brought forward a curious proposal which illustrates the topsiturvy state of the contemporary world:

'What encouragement,' says Fitzhugh to Hayward on April 1, 1689,[14] 'my poor Endeavors or Interest can give to your pleasing Establishment at Brenton, and a sudden commotion we have had (under the pretended expectation of Indians, of which Capt. Brent has given you a full, just and clear relation)[15] gives me the present opportunity not only to assure the people but also to satisfie the Government that were full encouragement given and Immunity granted to that Town, which might be conducive to draw Inhabitants thither, the country would be indifferent secure from future alarms; and it would be a sure Bulwark against reall dangers, because either by them or within them must be the Indian Road. A good company of men there settled would be immediately called either to keep off the Enemy at his first approach or cut him short in his Return. This sudden turn of times in England may perhaps at present give a check to the Increment of Brenton from your French expectation, but I believe may be additionally suply'ed by those methods, (Capt. Brent intimates though not plainly expresses), by being a Refuge and Sanctuary for Roman Catholics, And I dare say, let it be increaced by whom it will, our government will give it all the Indulgences that can be reasonably required by reason of its convenient Scituation for a Watch and Defence agst. Indian Depredations and Excursions; neither do I believe that perswasion will be hindered from settling anywhere in this country, especially there where, being Christians, they may secure us against the Heathen."[16]

If ever this Catholic plan was seriously considered, it failed like the earlier Huguenot plan. In July, 1690,[17] trying to enlist Hayward's interest in a scheme of his own to import Huguenots, Fitzhugh recognised that he could not expect more

than casual mention of his lands in Hayward's 'larger discourse' on the Exchange, 'considering your Brenton design wants people . . . which I esteem deserves and requires your continued care and diligence in its supply, with Inhabitants; for Capt. Brent's utmost endeavours will but make a thin supply here.' Again, in May, 1691,[18] he says: 'I truly condole your unsuccessful, though chargeable and vigorous, proceedings about Brenton. The unsteadiness of the times since the first undertaking has been a great hindrance thereto. When or Whether they will end, for your advantageous prospect and Interest in this concern, I believe is uncertain. . . . I am glad your Hudson Bay Interest makes you some compensation.'

Whatever was the original character or extent of the outpost established on Town Run, its lamp was somehow kept alight during the years to come by reason of the constant anxiety about the movements of the Iroquois. The blockhouse there was a first rate point of observation upon those far wandering warriors. Fitzhugh had pointed out that Brenton was near the 'Indian Road,' thereby referring to the Iroquois Path, leading south through the mountain 'thoroughfares' to the falls of the Rappahannock, which is designated, in the early land grants of the Brenton neighbourhood, the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path.' It was for this purpose that the Rangers camped on the town site as we have seen them doing in 1692,[19] and that the Council ordered them in 1694[20] to give 'particular care to guard Brent Town.' But until the settlements, advancing inland from the Rappahannock and up the valley of Occoquan, reached and included it, Brent Town remained a mere name in the backwoods. It then reappears for a moment only because the boundaries of the Hayward grant had never been definitely marked, and the uncertainty hindered others from seating the adjacent lands. A record made in the Assembly in 1720 included the proprietors of Brent Town with those of several other great tracts of backwoods lands in a charge of a deliberate attempt to entrap the unwary frontiersman.

'Mr. Clayton reports from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances,' says the Assembly *Journal*,[21] 'that they had had under their consideration the Petition from Stafford County to them refer'd and had agreed upon a Report . . . .

'On consideration of the Petition from Stafford County complaining of Grants of large tracts of land in the said County, the bounds whereof cannot be known by reason of the Grantees have not surveyed the same, and are unwilling so to do, in expectation other persons will ignorantly enter on and save the lands, and praying relief therein:

'The Committee being informed that the Tract called Brent Town, the Tract now belonging to Mr. Henry ffitzhugh and Henry ffitzhugh the younger, and the tract belonging to Edward Jeffreys, Esqr., are the said Tracts mentioned in the said petition.[22]

'*Resolved* That the several proprietors of the said Tracts shall survey or cause to be surveyed the said several Tracts of land within three years next coming or on failure thereof That any other person shall be at Liberty to enter for and hold the Same.'

So far as concerned Brent Town, nothing was done in pursuance of this resolution. When Robert Carter resumed the Northern Neck agency in 1723, he encountered a clamorous demand for grants above the head spring of Deep Run on the branches of Dorrill's and Town Runs, but he could find no record of how far north he could safely go in this direction, without encroaching on Brent Town. On July 4, 1723,[23] he wrote to Col. Cage, the trustee named in Lady Fairfax's will:

'I shall find a great deal of difficulty in the laying off the Brenton Grant. I have given some public notice about it. Young Brent and his Mother declare if I offer to Strech a chain there, they will Stop me. I must try Whether they will be so good as their Words. If they do, I shall go near to call them before their betters.'

Notwithstanding these thunders, it appears that a year later 'young Brent and his Mother' were still holding their ground, for when Col. Carter began by his grants to hem in the Brent Town tract on the west and north, as well as on the south, his surveyors were unable to specify precise bound-

aries for Brent Town, and so left scraps of unappropriated territory between the Carter grants and the Brent Town lines to be taken up when those boundaries should be ascertained.[24]

In this situation, Brent Town lay in the dead hand. The four interests descended undivided among the heirs of the original proprietors and for three generations the land remained unseated. By his will George Brent of Woodstock had directed that his dividend, when declared, be erected into a manor to be held in tail male, and as such his claim passed in succession through all his four sons and so came to another George Brent, the son of his youngest son, who was the 'young Brent' of Col. Carter's letter of 1723.[25] Contemporaneously, the interest of the first Richard Foote vested in two grandsons, both Virginians, born in Chotank.[26] The Hayward and Bristow shares meanwhile remained in England, anonymous so far as concerned the Virginia records. At last 'in the years 1737 and 1738' the tract was surveyed. So delimited, the greater part of it was found to lie, as contemplated by the grant of 1686, in the fork between Broad and Cedar runs, extending west to a 'back line,' which ran from the mouth of the Walnut Branch of Cedar to the vicinity of the ford (since known as 'Linton's'), by which the north fork of the Dumfries road crossed Broad Run; but there was still included the town site of 1687 with a considerable area below Cedar reaching south between the mouths of Champ's and Dorrill's runs.[27]

The evidence of the surviving records of Brent Town is meagre enough, but it may fairly be deduced from what is available that a comprehensive occupation of the property did not take place until after this survey. The impetus to seat it had waited until a partition in severalty had been accomplished by mutual releases of the proprietors, which was the purpose for which the long delayed survey had finally been made.[28] In that partition the Bristows took a northern parcel, lying on Broad Run and in the fork between it and Cedar, including the future sites of Broad Run Church, the town of Brentsville and Bristow station; the Brents took their dividend ad-

joining the Bristows and on Slaty Run; the Haywards took theirs on the south fork of the Dumfries road; while the Footes took the southernmost parcel, being the lands on both sides of Cedar above the mouth of Dorrill's. The Hayward heirs, having no longer any other interest in Virginia, now at once sold and distributed their lands,[29] but the other three shares still remained entailed in the original proprietary families.

Beginning in 1741, the Prince William deed books show what the survivors did with their inheritance. The Brent and Bristow tracts were subdivided into units of 200 acre plantations, which were uniformly leased for three lives at an annual rental of 530 pounds of tobacco.[30] The interesting settlement of the property was, however, that of the Foote lands, for here the proprietors established their own residences, and, bringing with them from Chotank, Fitzhughs, Alexanders, Stuarts and others, soon transplanted to the original town site a community which had all the characteristics of the tidewater civilization. In one of his charming sketches of antebellum Virginia, testifying that he was born in this community, Mr. George Fitzhugh, of Caroline, described it:

'Brent Town,' he says,[31] 'was a sort of colony of Chotank. When we lived there all the people were Chotankers by descent. Like their Chotank ancestors, their hearts were bigger than their purses. They generally broke and moved South and West to mend their fortunes. Being men of energy and education, they generally succeeded and are now [1860] doing better than either their Brent Town or their more remote Chotank ancestors ever did.'

Before this community lost its local flavor in the economic crisis which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, depleted all eastern Virginia, it had naturalized in the piedmont those 'fine old distinctive traditions' which have persisted at Warrenton;[32] but what Mr. Fitzhugh says of the eventual disappearance of the Chotankers from Brent Town unfortunately remains true. Not only have they themselves never returned, but today not even a memory of them is extant among those who have succeeded to the lands on which once they tended

tobacco and spent their substance in agreeable, if lavish, hospitality. Except by the antiquarian, these Chotankers are locally as forgotten as the Manahoac indians who preceded them on Cedar Run.

The ultimate history of the other proprietary dividends of the Brent Town tract is not socially as interesting as that of the Footes, but in one case it was poignant. The Brent lands were held together until after the Revolution, when they passed from the descendants of George Brent of Woodstock to those of his uncle, Giles Brent of 'Peace.' Being no longer bound by entail, they then experienced piecemeal alienation. The 'Bristow tract,' however, was subjected to a *peine forte et dur* because at the time of the Revolution it was vested in a non-resident Englishman, who was a target for revolutionary passions. As the first Robert Bristow lost his property in Virginia by reason of his loyalty to established government, so did his descendant of the same name a century later. The Robert Bristow of 1779 was adjudged an alien enemy by the Virginia courts and his Virginia estate was escheated to the Commonwealth. Thereafter for some years the land was wastefully administered by agents appointed to represent the Commonwealth. When the Literary Fund was created, the title vested in it, and by that Fund 'the Bristow tract' was finally divided and sold in 1834.[33] Thenceforth the world forgot Bristow until, in the course of the second battle of Manassas, Stonewall Jackson made it an ever memorable place name.

Though he did not record a grant until 1694, William Fitzhugh had, in 1686, already 'entered for' the property subsequently known as Ravensworth.[34] It then consisted of 21,996 acres of land in the Stafford backwoods on the head branches of Accotink and Hunting Creek, and so, generally speaking, lay back of both the Howsing (or Alexander) patent where Alexandria was to arise and the Cadwallader Jones (or Jeffreys) tract as well. When, as we have seen, Fitzhugh offered these lands for Huguenot colonization, he outlined his

terms in a statement which supplements Hayward's prospectus in its testimony as to contemporary values and tenures of backwoods lands.

'For the french Protestants,' he says in May, 1686,[35] 'I have convenient and good Land enough to seat 150 or 200 fam'lys upon one Dividend wch contains 21,996 acres, which I will either sell them in fee at £7 sterling for every hundred acres, or else lease it to them for three lives paying 20 shillings p. annum for every hundred acres, and they may have the liberty of renewing one two or three lives at any time, paying for each life to be renewed one year's Rent, without demanding any fine or other consideration for their first purchase;[36] and will engage to find them with bread and meat for the first year, meat at 2s 6d p. hundred and corn at 2s 6d p. bushel, for as many soever as comes in if it be three or four hundred people, and all other necessarys for their money at the Country market price. The Land I offer to Sell or lease is scituate in this county, lyes within a mile and half of Potomack River, and of two bold navigable creeks,[37] is principal good land and is more proper for frenchmen, because more naturally inclined to vines, than yours[38] or any about our neighbourhood; and will engage to naturalize every Soul of them at £3 p. head without any more or other matter of charge or trouble to them, whereby the heirs will be capacitated to inherit the father's purchase.'[39]

When he wrote this, Fitzhugh had already settled some tenants on his Accotink dividend. In April, 1686,[40] he excuses delay in shipping some tobacco by the fact that 'my Plantation its made upon is so far above me and consequently out of my Kenn that they have not got it ready,' but in July, 1690, he was still seeking tenants.[41]

While Fitzhugh himself says nothing more about French colonists, meagre as it is, there is evidence that at some time before his death in 1701, and also before the Huguenot colony was established at Manakintown, he had succeeded in seating some French people temporarily on his Accotink lands. It has been shown[42] that every year from 1686 to 1700 small parties of Huguenots went over from London to Virginia (as to other colonies in America) with the aid of King William III's Royal Bounty. Fitzhugh apparently succeeded in attracting some of

these people to his lands. We know certainly that in 1690 he had 'come accidentally upon a French minister, a sober, learned and discreet Gentleman,' and employed him as tutor for his sons.[43] Again there is the tradition in the Venable family[44] that, before 1700, their ancestor, Abraham Micheaux, 'landed in Stafford County on the banks of the Potomac' and lived there 'one or two years' before he removed his wife and children to Manakintown. To these scraps finally may be added a definite, if tantalizing, testimony by the second George Mason. In a letter to Governor Nicholson, dated October 28, 1701,[45] he began by protesting, 'Wee have no news in these parts,' and then proceeded to rehearse two pieces of news for which, as it happens, no other such first hand evidence is now extant, 'only that the ffrench Refugees is most of them gone to Maryland and have left an ill distemper behind them, the bloody flux, which has effected Some of our neighbours . . . The ffrench Refugees great friend Coll. Fitzhugh dyed tuesday the 21 at night.'

By his will[46] Fitzhugh divided the Accotink dividend equally between his two eldest sons, William of 'Eagles Nest,' and Henry of 'Bedford.' It was the latter who was the 'Mr. Henry ffitzhugh' of the Assembly resolution of 1720 which has been cited. The 'Henry ffitzhugh the Younger,' of the same document was the son and heir of William of 'Eagles Nest,' whose descendants[47] eventually established their residence at Ravensworth and cultivated the Fairfax County fields in which there was once seated one of the very earliest Huguenot communities in Virginia.

Some years after Fitzhugh's death there was another immigration of Huguenots to old Prince William, but there is no evidence to connect it either with Brent Town or Ravensworth. On the contrary, some of it was an overflow from Manakintown. In 1706 and 1709 one who is listed in the land books as 'Marquess Calmeby' had proprietary grants on the upper waters of Aquia;[48] and in 1711 and 1712, as part of the move-

ment of population up the Occoquan which we are about to rehearse, there appear in the same books other perversions of French names, viz: Clermont Chevalle, Lewis Reno, Lewis Tacquett, Samuel Duchiminia, Rynhart de la Fayolle, Peter Lehew and Philemon Waters.[49] All these had small grants side by side on the lower or eastern side of Cedar Run in the vicinity of Brent Town and within the present limits of Prince William. If there was any evidence that there had ever been any actual Huguenot settlement in Brent Town one might fairly assume that these people were an overflow from such a settlement, but they seem more likely to have first come to Stafford shortly before they had their grants. The Council *Journal* for October 24, 1700, supplies the clew in the authority there given to the second supply of Huguenots, which had then recently reached Virginia, 'to disperse themselves through the country 'till next fall.'[50]

It seems likely that the later immigrants to Stafford were some of the sheep to stray from this second supply. At all events, they not only left their seed to propagate in Prince William, but inscribed their names on its map.[61] In the vicinity of Ashburn, in lower Loudoun, there is still an old and respectable community of Huguenot families, and others are found scattered elsewhere in northern Virginia, all of whom seem to have sojourned on Cedar Run.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

[1] The office of notary public, of great antiquity and whilom dignity, was originally ecclesiastical. In consequence, in England it is still an appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the merchants long ago appropriated it to their service in making record of solemn acts arising out of foreign trade.

[2] Fitzhugh's letters to Hayward here discussed may be found in *Va. Mag.*, i, 274, 408; ii, 22, 271, 273, 275, 372, 377, 378; iii, 8, 259; iv, 311.

[3] Culpeper had bought out the other proprietors of the Northern Neck on his return to England after his first brief residence in Virginia. The 'deed Inroll'd' by which this was accomplished was dated July 21, 1681, and (as Mr. Conway Robinson noted, *Va. Mag.*, ix, 309), was recorded in the (now lost) General Court *Deed & Will Book*. 3:3, contemporaneously with the deed from Lord Arlington of his interest in the patent of 1673, covering 'all Virginia.'

[4] *Robert Bristow* (1643-1707), of a Hertfordshire family, emigrated to Virginia about 1660 and established himself in Gloucester. He sat in the house of burgesses in 1676 when he served on a committee with 'T. M.' During Bacon's Rebellion he took an active part in support of the government. The report of the Commissioners, Berry and Moryson, commends him for his loyalty and records his losses, but his character is best revealed by his portrait in that most racy of the Virginia classics, the Burwell MS. There it appears that Bristow was in the force under Major Lawrence Smith which went out with ludicrous results to oppose Ingram, after Bacon's death. When the 'armies' met, Bristow played the part of a medieval knight, 'For the saving of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of Curage) one Major Bristow (on Smith's side) made a Motion to try the equity and justness of the quarill, by single Combett: Bristow proffering him selfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side: this was noble, and like a Soulder. This Motion (or rather Challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffer'd by Bristow, Ingram Swareing the newest Oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of there cause, or in Consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonists. For though it might be granted, that in a private Condition Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be alowed, as Ingram was intitled.' And thus Bristow was captured. He suffered a rigorous imprisonment as well as heavy loss in estate, as Sir John Berry testified (*Va. Mag.*, v, 70), and in the summer of 1677 returned to England. There he remained during the remainder of his life, a member of the Grocers Company and a successful Virginia merchant in London. In 1687 he was Alderman for Walbrook ward. (See Byshe, *Visitation of Herts*, 1669; Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1847; Beaven, *The Aldermen of London* (1908), p. 223; and *Va. Mag.*, xiii, 59, where is printed a calendar of Bristow's will from P. C. C. *Poley*, 275.)

[5] *The Brent Town grant*: C. O., 5:1324, p. 157. The survival of this instrument has a curious history. Executed in London, it was acknowledged in Stafford court by William Fitzhugh as attorney for Culpeper and was there recorded, July 13, 1687. The record book is one of those which was lost, but when, in 1737, William Byrd was arguing on behalf of the Virginia government that the Rappahannock River named in the final Northern Neck charter of 1688 was the north fork of that stream and not the Rapidan as was claimed by Lord Fairfax, he produced a copy of the Brent Town grant in support of his position and appended it to the report of the Virginia Commissioners which went to London. It is from that record we have rescued it.

[6] The southwest branch was Cedar Run and the northeast branch was Broad Run.

[7] There is a full transcript of this interesting document among the Brent papers in *Va. Mag.* xvii, 309.

[8] In his letters, beginning with one of April 1, 1689 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 273), Fitzhugh consistently calls it 'Brenton' but as it appears 'Brent Town' in all the subsequent records and in one of Fitzhugh's letters is contrasted with 'James Town,' it is probable that the local usage followed the pronunciation, if not the spelling, of the nomenclators.

[9] In the *Voyages d'un Francois* (1687), it appears that the author met George Brent at Col. Fitzhugh's house just before Christmas, 1686, and was then told of the plans for Brenton. He remarks pleasantly that everybody in Virginia seemed anxious to sell lands to the Huguenots at this time.

[10] *The site of Brent Town*: There is no conclusive record of the location of the original town site, nor does local tradition aid in finding it. The route of the Brent Town road and the boundaries of the Brent Town tract as later defined seem, however, to point with reasonable certainty to the lower side of Town Run, above the mouth of Elk. This is within the limits of the present county of Fauquier, not far distant from the modern village of Sowego.

[11] The surviving mutilated fragments of George Brent's will of 1694 (*Va. Mag.*, xviii, 96), confirm the tenor of Hayward's prospectus (quoted below) on this point. In the will a devise is made to Henry Brent of 606 acres out of the Brent Town tract, 'six acres in the town and six hundred in the country, being lots to be laid out together, both in town and country.'

[12] Baird, *Huguenot Emigration to America* (1885), ii, 170.

[13] Fitzhugh was so informed. *Va. Mag.*, ii, 26.

[14] *Va. Mag.*, ii, 273.

[15] See *ante.*, p. 129.

[16] Fitzhugh was evidently fascinated by Brent's diabolical suggestion of bringing Catholics to Virginia as a refuge from English politics. He saw in it an opportunity (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 372) to dispose of his own property and thus enable him to carry out his long nursed project of a return to England. As these letters were written in the midst of the clamors of Parson Waugh's anti-Catholic agitation, Fitzhugh's description of Virginia as 'a good Sanctuary' was hardly candid.

[17] *Va. Mag.*, iii, 8.

[18] *Ibid.*, iii, 259.

[19] *Ante.*, p. 85.

[20] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1693-96, p. 311.

[21] *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 288, 312, 326. These proceedings are the more interesting because the Assembly had no jurisdiction over the land titles in the Northern Neck. The assumption of that jurisdiction in this case was apparently a *ballon d' essai.*

[22] The Fitzhugh and Jeffreys lands here referred to were 'Ravensworth' and the Cadwallader Jones' tract, both on Accotink in what became Fairfax.

[23] *Carter Letter Book* MS., Va. Hist. Soc.

[24] For reasons of strategy in dealing with the Brents, Col. Carter did not permit the surveyor's descriptions in 1724 to make any reference to Brent Town, even when the lines of his grants approached what were supposed to be the Brent Town lines, e. g., *cf. N. N.*, A: 64, 65, 91, with E: 105.

[25] *The Brent entail*: The descendants of George Brent of Woodstock (who are arrayed from the surviving Stafford records and family papers in *Va. Mag.*, xviii, 96, 321) continued to reside on Aquia until after the Revolution. None of the name seems ever to have lived on the Brent Town tract. In the Prince William records (*D. B.*, R: 19, 108, 215; W: 85) there are a series of deeds ranging from 1768 to 1784, which evidence the transfer of their Brent Town dividends to their kinsmen, the descendants of Giles Brent of 'Peace.' From the recitals of these instruments it appears that, under the entail created by the will of George Brent of Woodstock (the mutilated fragments in *Va. Mag.*, xviii, 96, are supplemented on this head by *Prince William D. B.*, W:85), this estate passed through all four of his sons to the son of the youngest. It was his grandson, another George Brent, who was a party

to the partition of 1738, and subsequently made the manorial leases of 200 acre plots which remain of record in Prince William (*D. B.*, E: 327, 329, 331,333; L: 207; Q: 471). It was he, too, with his eldest son, Robert Brent, who made application to the Assembly in 1775 to dock their entail (*Journals H. B.*, 1773-76, p. 181). This George Brent died in 1778 and his son, Robert, in 1780, so that it was left to another George Brent (son of Robert, above named, and elder brother of the Robert Brent, who was Mayor of Washington) finally to release the Brent Town dividend in 1804 to Daniel Carroll Brent; and to the last named it befell to close the family record in relation to the property (*Prince William D. B.*, W: 341, 405: X: 111; Y: 73, 104, 449).

[26] *The Footes*: When the Brent Town speculation was launched, the Richard Foote, who was one of the original proprietors, sent a young son out to Virginia and established him in Chotank (See his land grant in Kidwell's Neck in *N. N.*, 3:196). From this immigrant descended a series of Richards and Georges, who, in the second, third and fourth generations in Virginia, lived on their Brent Town dividend. That they occupied the original town site below Cedar Run appears from the proposal to the Council in 1742 to locate the second Prince William court house 'at a place called Brent Town, belonging to Richard Foote' (*Va. Mag.*, xv, 384). Sketches of the three houses they there occupied in 1759 are laid down on the contemporary plat of the Prince William-Fauquier boundary. For this family, which later migrated to the southwest, see *Va. Mag.*, vii, 73, 201. The recitals of their deeds in the Prince William-Fauquier records (*Prince William D. B.*, B: 345; G: 45, 93; I: 93; Q: 460; *Fauquier D. B.*, 1:456; 14:649) preserve much of their own genealogy and of the later history of Brent Town.

[27] *The Brent Town Survey*: The date of the survey here quoted from a Foote deed of 1762 (*Fauquier D. B.*, 1:456) probably refers to the completion of the partition, for a bill rendered by James Thomas, jr., to William Fairfax in November, 1736 (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 230), shows that Thomas had then recently surveyed 'the Brent Town tract containing 30,000 acres' in company with 'Mr. Savage,' representing 'Messrs. Brent Foot & Co.' At all events, the completed survey was a recorded fact in 1739 when the Northern Neck books were reopened, for there then issued several grants extending old boundaries to conform to definite Brent Town lines. See *e. g.*, for the 'back line' *N. N.*, E: 105, 401 (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 490 is evidence that this was not an uninterrupted *straight* line); and for the boundaries below Cedar, *N. N.*, E: 362, 399; F: 17, 107. By reason of the loss of the Prince William deed books for 1737 and 1738 no comprehensive survey remains of record, and diligent inquiry among the families of the proprietors has not revealed the survival of a plat. The definition of the bounds of Brent Town given in the text is, therefore, a reconstruction from the evidence of the descriptions of adjacent landholdings.

The location of Brent Town became a matter of argument in the great cause of *Virginia v. Fairfax*, involving the bounds of the Northern Neck. As such it was referred to by Col. Byrd in his report of 1737 (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 124) and the name was laid down between Broad and Cedar Runs on John Warner's Northern Neck map of 1737; but both these references were prior to the actual survey and are now evidence only of current opinion. On the other hand, the indication of 'Brent Town' on John Henry's map of 1770, placing it below Dorrill's Run in the extreme south eastern salient of Fauquier is not justified by any of the land records, but is demonstrated by those records to be one of the errors for which that map is notorious.

[28] A partition seems first to have been proposed in 1734. In that year Richard Foote made an individual deed to Henry Fitzhugh (*Prince William D. B.*, B: 345) for 1,000 acres in Brent Town, reciting that 'it is uncertain whether the same or any part thereof may be allotted to or fall within the share of said Richard Foote when the said thirty thousand acres of land come to be divided among the several proprietors thereof.' In consideration of this uncertainty, Foote gave Fitzhugh a bond of indemnity, which was released in 1741 (*ibid.*, E: 484) by an instrument reciting that Brent town had been 'lately divided among the several proprietors thereof.'

[29] *The last of the Haywards.* The only deed remaining of record to testify to the disposition of the Hayward dividend is an interesting one dated August 14, 1741 (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 394) from 'Samuel Hayward, Esq., his Majesty's Consul of all the Islands under the Venetian Government in the Levant now residing in the Island of Zante' to Henry Fitzhugh.

[30] *The manorial leases.* The habendum clause ran, e. g., 'to him the said Peter Glascock for and during his natural life, also for and during the natural life of Jane, the now wife of the said Peter, and for and during the natural life of John, son of the said Peter and Jane, or the survivor of them.' Among the lessees whose names survive on the records were, in addition to the Peter Glascock named above, John Northcut, John Hendiron, Richard Worsdall, Scarlet Maddain and John Newman. Other names appear in the Brent rent roll of 1746, which is printed in *Va. Mag.*, xvi, 212.

[31] *Fitzhugh of Brent Town*: *DeBow's Review*, 1860, xxx, 76. The Fitzhugh lands in Brent Town were ultimately included in Fauquier. As shown by *Prince William D. B.*, E: 394, and the depiction of the house of 'John Fitzhugh' on Bertrand Ewell's map of the Prince William-Fauquier boundary in 1759, these lands lay on and above Cedar, a short distance west of the mouth of Dorrill's. For George Fitzhugh (1807-1881) see *Va. Mag.*, ix, 102; *Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.*, ii, 474.

[32] See Capt. Gordon McCabe's Presidential address to the Virginia Historical Society for 1916, *s. v.*, Garnet.

[33] *The fate of the Bristow tract*: See in *Prince William D. B.*, 3:90 the will dated December 1, 1776, of Robert Bristow 'of Michel-dever in the County of Hants,' but at the time of his death residing in 'the parish of St. Martin in the fields, in the County of Middlesex.' The sordid story of the 'Bristow tract' after the Revolution is recorded in *Commonwealth v. Bristow*, 1806, 6 Call, 60; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, v. 257, 272, 284; vi, 643; vii, 20, 63, 79; x, 13, 80; Shepherd, i, 237; ii, 333; *Acts*, 1821-22, ch. 93, p. 69; *Journals H. D.*, 1822-23, p. 190; 1823-24, p. 64; *Acts*, 1822-23, ch. 64, p. 86; 1830-31, ch. 60, p. 131; 1833-34, ch. 12, p. 25; Martin's *Gazetteer* (1836), p. 273. In the Prince William records the deeds of the Literary Fund refer to a map of the Bristow tract made by A. P. Williams in 1824 but unfortunately, like the 1737 survey of the Brent Town tract as a whole, that map also is now missing. Neither in the Prince William records nor in those of the Literary Fund in Richmond can any copy of it be found.

[34] *Ravensworth.* When, in 1677, Thomas, Lord Culpeper, became Governor of Virginia in succession to Berkeley, he asserted with authority the long disputed rights of the Proprietors of the Northern Neck, and the Virginia government suspended the issue of land patents within the proprietary. As the inhabitants would not take grants from Culpeper, there ensued an interval of twenty years during which Stafford practically stood still so far as concerned new seatings. This was not

due to lack of effort on the part of Culpeper. Having bought out the other Proprietors in July, 1681, he was unceasing in his attempts to start again the machinery of local development. So far as the record goes, he succeeded in creating only three new titles in Stafford during this period, but they were notable. Two were the estates afterwards known as Mt. Vernon and Brent Town. The third was Ravensworth. By reason of the loss in Philip Ludwell's office of the original grant for Ravensworth, issued in 1690 (see *Va. Mag.*, iii, 8), William Fitzhugh was compelled to take out a new grant on October 1, 1694 (*N. N.*, 2:14). The recitals of that second grant reveal that the title dated from April 28, 1684, when the tract was originally surveyed for John Matthews, who conveyed to Fitzhugh by deed dated August 22, 1685. It was not until 1724, however, long after the death of the original grantee, that the name Ravensworth appears on the records as applied to this Fitzhugh estate (*N. N.*, A: 208).

[35] *Va. Mag.*, i, 408.

[36] A few months later (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 26) Fitzhugh asserted that these terms were 'as low as any land here with us is generally patented out at, or lett to lease,' and in July, 1690 (*ibid.*, iii, 8), he urged that they were 'almost as good as giving the land in fee simple.' At this latter time he was willing to accept his rent in kind, i. e., a hogshead of tobacco in lieu of 20 s. It will be noted that Fitzhugh offered to sell at a smaller price than Hayward (£7 instead of £10 per hundred acres) and says nothing about quit rent; but his terms for a long lease were the same as Hayward's.

[37] Presumably he meant Hunting Creek and Pohick Bay, where the warehouses were later established. In time a rolling road lead from Ravensworth to Pohick warehouse.

[38] i. e., Hayward's plantation on the Potomac, adjoining Bedford.

[39] The Virginia naturalization practice was liberal. The original act (Hening, ii, 289) dating from 1671, required individual application to the Assembly (e. g., Hening, ii, 302, 308, 339, 400, 447, all confirmed *ibid.*, iii, 479), but in 1680 (*ibid.*, ii, 464) the Governor was authorized to issue letters patent of naturalization.

[40] *Va. Mag.*, ii, 18.

[41] *Va. Mag.*, iii, 8.

[42] Baird, *Huguenot Emigration to America* (1885), ii, 175.

[45] *Va. Mag.*, iii, 9. In Mr. R. L. Maury's valuable paper, *The Huguenots in Virginia* (Publications, Huguenot Society of America, 1900), there is printed a later letter from Fitzhugh about this gentleman, but in neither is his name given. Perhaps he was Louis Latane, who became parson of South Farnham parish in 1700, or just before Fitzhugh's death.

[44] W. H. Foote, *The Huguenots* (1870), p. 541. This tradition was direct enough. Mr. Foote had it from Mrs. Patty Venable, reporting conversations with her grandmother, a child of Abraham Micheaux and one of the immigrants.

[45] Brock, *Huguenot Emigration to America* (Collections Va. Hist. Soc., vol. v), p. 44.

[46] William Fitzhugh's will was dated April 9, 1700, proved in Stafford, December 10, 1701, and is printed in *Va. Mag.*, ii, 276.

[47] It was a grandson, William Fitzhugh of Chatham, who in his old age, after the Revolution, abandoned his house near Fredericksburg where the practice of hospitality had become burdensome, and removed

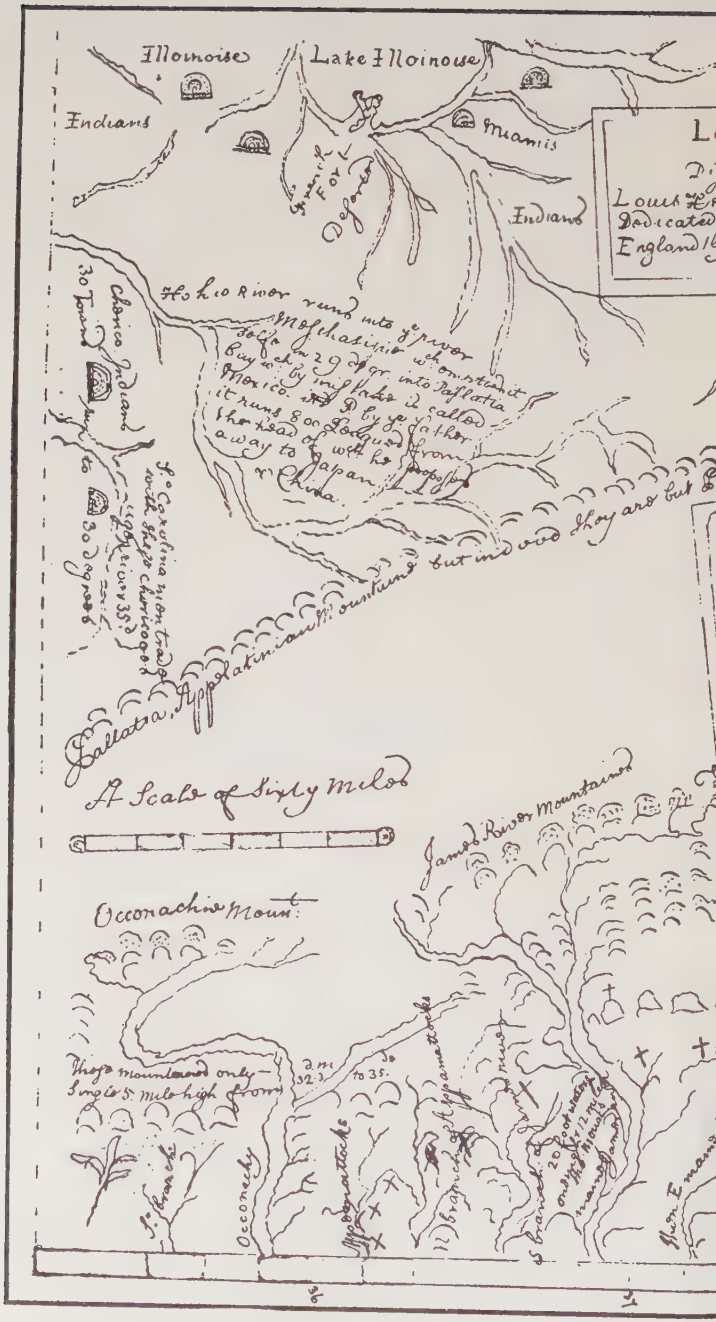
to Ravensworth, being the first of his name to reside there. He was succeeded by his son, William Henry Fitzhugh, who died at Ravensworth in 1830, without issue, when the property descended to his niece, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, of Arlington. (See *Lee of Va.*, p. 82; *Va. Mag.*, viii, 95, 430).

[48] *Marquis Calmes: N. N.*, 3:147, 223. This land adjoined the grant of William Waller (1694, *N. N.*, 2:66, 67) whose daughter married 'Marquis Calmes,' as the name later appears. Their son, William is supposed in turn to have married Lucy, daughter of George Nevill, of 'Nevill's Ordinary,' in what is now Fauquier. The original 'Marquis' subsequently removed to the Valley. He must have sojourned on the way in that bent of the Blue Ridge which is now known as Manassas Gap, for the earliest recorded name of that passage is written 'Calmes' on John Warner's Northern Neck map of 1737. But whatever may be the fact in this respect, 'Marquis Calmes' ultimately established himself on the 'Vineyard Farm' near Milbrook and sat in Frederick court (Hening, viii, 624). His descendants are well known in the early history of Kentucky. See the traditions in *Collections*, Habersham (Georgia) Chapter, D. A. R., i, 46; ii, 346.

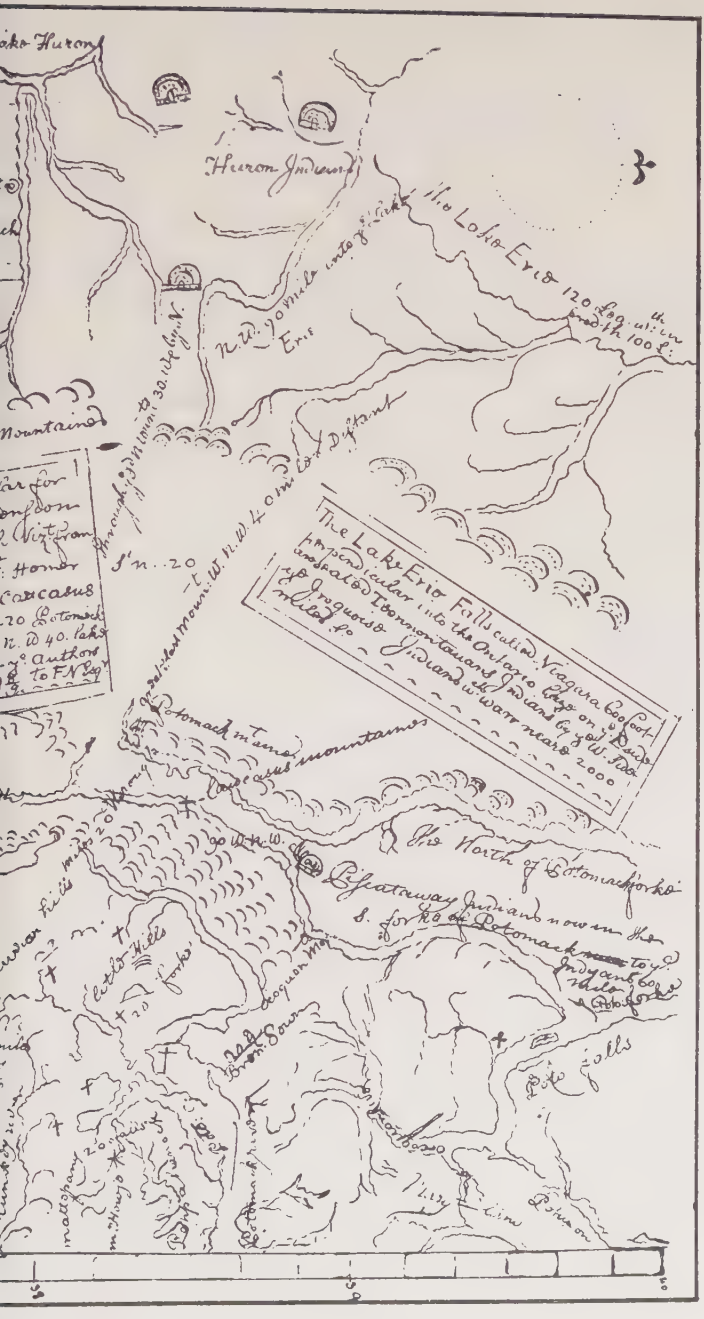
[49] It was his lands on Cedar Creek which were later acquired for the second Prince William court house. See *post*, p. 316.

[50] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1700, No. 876, p. 620. Beverley (1705, iv, 45) gives a further elucidation in his notice of the Huguenots, saying: 'In the year 1699 [sic] there went over in all about 300 of them and the year following about 200 more. . . . The Refugees that arrived the second year went also first to the Monacan Town but afterwards, upon some Disagreement, *several dispersed themselves up and down the Country.*'

[51] e. g., Philemon's Branch and Tacquet's Ford on Cedar Creek, within the present limits of Prince William. Both names appear frequently in the land grants but, with characteristic American disregard of antiquities, have been superseded in modern usage.



CADWALADER JONES, 1699.


Huron Indians
The Lake Erie 120 Leg. w:th in breadth 100 L:
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Indians 60 mile
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Potomack falls
Pohoon

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Elk Marsh

DURING the twenty years following the failure of the Brent Town colonization plans, a wholesome dread of the 'Senecas,' who, throughout that period regularly frequented the backwoods of old Prince William, confined the plantations below the fall line of the rivers. It was not until after Robert Carter of Corotoman took over the Northern Neck agency in the spring of 1702 that an inland movement began, and then it waited for Col. Carter himself to give the lead. Thus are we introduced to the most potent personality in the ante revolution history of northern Virginia.

Robert Carter was a man of tremendous energy, shrewd business habits, dominant personality, and accustomed to succeed in whatever he undertook. Inheriting a fortune from his father, he steadily increased his estate. In 1702, when he first became agent for the Northern Neck, Beverley described him as already 'one of the greatest freeholders in that proprietary' and when he died, in 1732, at the age of 69, his obituary in the *Gentlemans Magazine* stated that he left 300,000 acres of land, 1,000 slaves and £10,000 in money. He had run also the Virginia *cursus honorum*. Beginning as a burgess for Lancaster in 1691, he at once took the place in the Assembly to which his superior education, as well as native parts, entitled him, and in 1695 was chairman of the first rate committee of Propositions and Grievances. A year later he was for the first time elected Speaker, and, while serving that office again in 1699, was elected Treasurer of the colony. Although that last duty had then come to be a function of the Speaker and he was advanced to the Council in 1700, Col. Carter continued to act as Treasurer until 1705, which is a remarkable evidence of the confidence the Assembly then had in him. It was in the Council, however, that he took his largest and longest part in provincial

administration, topping off his political career there by acting as Governor during the interval between the death of Drysdale and the arrival of Gooch. He was remarkable also at once in the number and the quality of his progeny. For all these reasons his parson recorded on his tombstone that he was a man 'opibus amplissimus bene partis instructus,' and posterity, taking the word out of Governor Nicholson's mouth, has acclaimed him 'King.'

Col. Carter began his acquisition of backwoods lands on the Rappahannock. In March, 1703/4, James Innes is recorded as taking four grants aggregating 2,331 acres at and immediately above the falls of the Rappahannock, where a quarter of a century later the town of Falmouth was to be established.[1] A few months later this was followed by a grant to Innes of 11,115 acres 'in Richmond and Stafford Counties in the forrest above the falls of Rappahannock River, upon the branches of the Run called Potowmack Run, falling into Potowmack Creek and upon the Run called Deep Run, falling into Rappahannock river about ten miles above the falls thereof.'[2] These surveys had been made for account of Robert Carter and were promptly transferred to his name. Contemporaneously, under cover of this confidence in the future, Hancock Lee of Ditchley began his accumulation of lands immediately above the falls; and Edward Mountjoy took out, below Deep Run, the first land grant on the north fork of the Rappahannock, upon which he built, at the mouth of Richland Run in 1705, the first tobacco house above the falls.[3]

In 1707 Col. Carter likewise set an example above the falls of the Occoquan. The first survey here was recorded in 1705 by Robert Singleton below the mouth of Sandy Run 'at or near the fording place of Ochoquon River about three miles above the falls,' but Singleton was still alone in October, 1707, when Col. Carter took out in the name of his infant son, Robert Carter, jr., then in this third year, grants for 10 acres 'on the north side of Occoquan river a little below the falls thereof,' and 902 acres above the falls, adjoining Singleton and extending to Wolf Run. Here again Hancock Lee immediately fol-

lowed, and henceforth every year the surveyors may be followed up the Occoquan, and its branches, Bull, Broad and Cedar, until, by 1722, the low grounds on those streams had been occupied: on Bull Run as high as the head of Cub (say the present northwestern boundary of Fairfax); on Broad as high as the mouth of Kettle; and on Cedar as high as the Brent Town boundary at the mouth of Dorrill's.[5]

Most of these Occoquan grantees at this period were speculators, as their well known names testify, but among them were a few actual settlers from the Potomac plantations, conspicuously the Huguenots we have already noted on the south bank of Cedar. The movement may be illustrated by a few examples from the land books. In 1710 John Waugh, son of the parson of that name, is on Wolf, above Col. Carter, and thence went north, beyond the mouth of Bull, to Pope's Head.[6] In 1714 Mark Chilton, who lived on Powell's Run, surveyed a claim 'in the back woods on the west and north side of Bull Run;'[7] and George Eskridge of Westmoreland took up a considerable tract on the Flat Lick of Cub.[8] Turning south we find Henry Halley 'on the south side of Occaquan Main Run [i. e., *Cedar* above its confluence with Broad] on the branches of it and on the head of the north run of Quanticott' and in the same year Thomas Harrison and Thomas Whitledge had a grant 'on the South side of the branch of Occaquan called Cedar run and on the east of Dorril's run.' In 1711 the Huguenots were seated near Halley. In 1715 Patrick Fisher is above Cedar on Slaty; Valentine Peyton on Kettle; while John Catlett, the grandson of Lederer's companion, describes himself as 'on both sides of the Brent Town road and on the easterly side of a run commonly called and known as Darrell's run.'[9] Thus had the surveys reached, and indeed had encroached upon, what were then deemed to be the eastern and northern boundaries of the Brent Town tract.

Meanwhile on the Rappahannock the movement not only got under way earlier, but went further with its first impetus. Pushing up the North Branch, soon to be called Hedgman's River, the pioneers on this side had established, by 1715, a

new community to the west of Brent Town. On the rich low grounds which were described variously in the land grants as 'the Great North Marsh,' the 'Rappahannock Marsh' and the 'Elk Marsh,'[10] and where once had stood the only Mannahoac town of which the site is definitely recorded,[11] these adventurers had the honour of being for a moment the American 'far west' as well as the nucleus of Fauquier.

Above Deep Run, which Robert Carter had named in 1703 when he made it a boundary of his first 'great tract' of wilderness land, we can trace the surveyors on their way past Rocky Run[12] and Summerduck[13] until, in the summer of 1710, they were at work at 'the Great Marsh about 30 miles above the Falls.' They evidently brought back to tidewater ample confirmation of the hunters' reports of the desirability of the Elk Marsh lands, for, despite the real risk of 'Senecas,' there soon followed something like a rush of land hunters bound thither.

Along the river front were arrayed a number of provident tidewater men who had no thought of residence, for the moment not even of establishing quarters. Among them, as early as June, 1709, the second Philip Ludwell took a grant on the river below the Marsh and, after 1715, purchased also a large slice of the riverfront above the Marsh, including the approach to Norman's Ford; these two tracts together made up more than 10,000 acres.[14] About the mouth of Marsh Run surveys were made for Parson Alexander Scott, Samuel Skinker and Catesby Cocke, all of whom persistently followed the frontier with their speculations, and are to be met later in the development of the White Plains neighbourhood. On either side the mouth of Tinpot appear, also in 1715, two men who gave their names to the branches of the Rappahannock which made the Little Fork, William Thornton and Nathaniel Hedgman.[15] Still further up river a small grant of December, 1715, introduces us to the mouth of Great Run; but in other grants of 1716 and 1717 that stream is called 'Broad Run or the Golden Run'[16] before its name was settled in 1718 by the descriptions of two important grants upon its upper waters: that in June to John and Rice Hooe of Chotank, of 2,900

acres, designated 'North Wales' in the grant, as it still is;[17] and that in November to Thomas Lee, of 4,200 acres above the Hooes, on which the grantee's son was eventually to lay out the town of Warrenton.[18] North of the mouth of Great, the occupation of the river bank was still to be some time delayed. It was not until 1724 that there was recorded a survey at the mouth of Carter's Run.[19]

While Lee's grant carried the Virginia frontier to the first hills, the immediately significant occupation of the territory was that covered by more than fifty small grants on the upper waters of Marsh Run, recorded between 1710 and 1719, when the proprietary office again was closed for three years.[20] The incidental recitals of the land books testify that by 1715, few as they may have been, some of these grantees already called Elk Marsh home. Among such proven pioneer residents were William Russell[21] and Mark Hardin,[22] as well as those who gave their names to streams; John Brown and William Allen, on Brown's Branch;[23] John Marr and John Hopper, on Marr's Branch;[24] and Jeffrey Johnson, on Johnson's Branch.[25]

Until 1732 this Elk Marsh settlement was included in Hanover parish and we owe to the records of that parish the sole surviving contemporary estimate of the earliest period of its community life. In 1734 the vestry testified[26] that when Hanover was organized and bought its glebe, say in 1714,

> 'there were hardly Twenty Tithables in that Part of Hanover Parish which is now taken into the Parish of Hambleton, and the greatest part of them at the Time of purchasing the said Glebe and making the Improvement upon the same had not sufficient to pay their levies: but are now [1734] increased to near Two hundred and fifteen.'

On this basis, applying the colonial census formula,[27] the total population of the Elk Marsh community did not exceed 80 in 1714, but had grown to 860 in 1734.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

[1] *N. N.*, 3:21, 22, 29, 107. These lands included the Falls Quarter named in Col. Carter's will.

[2] *N. N.*, 3:34. See 3:87 and 4:218 for references to this grant as 'a tract called Richland belonging to Robert Carter.' Here were subsequently established the quarters known as 'Carter Park,' 'Stanstead' and 'Poplar,' indicated on the Fry & Jefferson map.

[3] *N. N.*, 3: 19. Mountjoy had later another grant in this vicinity, *ibid.*, 4: 224, all of which passed to Col. Carter. See the affidavits of Francis Thornton, John Taliaferro and William Russell, made in 1736 for Col Byrd (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 99 ff.)

[4] *N. N.*, 3:164, 165. These grants evidence thus early Col. Carter's intention to build his son Robert's inheritance on the Potomac, just as his grants in 1709 (*N. N.*, 4:255, 257) in the name of Charles Carter, later of Cleve, but then also an infant, on Rocky and Summerduck runs evidence an intention to make Charles a baron of the Rappahannock.

[5] *Dorrill's Run*: In the early grants this name is spelled both 'Darrells' and 'Dorrills,' thus indicating that the present spelling is a corruption, following pronunciation, of the surname Darrell. This family was conspicuous in the Stafford records at the end of the seventeenth century: One of them apparently was at Brent Town before the records begin.

[6] *N. N.*, 3: 254, 264, 265.

[7] *N. N.*, 5:71. This is the first appearance of the name, Bull Run, and so it was perhaps assigned by Chilton. Heretofore the grants had distinguished the stream from Broad, as the 'Little or Lower North Branch' of Occoquan.

[8] *N. N.*, 5:121. *George Eskridge* was one of Robert Carter's agents in the administration of the proprietary, and long served as a burgess for Westmoreland. He is better known, however, from the fact that he was the guardian of Mary Ball, the mother of Washington, and it is assumed that the father of his country got the name, George, from him.

[9] *N. N.*, 5:97.

[10] *N. N.*, 4:47, 94, 102; 5:87, 90, 92, 93.

[11] *Tanxnitania*: In a grant of 1717 (*N. N.*, 5:177), relating to lands above the mouth of Great Run, there is mention of 'a poison field where an Indian town has formerly stood.' This was doubtless the Manahoac town laid down on Capt. John Smith's map as Tanxnitania. By means of the land records Mr. H. I. Hutton of Warrenton has identified the poison field in question as the site of Fauquier White Sulphur Springs. In this vicinity Mr. E. M. Jeffries, ploughing an old sod in the spring of 1923, reports that 'indian arrow heads can be gathered by the handful.' The location above the river near the 'Elk Marsh' and the 'Elk Ford' doubtless made Tanxnitania an ideal hunting camp.

[12] It was both named and described in 1709 (*N. N.*, 4:255), as 'Rocky Run, it being the next run above Deep run.'

[13] It was described in 1709 (*N. N.*, 4:257) as 'the second run above Deep run. . . . about 16 miles above the falls.' By 1715 (*N. N.*, 5:102) it had become 'Summer duck run, being a branch issuing out of Rappahannock between the Great Marsh Run and Deep run.'

[14] Philip Ludwell's two Rappahannock tracts are indicated on the Brooke & Jefferson map of 1746. The lower tract, on Persimmon Run, was made up of the grants of 1709 in his own name (*N. N.*, 4:219, 221). The upper tract, at Norman's ford, was taken up in 1715 by Innis Hooper and William Thornton (*N. N.*, 5: 61, 91, 171), but had passed to Ludwell by 1727 (*N. N.*, B: 82). For the ultimate transfer of this land to a son of Charles Carter of Cleve see *post*, p. 464.

[15] *William Thornton* (1680-1742) was sheriff of Richmond in 1709 and 1717 (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 92). His grants are *N. N.*, 5: 87, 88, 91. The elder *Nathaniel Hedgman* described his grant of 1715 (*N. N.*, 5: 119) as 'on the north side of Rappahannock river about 35 miles above the Falls.' His sons, Peter and Nathaniel, jr., increased the family holding in this vicinity in 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 61, 62) with the result that their name is entered on the Brooke & Jefferson map of 1746 just above Tinpot. The Hedgmans were a Potomac family. In 1707 the elder Nathaniel Hedgman bought the 'Accokeek' residence, on Potomac Creek, of the first George Mason (Rowland, i, 23). His son, Peter, bred in the law, long represented Stafford in the Assembly, and was one of the Crown Commissioners for the location of the Northern Neck boundary in 1746. For his intimate relations with the Brents and the Carters see Hening, v, 292, 303.

[16] A 1715 grant (*N. N.*, 5: 107) is described as 'on a Great run issuing out of Rappahannock about four miles above the second or little fork of the said river.' The attempt to call it Broad or Golden appears in (*N. N.*, 5:162, 177). Thomas Lee's grant of 1718 (*N. N.*, 5:239) refers to 'a run issuing out of the North Branch of Rappahannock River, commonly known by the name of *the* Great Run, falling into said river above the second great fork.

[17] *N. N.*, 5:184. Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 1, *p.* 97.

[18] *N. N.*, 5: 239. See *post*, p. 332.

[19] *Carter's Run*: It was this delay of occupation of the upper river which enabled Lord Fairfax in 1736 to include so much of it in his Leeds Manor. The fact is significantly indicated by the Jefferson and Brooke map of 1746, which records the names of landowners on the Prince William bank of the river only as high as the Little Fork.

As it happens, Carter's Run does not derive its name from Robert Carter, as is generally assumed, but from his esteemed friend and business associate (but no relation), Capt. Thomas Carter of Lancaster. (See the comment on the friendship in Robert Carter's will, *Va. Mag.*, vi, 4 and 'Capt. Thomas Carter and his Descendants' in *W. & M. Quar.*, xvii, 275). This Capt. Carter (1672-1733), took out, in July, 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 47), a grant at the mouth of this stream, but did not venture to name it; in November, 1725 (*N. N.*, A: 176), Dennis Morgan, following him, described his grant as 'on the upper Great Run about a mile above Capt. Thomas Carter's.' That the stream so described was Carter's Run is apparent from John Blower's grant of April, 1727 (*N. N.*, B: 73), in the vicinity of the modern village of Marshall, in which it is again called the Upper Great Run of the North Branch of Rappahannock. Parson Scott's grant (Gordonsdale) of the July following (*N. N.*, B: 85), followed by Walter Anderson's of 1728 (*N. N.*, B: 128), were the first to denominate the stream 'Carter's Run,' but later grants sometime combined the names as 'Carter's Great Run.'

[20] These grants begin with *N. N.*, 4:5, and extend to 5:231.

[21] *The two William Russells*: In the northern Virginia records during the period of seating of the territory two men played parts which

have been persistently confused as a consequence of their bearing the same name. This note is an attempt to distinguish them:

(a) *Capt. William Russell* (1680-?1741) the Elk Marsh pioneer was a backwoods hunter and ranger during his youth and ultimately settled down to live out his life in that part of Prince William which became Fauquier. He seems to have been the brother named by Mary Russell in 1690 in her proceeding in Stafford Court to collect a legacy under the will of Dr. Edmund Helder (see *ante.*, p. 118). If so he was son of another William Russell who had lived on Potomac Creek. The first certain record of the ranger is, however, provided by his own testimony (*Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 100). This affidavit, made in 1736, when he was 'aged 56,' records that as early as 1701 he had been engaged in hunting expeditions into the backwoods above the falls of the Rappahannock; which seems to qualify him to be one of the rangers who discovered Swift's Run gap in the spring of 1716 and later guided Spotswood and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe on their transmontane expedition. (The names of these rangers have not been preserved, but see Spotswood's report to the Council of their discoveries, *W. & M. Quar.*, 2d series, iii, 154, and Fontaine's *Journal* for the statement that they accompanied the Governor in August of the same year.) This identification is fortified by the tradition that a William Russell was one of Spotswood's party (*Va. Mag.*, xiii, 283; Gordon, *Men and Events*, p. 155) and by the description of the Elk Run pioneer in later records (e. g., in a deed of 1770, *Fauquier D. B.*, 4:50) as 'Captain.' It seems likely also that it was a ranger who gave his name to Russell Run which empties into the lower side of the Rapidan above Germanna and is named in the land patents before the other William Russell had come prominently on that stage (*Cf. Patents*, 10: 290 and 14: 378, 381).

In 1712 the ranger had two grants on Horsepen Branch of Marsh Run, and in 1715 was recited to be living there (*N. N.*, 4:100, 102; 5:80). He probably sold these lands in 1724 for in that year he moved up country and seated himself again near the future site of Warrenton. On February 9, 1724/5 (*N. N.*, A: 130) he had a grant of 645 acres on Turkey Run, adjoining Mann Page, and there he recited himself to be living in April, 1741 (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 222). Later in the same year, 1725 (*N. N.*, A: 178), he took still another grant, on Pignut, but this he soon sold. From the surviving Prince William and Fauquier records it appears that this William Russell had four children, a daughter who married John Holtzclaw, and three sons, Martin, Nicholas, and William, jr. In November, 1737, and March, 1739/40, he conveyed to John Holtzclaw 266 acres of his Turkey Run tract (*Prince William D. B.*, D:357, and *cf. Fauquier D. B.*, 1:329) and in April, 1741, by three deeds, divided the rest of it, including his own residence, among his sons, with remainder to the children of the youngest, William Russell, jr. (*Prince William D. B.* E: 222, 223, 224). These lands were in the fork of the Marsh and Dumfries roads, near Turkey Run Church, and it was on the Holtzclaw dividend, which had descended to William Russell's granddaughter, Elizabeth Holtzclaw, wife of John Duncan, that the Fauquier Court was held, in June, 1759. (See *post*, p. 347). Capt. William Russell would have been 61 years of age when he thus distributed his property in 1741, and he must have died soon after, but the surviving Prince William records show no will or administration to prove the date.

(b) *Lieut. Col. William Russell* (1687-1759) of Culpeper is reputed by his descendants to have been born in England, educated in the law, and to have emigrated to Virginia in 1710 as a clerk to Spotswood. (See *William Russell and his Descendants*, Lexington, Ky., 1884). The earliest surviving testimony for him in the colony is in the Spotsylvania

records. (See Crozier's edition, *passim*). In 1724, or soon after Spotswood ceased to be Governor, he is described as 'of Drysdale parish, King and Queen County,' when Larkin Chew, sr. (whose will he witnessed in 1728), vested him with a dividend of land on Warner's Branch of Mattapony. In 1724 these lands were in St. George's parish of Spotsylvania and in 1725 William Russell is described as of that parish and county. When Spotswood returned to Virginia in the spring of 1730 with a commission as Deputy Post Master General for America, Russell again entered his service, and was sent by Spotswood to negotiate with Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania as to details of the postal service (*Pa. Archives* i, 264). In 1732 he was engaged with Larkin Chew, jr. in promoting the settlement of lands on Happy Creek beyond the Blue Ridge in competition with the Hites (*Va. Mag.*, xiii, 283). There he was licensed to maintain a Shenandoah ferry in 1736 (Hening, iv, 531). In that same year he was added to the commission of Orange (C. O., 5: 1420, p. 211). He was now living north of the Rapidan for when, in 1740, St. Marks parish was confined by that river Russell became a vestryman of St. Marks (Slaughter, *St. Marks*). In 1756 he was in the field in command of the Culpeper militia as Lieutenant Colonel (*Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 376. See also Dr. Draper's note in Thwaits' edition of Withers, *Border Warfare*, p. 66, that he was sent on an embassy to the indians in 1753, which is not borne out by anything in the *Dinwiddie Papers*). In 1759 he died 'aged 72' and was buried in Buck Run Church of Culpeper (*Va. Mag.*, xiii, 283). This William Russell was the progenitor of two successive William Russells who rose to distinction on the western frontier. For one of them who was second in command at the battle of Point Pleasant Russell County was named.

[22] His grants of 1716 are *N. N.*, 5:93, 153. Others in 1723 (*N. N.*, A: 12, 56) 'on the west branches of Elk Run' and on the head of Marr's (now 'Harper's') Run included the future site of Hardin's Ordinary (See *post*, p. 489).

[23] Their grants of 1710 were described as on Marsh Run (*N. N.*, 4: 5, 21), but by 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 53) 'Brown's branch thereof' had become an established name.

[24] Their grant of 1712 (*N. N.*, 4:94) described their location on 'the Horsepen Branch issuing out of the east side of the Great Marsh Run.' In 1719 a grant (*N. N.*, 5:230) referred to the 'Horsepen Branch now called Marr's run' and so it was thereafter recited in the land grants. The name 'Harper's' applied to this stream by the topographical survey map may be either a corruption of 'Horsepen' or of the name of Marr's partner, Hopper.

[25] His grant of 1712 (*N. N.*, 4:101) describes him simply as on the Marsh Run, but by 1719 (*N. N.*, 5:197) the location is described as 'the north or upper Marsh commonly known by the name of Jeffry Johnson's Marsh.' Still later (*N. N.*, A: 9) the stream has become 'the North Marsh Run.'

[26] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 200. For the organization of Hanover parish under an act of 1713, see *post*, p. 303.

[27] *Ante.*, p. 117.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Germantown

AS Brent Town was intended to be a buffer between the tidewater settlements and the northern indians and realized a very different destiny, so also may be read the more important history of the next outpost to be established in the wilderness of northern Virginia.

We have seen[1] how Spotswood planned, in February, 1713/14, to establish the Tuscaroras on the south branch of the Rappahannock to block the Iroquois Path through Virginia and that his purpose was dashed by the return of that nation to their ancestral lands in North Carolina. Confident nevertheless that his policy was sound and that he had selected the strategic place on which to erect his barrier, the resourceful Governor lost no time in renewing his plan in another form.

At the very moment when the Tuscaroras were retiring from Virginia, a band of 'forty Germans, men, women and children,'[2] were on the high seas bound thither. On their arrival within the capes, in April, 1714, all unwitting of what was awaiting them, these people became the vicarious instruments of Spotswood's politics. They were Calvinist miners from the iron district of the Sieg valley (now included in Prussian Westphalia) and had owed allegiance to the Catholic Counts of Nassau-Siegen. Persecution of their faith had recently been abated by the emperor, Joseph I, but the mining industry of Siegen was, in 1713, still suffering from a depression in which it had been left by the protracted religious disturbances of the previous generation.[3] This band of miners was, therefore, moved by an economic, rather than an immediately religious, impetus of migration when they heard from agents of Christopher de Graffenried that he had a silver mine in the Massanutten mountain on the Shenandoah, where fortune, as well as assured religious liberty awaited experienced miners who would risk the dangers of the wilderness.

But when the Siegènians, ready to embark, met Graffenried in London in July, 1713, he was at the end of his resources, and advised them to return to their homes. This they were unwilling to do, whereupon Graffenried brought them to the attention of Micajah Perry. As it happened, that great merchant had recently seen letters from Spotswood urging the opportunity of profitable mining in Virginia, and, on the faith of that evidence of his interest, was willing to finance such part of the cost of the emigration of the miners as they could not manage themselves, with the understanding, however, that the master of the ship which took them out should deliver them to the Governor and at the same time collect all advanced charges. On this basis they sailed, carrying a letter from Graffenried imploring Spotswood to receive them, put them to work, and, incidentally, to relieve Graffenried of his own obligation.[4] If surprised by the liberty which had been taken with him, Spotswood was game. He not only met Perry's draft, amounting to £150, but improvised a disposition of the miners.[5] At a meeting of the Council on April 28, 1714, he reported the arrival of 'Sundry Germans . . . invited hither by the Baron de Graffinreed,' and secured authority to post them above the falls of Rappahannock, on the footing of Rangers, until more definite arrangements might be made.[6] The energy of the man is now apparent. On May 17th following, he set out from Williamsburg, as he recorded in his official itinerary,[7] on 'a fortnight's expedition to Reconnoitre the Norward Frontiers and to fortify a place for Settling a Body of Germans above the Falls of Rappahannock' and then first saw the site of his future residence. In the July following, he reported what he had done:

'In order,' he said,[8] 'to supply that part which was to have been covered by the Tuscaruros I have placed here a number of Protestant Germans, built them a Fort and furnished it with 2 pieces of Cannon and some Ammunition which will awe the stragling partys of Northern Indians and be a good Barrier for all that part of the Country. These Germans were invited over some years ago by the Baron de Graffinreed who has her Majesty's Letter to the Governor of Virginia to furnish them with Land upon their arrival. They are generally such as have

been employed in their own country as Miners and say they are satisfyed there are divers kinds of minerals and even a good appearance of Silver Oar, but that tis impossible for any man to know whether those Mines will turn to account without digging some depth in the earth, a liberty I shall not give them until I receive an Answer to what I represented to your Lo'ps concerning yo'r Ascertaining her Majesty's Share.'

On December 1st, immediately after having proclaimed the accession of George I, his official correspondence returned to his protegés with a courtier's appeal for the license he still needed to put them to the work he intended for them.

'I hope you will please,' he said,[9] 'to renew your instances to his present Majtie with whom (as being a Prince of more knowledge in the nature of Mines than I believe any in Europe) it may be much easier to prevail. . . . It may be some Consideration with his Majesty that these Mines are to be wrought by persons of the same Nation.'

The delay in securing this license forced Spotswood to make more definite arrangements for the support of the countrymen of his new sovereign. As he wrote, he was pushing through the Assembly, in respect to them, a bill, based on the Huguenot legislation of 1700. By this act, which duly became law on December 24, 1714, the new frontier outpost was erected into the parish of St. George and its inhabitants were exempted from all public, county and parish levies for seven years.[10] Thus was Germanna founded on the banks of the Rapidan.[11]

It does not appear that the miners were consulted as to what was done with them or, indeed, that at first there was any more definite plan than that they should live by hunting. They were soon set to build a blockhouse, a road and a bridge, but in the earliest description of them in their new home, more than a year after it had been established, there is no suggestion of any organized industry there. John Fontaine[12] recorded in his diary in June, 1715:

'About five we crossed a bridge that was made by the Germans and about six we arrived at the German settlement. We went immediately to the minister's house. We found nothing

to eat, but lived on our small provisions, and lay upon good straw. We passed the night very indifferently.

'Our beds not being very easy, as soon as it was day we got up. It rained hard, but notwithstanding, we walked about the town, which is palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and laid close the one to the other, and of substance to bear out a musket shot. There are but nine families, and they have nine houses, built all in a line, and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it, they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog sties and houses make a street. The place that is poled is a pentagon, very regularly laid out: and in the very centre there is a blockhouse, made with five sides, which answer to the five sides of the great inclosure: there are loop holes through it from which you may see all the inside of the inclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people, in case they were not able to defend the palisades, if attacked by the Indians.

'They make use of this blockhouse for divine service. They go to prayer constantly once a day, and have two sermons on Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language, which we did not understand: but they seemed to be very devout and sang the psalms well.

'This town or settlement lies upon Rappahannoc River thirty miles above the Falls and thirty miles from any inhabitants. The Germans live very miserably. We would tarry here some time, but for want of provisions we were obliged to go. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage which were very ordinary and dirtily drest. We made a collection between us three of about thirty shillings for the minister and about twelve of the clock we took our leave.'

Apart from its general interest, this is here cited as a testimony that the Siegenians were living at Spotswood's expense without gainful occupation: and so they continued to do for two whole years, until Spotswood became impatient at the uncertainty of the investment he had made in them. He had waited hopefully for the necessary special license to mine silver but now perhaps began to doubt the report, on which Graffenried had acted, that there was any silver ore in Massanutten mountain. One of the objects of the transmontane expedition in the summer of 1716 may well have been to test that report, but in any event Spotswood then saw enough of the Shenandoah Valley to realize that it was not a safe place

to plant a colony for any purpose. In this situation we see him, with a characteristic prompt decision, adjusting his plans immediately on his return from the mountains. John Fontaine records[13] that when the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe disbanded at Germanna in September, 1716, the Governor 'settled his business with the Germans and accomodated the minister and people.' This was the beginning of the iron industry on the Rapidan.

The miners had reported, immediately on their arrival, that there were evidences of iron ore in the vicinity of Germanna. As, unlike silver, it could be mined without paying a 'royalty' to the Crown, Spotswood now determined to employ his Germans to exploit their discovery. After his return to Williamsburg he took title to the site of Germanna and the ore beds in its immediate vicinity. The patent, dated October 31, 1716, issued in the name of William Robertson, the Clerk of the Council, and called for 3,229 acres, described as 'in Essex County in the parish of St. George, about 20 miles above the falls of Rappahannock river, beginning on the South Side the South River called Rapidanna,' and, a few months later, the Governor acknowledged it as his own.[14] It was then, and not until then, that he diverted from Southside Virginia the remnants of his investment in the recently defunct Indian Company, definitely fixed his interest on the Rapidan, and there built that first famous furnace which William Byrd later described. This fact is of the highest import in the history of northern Virginia, for the consequence was a special stimulus to the development of that territory. The accident of the arrival of Graffenried's miners at a particular moment makes of them, therefore, an object of interest altogether out of proportion to any effect their breeding or personality may have had upon the civilization of Virginia. These good people determined the route towards the setting sun, which was to be taken by thousands who had little interest in them if, indeed, they ever knew of their existence. They were the founders of Spotsylvania.

It was, however, only a short time after the miners began

to work at their trade that a difference arose between them and Spotswood. It appears that, for all the meagreness of his provision during their unproductive period, as reflected on Fontaine's page, the Governor had now shown them special consideration. Meeting a political charge that he was exploiting them, he was able to answer[15] that 'instead of being my tenants they might have been my servants for five years,' thereby referring to the rights of indenture customarily claimed by those who advanced passage money. The miners, indeed, seem themselves to have expected that status for, while waiting in London, they had told Graffenried that, rather than return to Germany, they 'preferred to serve for four years as servants in America."[16] The agreement, made in September, 1716, was, however, simply that they should work out in wages the advances made and to be made for their importation and support. But now, instigated perhaps by some of the Governor's political enemies who, at that time, were making trouble for him wherever they could, the Siegenians contended that they should of right be vested with the ore-bearing lands they were improving, subject only to the payment of their debt to the Governor. This Spotswood declined to do, whereupon the miners began to look about them for a refuge where they might set up for themselves. Thus they came upon the scene of old Prince William.

During the summer of 1718 a representative of the Proprietor's office must have solicited them to settle in the Northern Neck for they then sent to investigate the crescent settlement on Elk Marsh, above the north run of the Rappahannock. The result was the issue of a proprietary warrant[17] 'some time in the year of our Lord 1718' for 1,800 acres to 'Jacob Holtzclaw, John Hoffman, John Fishback, Peter Hitt, Harmon Fishback, Tilman Weaver, John Spillman and several other Germans."[18] The land was located and surveyed on Licking Run and was as adjacent to the Iroquois trail as ever Germanna had been. At the moment, this was a post of real danger for the Path was then still frequented by indians, and Licking Run was some three miles from the nearest cabin of the Elk Marsh settlement, across the 'forest' which was the boundary between

Richmond and Stafford; while neither to the east nor the south was there any neighbour for at least ten miles of wilderness.[19]

It seems probable that the Siegenians turned their backs on Germanna in the summer of 1719:[20] certainly by the following spring they were established on their Stafford land. The new settlement henceforth was known as Germantown, in distinction at once from Germanna and from Brent Town. The earliest description of it is that published in a newspaper of Frankfort-on-the-Main on June 15, 1720, by Christopher Zolicoffer who was in that city soliciting aid to build a German church in Virginia:[21]

'They together with an old Reformed minister, Henry Hager, 76 years of age, have established a colony in the year 1714 in the said Virginia called Germantown on the Brapenhenck. Here at a well situated place under the sovereignty of Great Britain they support themselves in all quietness by agriculture and the raising of cattle, hoping that they will increase and prosper, especially when within the next year the remaining German families, scattered through their servitude, will obtain their freedom, settle at Germantown and thus strengthen the colony.'

One who was born in the immediate tradition of the founding of Germantown supplements this contemporary picture with convincing details.[22]

'The first year at Germantown,' he says, 'they packed all their provisions from Fredericksburg[23] on their heads, and raised their first crop with their hoes[24] in both of which their women bore a part. . . . In a few years they had large stocks of tame and very large cattle. I recollect well when my father had many horses nearly or quite wild in the woods about the year 1760.'

He adds that the land grant was laid off in 200 acre plots all facing on Licking Run, and that these were drawn by lot.

As recited by John Fontaine, and later by Zolicoffer, the Siegenians had brought to Virginia with them a pastor of their own Evangelical Reformed faith, one Henry Hager. He fol-

lowed his flock also from Germanna to Germantown and there ministered to it until he died at a great age, in 1738.[25] For the consideration of thus entertaining their own minister, the Assembly had exempted the Siegenians from parish levies both in the St. George parish act of 1714 and more generally in the Spotsylvania act of 1720.[26] This last exemption was to expire by limitation in 1731, so, in anticipation of that event, Hager's flock petitioned the Assembly for a further extension. The relief they prayed was promptly granted and thus they were officially recorded as residents of Stafford just before they became residents of Prince William.[27]

It does not appear that Germantown ever had another resident German minister after the death of Mr. Hager. This is made plain by the references to the community in the diaries of the Moravian missionaries who wandered over northern Virginia during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In November, 1743, one of them records[28] that 'in Germantown at the Licken Run . . . a large Reformed congregation lives together' but having only a 'reader . . . his name is Holtzklo,' and depended for religious ministration on annual visits from John Bartholomew Riger, pastor of the Reformed church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In 1748 other Moravians[29] enlarge the picture:

'They are from the Siegen district and all Reformed people. . . . They have as their reader the old Mr. Holzklo, who receives annually from each family thirty pounds of tobacco as salary. A church and a school are there. . . . They live very quietly together and are nice people. . . . . Germantown is like a village in Germany in which the houses are far apart. . . . There is an open door.'

Bishop Reichel[30] passing through Germantown in 1780, comments dryly on the last description, "When one is in the town one asks where the town is.'

This observation indicates more than the German fashion of building a shoe string village: for before the Revolution almost all the Siegenians had abandoned Germantown and scattered up and down the country. The movement began in 1725

when John Fishback took an individual land grant in the fork between Broad and Bull Runs, and in 1731 moved to the White Plains neighbourhood.[31] In 1730 John Kemper established himself between Great Run and the Rappahannock.[32] A little later a more numerous swarm left the hive, when twelve of the Siegenian families, including Hoffmans, Waymans, Coons and Utterbacks, abandoned Germantown and moved to new lands across the Rappahannock, in what was to become Culpeper.[33] As a consequence of these desertions Germantown lost its original character and with it its individuality. Laid down on the Fry & Jefferson map and thence transferred by Thomas Jefferson to his map, the village is ignored by Bishop Madison and the Nine Sheet map because in the interval it had ceased to exist. In 1746 a considerable part of the original tract was sold to the church wardens of Hamilton parish as a glebe;[34] the remainder later passed into the possession of the Weaver family and became a large plantation in the Virginia tradition. And so to this day it remains, although again subdivided as appears from Mr. Willis M. Kemper's description of it in 1899:

'At the present time,' he says,[35] 'there are descendants of but one of the twelve families living on the Germantown tract. A Miss Weaver and her brother still own about 130 acres of this tract, and it is evidently a part of the tract that was originally set off to Tillman Weaver. The original Weaver house, built of logs, now weatherboarded with poplar, still stands. It was built in 1721, as a poplar board over the door with this date carved on it shows. . . . The present members of the Weaver family say that their ancestor Tillman or his immediate descendants gradually acquired the larger part of the land covered by the patent, and they say that certain parts of it have always been known as the Hitt tract, the Utterbach tract, etc., and that remains of the old houses are occasionally plowed up in the fields to this day.'

The founders of Germantown were, from the first, in accord with the Scotch-Irish who soon became their neighbours. This sympathy grew out of a common tenet of Calvinism and a hankering for the Presbyterian form of church government. In the resulting association many of the children of Germantown

intermarried with English speaking Virginians.[36] Their descendants in Fauquier and Culpeper, as well as elsewhere in the United States whither they spread, soon lost the flavor of their German origin, even when they transmitted German names. There has persisted, however, in Fauquier, as, under similar conditions, there has persisted in Loudoun, an element of German origin which has not proven thus assimilable. In the former case this too can be traced to Germantown, but it is necessary to distinguish it from the Siegenians.

In 1717 Spotswood imported to Germanna a second supply of Germans. They came thither from Alsace and the Palatine on the acknowledged footing of servants. It will be recalled that in 1720 it was expected that they might join the Germantown colony, but in the end, when they were free, differences of religion (they were Lutherans and so out of sympathy with the Calvinistic Siegenians) induced most of them to set up, in 1724, their own wilderness colony in what became Madison County.[37] It seems likely nevertheless that some of them, in accordance with the original expectation, must then have come to Germantown for thus only can be explained the new German names henceforth found in that community, whose descendants constitute the element in the local population to which reference has been made. There is no record of any land grants in these names and it is possible, therefore, that the late comers were established in Prince William as tenants of the now prospering Siegenians. Being Lutherans, they would from the first have practiced their religion in forms which were strange to their neighbours, while undoubtedly they persisted in their native language after the Siegenians had abandoned it.[38] For these considerations they remained 'foreigners' among the surrounding Scotch-Irish. As a consequence, there was active misunderstanding between the races thus brought into contact, which has left its social scars even to this day.

The fault was not all on either side. In 1748 two German speaking Moravians, losing their way on the Carolina road enroute from Germantown to the Potomac, record:[39] 'We could get nothing to satisfy our hunger for they are very unkind

people down there in Virginia.'[40] To balance this we have a picture from the Journal[41] of a tidewater Virginia family migrating, in 1817, over the Winchester road from York County to the Ohio:

'We . . . have travelled today 23 miles through the towns of Fredericksburg and Falmouth . . . to the house of one Blackburn who has received us very civilly and there we have taken lodging for the night. . . . We set out from Blackburn's and travell'd 20 miles over some of the roughest road that we have seen at all . . . and came in sight of the mountains. . . . We arrived at Germantown about sunset at the house of one Verone, the only house in town. Verone was not at home but his lady gave us admittance and when he came home from court he said he would rather, as old as he was, and that he was 65, maul rails at 2/ a hundred than to keep public house at the rates he does to take in moving families:—but for all that we staid all night. We wondered at the landlord's spleen for he gave us little but bread and cheese for our money. This morning being very rainy, we willingly would have staid all day, dirty as the place was, but Verone was not willing we should do that, for what reason I do not know. So after preparing our breakfast ourselves, we left the house of old Verone and, although it continued raining and the roads were worse than ever, we prosecuted our journey 9 miles to the town of Warrenton and are now at the house of one William Waters: here we have met with capital fare and courteous entertainment, much more so than our crabbed old friend, Verone.'

This was the last phase of Germantown.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

[1] *Ante.*, p. 86.

[2] This was Spotswood's contemporary description of them on their arrival. In the act of 1714, formulated six months after they had arrived, they are recited as 'forty-two persons or thereabouts.' In 1719 their agent, Zollikoffer, described their band as made up of 'twelve protestant German families consisting of about fifty persons' (Perry, *Church Papers, Virginia*, p. 247).

[3] Cuno, *Geschichte der Stadt Siegen*, p. 92.

[4] Graffenried, *Relation meines amerikanischen Unterfangens* (ed. Todd, 1920), p. 258.

[5] *Spotswood Letters*, ii, 66, 215. On March 15, 1713/14, Spotswood wrote to Col. Blakiston his agent in London, 'by your letter of the 9th of December, which I rec'd the other day, I perceive you have alter'd y'r opinion by sending over those People, partly at my Charge. This makes me believe you have now greater hopes of her Maj'ts Concessions in that affair for I am confident you would not on any less encouragem't engage me in such an Expence, when besides it seems I run the risque of the same Censure as you say others have undergone, for Transporting Forreigners into these parts.'

[6] Council Journal in *Va. Mag.*, xiii, 362. It has been argued from this entry that the Germans were enlisted in the colonial service as 'rangers,' but it will be observed that the phrase is 'that they be put under the denomination of Rangers to exempt them from' parish levies. This seems to have been a mere incident of the Governor's plan to transfer to the public treasury the cost of supporting the Germans until they could contrive to support themselves, i. e., in consideration of their exposed post on the frontier allowances could be justified for their account equivalent to rangers' pay. There is no evidence that the Germans ever performed any active military service, or otherwise 'ranged' the backwoods. None of them is recorded as included in the roster of the transmontane expedition of 1716, for which all the available professional Rappahannock rangers were mustered.

[7] *W. & M. Quar.* (2d Series), iii, 42.

[8] *Spotswood Letters*, ii, 70.

[9] *Ibid.*, ii, 78.

[10] *The two parishes of St. George.* The legislative proceedings are reported in *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, pp. 79, 87, 116. The act itself is not in Hening, but survives in C. O., 5:1386, fo. 84. Thence it was printed in Trotts *Plantation Laws* (1721) and in that little known compilation, *Acts of Assembly passed in the colony of Virginia from 1662 to 1715* (John Baskett, London, 1727) of which there is a copy in the Charlemagne Tower collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. From this last reservoir the Germanna act of 1714 was drawn by Dr. W. J. Hinke and printed in *Kemper Family*, 1899, and *First German Reformed Colony in Virginia* (Journal Presbyterian Historical Society, 1903, ii, 99).

The original parish of St. George lasted only seven years. By the Spotsylvania act of 1720 (C. O., 5: 1387, of which only Robert Beverley's incomplete abstract is printed in Hening, iv, 77), the act of 1714 was 'repealed and made void' and it was provided that 'all the said tract and territory of land called by the Name of the County of Spotsylvania shall from and after the said first day of May [1721] be one distinct and entire parish and shall be called and knowne by the name of the parish of Saint George.'

[11] *Homann's map*: The first publication to the world of the site of Germanna was made, on information derived directly from the original German inhabitants, by the map of Homann of Nurnberg, which is attributed to 1720 ('Virginia, Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali, Britannorum industria excultae, repraesentatae a Ioh. Bapt. Homann, S. C. M. Geog. Norimbergae'). Here, with substantial correctness of relative location, 'Germantown, Teutsche Stadt' is indicated by the depiction of a castle standing above the fork, and below the unnamed lower branch, of 'Rappahanock Riv.'

The names 'Germanna' and 'Rapidanna' (*Cf. Patents*, 10:290) like the earlier 'Christanna' (which fort also is indicated on the Homann map)

were all assigned by Spotswood. His crowded hour had been in the days of Queen Anne and he never lost an opportunity to honour her name.

[12] *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (Putnam's reprint), p. 268.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[14] *Patents*, 10: 290. For Spotswood's acknowledgment of ownership see *Spotswood Letters*, ii, 215. There were no head rights named in this patent, the equivalent being stated in cash at the rate of five shillings per head right, viz: 'the sum of Sixteen pounds five shillings of good and lawful money for our use paid to our Receiver General.'

[15] *Spotswood Letters*, ii, 217.

[16] Graffenried, *Relation*, ed. Todd, p. 258.

[17] See the testimony in *Spillman* v. *Gent* in Fauquier County Court, 1759, cited in *Kemper Family*, p. 31. By reason of the closing of the proprietary office soon after the warrant was issued, the grant itself, in the name of John Fishback, Hoffman and Holtzclaw, who had been naturalized and acted as trustees for the others, was not recorded until August 22, 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 63). By custom they were meanwhile in possession of the land under the warrant.

[18] In 1814, quite independently, James Kemper confirmed this list and added to it the names, Kemper, Utterback, Martin, Coons, Wayman, Rector and Handback (*Kemper Family*, p. 40); but Mr. Willis M. Kemper (*Fishback Family*, 1914, p. 36) is of opinion, on the authority of a list recorded in *Spotsylvania W. B.*, A: 69, that Utterback, Wayman and Handback were never part of the Germantown colony.

[19] The location of Germantown is identified historically on the Fauquier map of 1914, near Midland station and adjoining the birthplace of John Marshall.

[20] *The Germantown date*: The first conclusive evidence for the actual German settlement on Licking Run is the recital in the land grant of August 22, 1724, that they were then there. This was contemporary with the publication of Hugh Jones' *Present State*, in which it was recorded that they had 'removed up farther.' Next comes the reference in Robert Carter's will of 1726 to his 'Lodge' tract as 'bounding on the Germans.' Carrying the date back, the Tilman Weaver house at Germantown long preserved an inscription '1721' carved upon it and that is the date accepted for the migration by Dr. Hinke. We are better persuaded, however, by Mr. W. M. Kemper's deduction (*Kemper Family*, p. 41), 1719, based on the fact that Zolicoffer was in England in October, 1719 (Perry, *Church Papers, Virginia*, p. 247). It seems unlikely that he left Virginia before the Siegenians made their trek.

[21] This interesting testimony is cited and translated by Dr. Hinke (*Journal Presbyterian Historical Society*, ii, 106). By reason of the reference therein to 1714 and to the Rappahannock (called Brapenhenck), he assumes that it relates to Germanna. But the name Germantown and the description of the Siegenians leading the life of husbandmen (which they only began to do on Licking Run, having been miners at Germanna) is persuasive that whoever wrote the newspaper story was describing Germantown, but confused the two settlements.

[22] The autobiography of James Kemper (1753-1834), the first minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, in *Kemper Family*, p. 39.

[23] He means the Falls of the Rappahannock for of course Fredericks-

burg had not then been established. It was to secure access to the market at the Falls that they opened through the woods that 'German Path' which is recited in *N. N.*, F: 39.

[24] As most Virginians then did. See *ante.*, p. 121.

[25] His will was proved in Prince William court, March 28, 1738 (*Prince Wm. W. B.*, C: 108).

[26] Hening, iv, 299.

[27] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 63; Hening, iv, 306.

[28] *Journal Presbyterian Historical Society*, ii, 142.

[29] *Va. Mag.*, xi, 233, 241.

[30] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 1916, pp. 593, 608.

[31] *N. N.*, A: 160. See post, p.

[32] *N. N.*, C: 19; E: 408. These grants issued in the names of John Kemper's children, who were native born Virginians.

[33] This became the German settlement described in 1748 by the Moravian Gottschalk as 'the Little Fork of the Rippehanning' (*Va. Mag.*, xi, 232). The migration seems to have taken place in 1738 after Parson Hager's death when also expired the final exemption of Germantown from parish levies. It explains the use made of the head rights certificates which some of the Germantown colony swore out in Spotsylvania Court from 1724 onward (*Va. Mag.*, xiii, 367). The names of this colony are as well known in Culpeper today, as are others of the founders of Germantown in Fauquier.

[34] See *post*, p. 307.

[35] *Kemper Family*, 1899, p. 36.

[36] See e. g., the record of the early Kemper intermarriages with the families of Whitesides, Withers, Fisher (Ball), Hathaway and Mauzy in *Kemper Family* (1899). A Holtzclaw of the second Virginia generation married one of the long established Stafford Darnalls (*Tyler's Quar.*, iv, 221). Later a Weaver married a daughter of Benjamin Harrison of Fauquier (*Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 333) and in consequence left his name on the map (Weaversville) not far distant from the now nameless site of Germantown.

[37] See Dr. Hinke's discussion of these people in *Journal Presbyterian Historical Society*, ii, 103, 108. Their names are recorded as head rights in Spotswood's patent of 1732 (*Patents*, 14: 381). The documents relating to them are in *Va. Mag.*, vi, 385; xiii, 364; *Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 208; *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, iii, 455. The most important narrative is that of their pastor, Stover, written in 1737, which is printed in *Va. Mag.*, xiv, 147.

[38] Speaking of the founders of Germantown, James Kemper said in his autobiography (*Kemper Family*, p. 46): 'They kept up their worship both public and private in the German language and their schools also, till, being as it were lost in the crowd, the first generation removed by death and all their public political matters transacted in English, their language was gradually lost in the second generation. I spoke a dialect of the German language as used in my father's house till I was ten or twelve years old, but have now almost entirely lost it.'

[39] *Va. Mag.*, xi, 242.

[40] This is, curiously enough, an echo of a phrase used by an indian sachem at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744. Speaking of the travels of the northern indians to and from the South and the difficulties they had with the frontier Virginians, as contrasted wiht the Pennsylvanians, he said to the Virginia Commissioners, 'You have some very ill natured people living up there.' See *post*, p. 459 for similar comment by the Baroness Riedesel.

[41] *The Harrisons of Skimino*, 1910.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Spotswood Opens the Door

AT the session of the Council on April 20, 1716,[1] Governor Spotswood

'was pleased to inform the Board that some discoverys have lately been made by the Rangers of a Passage over the Great Mountains to the Westward of this Colony and that he intended next August to Send a Greater body of the Rangers upon further discoverys which he Judges may be of Great advantage to this Country.'

Thus was inaugurated the famous transmontane expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, which has justly filled the imagination of Virginia. It still stands as the symbol of the end of the era of tidewater plantations, and it gives significance to the subsequent seating of the piedmont as an early episode in the drama which ended on the Plains of Abraham. In that sense it has a place in the pedigree of the lands on the north fork of the Rappahannock almost as important as that which has been claimed for it by the counties on the Rapidan.[2]

The interest of the earliest record of the summer journey into the forest is that Spotswood did not at first plan himself to go. It was his participation alone which gave that journey a moral significance greater than the previous pathfinding of the anonymous Rangers. Incidentally it determined the route followed. Germanna became the base of the expedition because of the Governor's special interest there. Thus was concentrated on the falls of the Rappahannock the consequent forward movement to occupy the hinterland. This in turn immediately affected the destiny of old Prince William.

Measured by its immediate results, the expedition of 1716 was in itself no more than what the diplomats call a gesture. The Knights left Germanna as John Fontaine[3] had found it the year before, 'thirty miles from any inhabitants;' and, so far

as concerned old Prince William, as much can be said of Elk Marsh. Both were still the extreme frontier; the 'thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain' remained a Khyber Pass through which even the hunter hesitated to pass. The ferment had still to work for several years.

It was not until 1720 that, stirred by the Governor's continued insistence upon his far-seeing policy with respect to the French,[4] by immediate risks of indians, and doubtless influenced by the romance of the transmontane journey, the Assembly created two new frontier counties—Spotsylvania and Brunswick[5]—to include respectively the only two gaps in the Blue Ridge then known to the government, the 'northern,' or Swift Run, gap, where Spotswood had himself transcended the mountains, and the 'southern,' or Roanoke water, gap which had stood open to Virginia at least since 1671.[6] This action was followed by a petition to the Crown by the Council and Burgesses, declaring their policy to be 'to secure our present Settlements from the Incursions of the Savage Indians, and from the more dangerous Incroachments of the Neighbouring French,' and, reciting that 'To incourage People to go up and Seat these two Counties we have exempted the Inhabitants thereof from publick Taxes for the Space of Ten Years: We have agreed to build them churches and Court Houses and to furnish them with Arms and Ammunition at the Public Charge,' prayed the 'Roial Favour of Remitting all the Quit rents of these two Counties for Ten Years."[7]

While waiting for a response to this petition Spotswood again took the lead in the next necessary step: he practised what he was preaching to others. Being still Governor, he could not seemly pass patents in his own name, but he organized two syndicates of his friends to act for him, and promoted a similar investment on the part of other men of means. In this way, in June and July, 1722, the era of large land grants was inaugurated in Virginia. Spotswood himself then preempted 68,000 acres on the lower side of the Rapidan;[8] and (not to rehearse the smaller fry) Cole Digges, Bartholomew Yates, Gawin Corbin and other well known Virginians of that

generation took up between them nearly as much more in the territory which was to become Culpeper.[9]

It was at this moment that Spotswood proceeded to Albany and took the third and final step necessary to open the door to the highlands. In September, 1722, he negotiated with the Iroquois sachems the treaty under which those palavering politicians agreed to keep their 'young men' on the west side of the Blue Ridge.[10] Thus was forged the effective key to the 'thoroughfare of the Rappahannock mountain.'

When Spotswood returned to Virginia it was to find himself a private citizen, for Drysdale had arrived to supersede him as Governor. He persisted, nevertheless, in his plans for the territorial expansion of the colony. Most of his colleagues in the first adventure of patenting Spotsylvania lands had merely speculated on the chance that the Privy Council would waive the quit rents for a term of years, during which they could dispose of their lands to actual settlers. When that slow moving body indeed agreed to such a principle, but stipulated that it should be limited to individual grants of one thousand acres (subsequently increased to 6,000), most of the earliest speculators dropped out. Spotswood, however, kept on, and, as the Privy Council later found and certified, did 'more than any other Person towards peopling the country."[11] Among the other precedents he set in doing this was one which was soon followed elsewhere, conspicuously in Albemarle: he harked back to the practice of the very beginning of the colony and established a gentleman's residence on the frontier. It was on the Rapidan, far from the comfortable tidewater, that Col. Byrd found him in that 'enchanted castle' where, like Uncle Toby, 'lest we should have forgotten the battles of Marlborough, he fought them all over again for the nine and fortieth time."[12]

Spotswood soon had neighbours, if not auditors. In 1723, and thereafter, the upper Valley of the Rappahannock was thronged with pioneers seeking new homes. They came through this gateway in such numbers that when, in February, 1727/8, the first Assembly held after the accession of George II, laid out the town of Fredericksburg,[13] it could be recited that 'great numbers of people have of late seated themselves and their

families upon or near the river Rappahannock, and the branches thereof, above the falls: and great quantities of tobacco and other commodities are every year brought down to the upper landings upon the said river."[14]

What is here most significant to our present study is that the same act provided also, at Robert Carter's instigation, for laying out the town of Falmouth,[15] in what was then King George, on 'land belonging to William Todd . . . situate . . . on the north side of the said river [Rappahannock] about two miles above' Fredericksburg, reciting that 'for as much as the said town [of Fredericksburg] will not be convenient to the inhabitants on the north side of said river for transporting their commodities to and from the same: To the end, therefore, that the same benefits may be extended to them as are before given to the people inhabiting the County of Spotsylvania."[16] From this provision it is apparent that, although the frontier legislation of the decade from 1720 to 1730 was formulated chiefly in the interest of Virginia proper, as distinguished from the Northern Neck, its effect spread northward and caused a new tide of emigration to set in also upon the proprietary back lands.

While this was at first most evident on the Rappahannock boundary of the proprietary, contemporaneously there was a reflex movement above tidewater on the Potomac also. Up the Occoquan, as well as up the Potomac itself, a steady trickle of immigration may henceforth be traced in the land grants. The last chapter of the history of the seating of the piedmont of old Prince William is the record of the meeting and mingling of the several currents of immigration which thus set in thither after 1722. In considering this folk movement, it must always be remembered, then, that it was Alexander Spotswood who opened the door.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIXTEEN

[1] Council Journal, C. O., 5: 1416, D., p. 8. See also (in *W. & M. Quar.*, 2d series, iii, 43), Spotswood's official expense account and itinerary reciting that he set out in August, 1716, in pursuance of the information here recited, and incidentally that he was accompanied by '63 men and 74 horses.' The best account of the *expeditio ultra-montana* is that contained in Mr. Armistead C. Gordon's address at the dedication, in 1921, of the Spotswood movement in Swift Run Gap. This is printed in Mr. Gordon's *Men and Events*, 1923. For the route followed, see W. W. Scott, in *W. & M. Quar.*, 2d series, iii 145.

[2] The history of the development in old Spotsylvania, i. e., the territory on the Rapidan and west of the north fork of the Rappahannock, has been ably recorded. See Dr. Philip Slaughter's *St. George's Parish* (1847) and *St. Mark's Parish* (1877); W. W. Scott, *History of Orange County* (1907). The records of Spotsylvania (1721-1800) covering the settlement of the territory now included in Orange, Culpeper, Rappahannock and Madison, with some early political excursions across the Blue Ridge, are printed as volume one of W. A. Crozier's *Virginia County Records* (1905).

[3] *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (Putnam's reprint), 268.

[4] Dinwiddie has bulked large in Virginia history by reason of his Fort DuQuesne politics of 1753, but it was Spotswood who initiated the policy. See his despatch of August 14, 1718, in *Spotswood Papers*, ii, 286, at p. 296.

[5] The full text of the act survives in C. O., 5: 1387. Hening (iv, 77) printed only Robert Beverley's incomplete abstract.

[6] For the western explorations of Henry Batt for Col. Abraham Wood, of Fort Henry (Petersburg) in the seventeenth century, see Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, i, 64; Coxe, *Carolana* (1741), 120; *W. & M. Quar.*, xv. 234; Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghaney by Virginians* (1912). The Roanoke water gap, through which Col. Wood's explorers reached New (or Woods) River, became eventually the route of 'The Great Road from the Yadkin River' to Pennsylvania, via the Valley, as marked on Fry and Jefferson's map, 1755.

[7] The petition is recited in *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 298. See also Beverley's Abridgement (1722), p. 163. For the action of the Privy Council see *Acts P. C., Colonial*, iii, 22, 244.

[8] *The Spotsylvania Speculators*: By a patent dated July 22, 1722 (*Patents*, 11:145), Thomas Jones, John Scott and Richard Hickman were granted 40,000 acres below Rapidan, beginning at the mouth of Russell Run, and surrounding the earlier Germanna patent. By another, dated July 27th following (*Patents*, 12: 433), Richard Hickman had a further grant of 28,000 acres adjoining that last recited. By patents dated April 11, 1732 (*Patents*, 14: 378, 381), both these tracts were recited to have been originally acquired in trust for Alexander Spotswood and were now confirmed to him by special order of the Privy Council in consideration of his services in seating Spotsylvania. It was thus that the Spotsylvania petition of 1724 (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 208) against the ex-governor found colour for its allegation

of the inconvenience of the maintenance of Spotsylvania court house at Germanna, that 'the land for allmost Eight or ten miles round the said house (except a small Quantity in the fork of Rappahannock River) belongs to the Hon'ble Coll° Alex^r Spotswood, Esquire.'

[9] The other speculative patents of 1722 were: the Digges grant of 12,000 acres in the fork of Rapidan, subsequently regranted to John Grymes (*Patents,* 11: 147; 13: 385); the Yates and Latane grant of 24,000 acres on the Rapidan, below Laurel Run, subsequently regranted to Robert Beverley (*Patents,* 11: 147; 13: 408); Gawin Corbin's two grants of 3,000 and 15,000 acres, one 'adjoining the Governor's land' and the other in the fork of Rappahannock (*Patents,* 11:95, 96).

[10] See *ante.,* p. 87.

[11] *Acts P. C.,* Colonial, iii, 168.

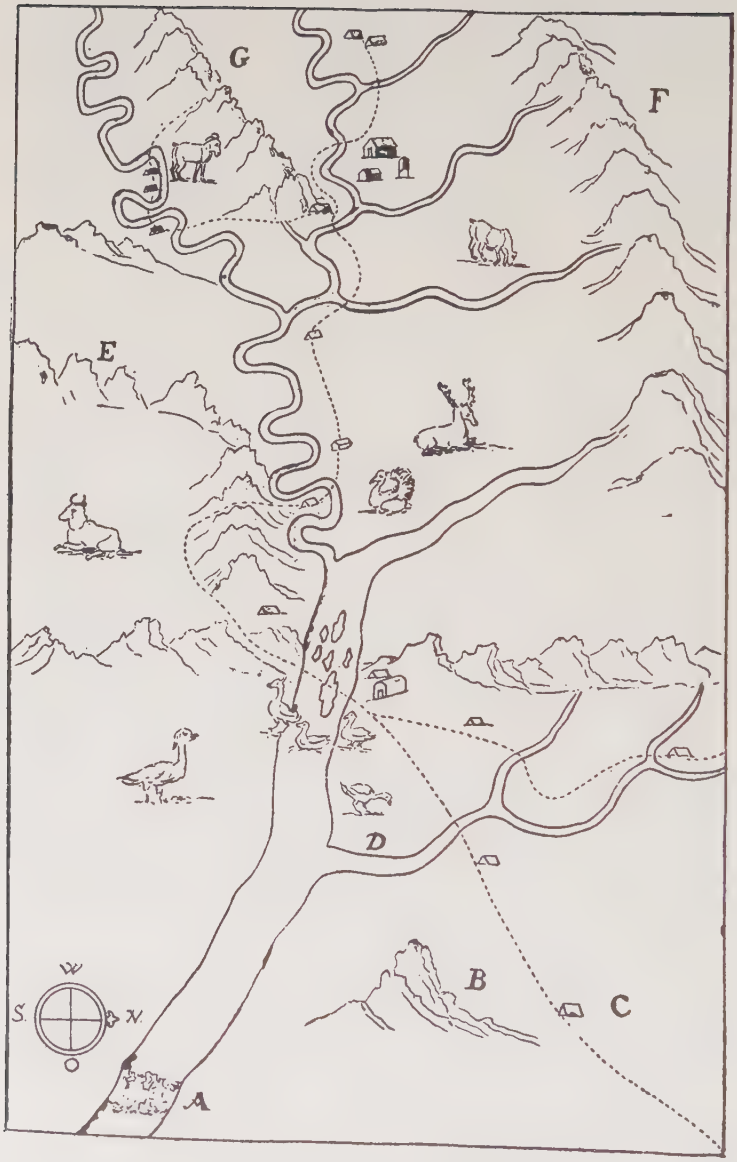
[12] For the classical pictures of Spotswood at Germanna from 1724 to 1736 see Hugh Jones' *Present State; Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 208; Col. Byrd's *Progress to the Mines* and *Bounds of the Northern Neck.*

[13] *The founding of Falmouth:* Hening, iv, 234. Governor Gooch's comment (C. O., 5: 1321, p. 79) upon the necessity of this act is illuminating. He recites that the inhabitants above the falls being 'obliged to bring their Tobacco to the first landings where the River is Navigable * * * their industry has been hitherto much discouraged for want of convenient Storehouses to lodge their Commoditys and much more for being deprived of the opportunity of selling the same to advantage, the land on both sides that part of the River being held by private Persons who not only exacted exorbitant prices for Storage, but endeavoured to engross the whole Trade to themselves, since no other Merchant could settle there without the Consent of the others which was not to be obtained.' Fifty acres was accordingly condemned on each side of the River and laid off in lots, the owners being paid 'forty shillings for each acre which in truth is four times as much as land in these parts commonly are sold for.' The landowners attempted to secure a veto of the act by the Crown, but eventually acquiesced.

[14] *The migration from tidewater:* A contemporary petition from Middlesex gives a curious testimony of the other side of this picture, the effect of the migration on the lower tidewater. Here, in 1727, it could be recited (*Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 213) that: 'The number of whites in that county [Middlesex] is very small, the proportion to Blacks hardly as one to three and much less in the lowest and first exposed part. The meaner sort of the people (in whom consists the strength of all Countrys), are daily moving higher up, so that there is some danger of this Extream part of the Country being entirely abandoned by them.'

[15] *The Falmouth records:* In 1922 Mr. H. G. Lightner of Falmouth had in his possession, much mutilated, the original minute book of the Trustees of the Town of Falmouth, including the meeting for the organization of the town on June 19, 1728, and thence forward with wide intervals to 1813, when the town ceased to exist and the functions of the trustees were transferred to the county court of Stafford. Incomplete as it is, this book is believed to be a unique survival of such a document for an eighteenth century Virginia town. The minutes are intact only from 1780 to 1813, but there is valuable material from 1764 to 1777. Perhaps the most significant deduction one can draw from it is that the Carter family interest was predominant in the town from its organization until the Revolution.

[18] Fredericksburg was intended to be the mart of the people living south of the Rappahannock; Falmouth that of the people of the Northern Neck. This distinction was maintained. The sphere of commercial influence of Fredericksburg (see e. g., the territory in which its tobacco notes were current in 1776, Hening, ix, 154) was always westward along the route of Spotswood's transmontane expedition which was later followed by the Swift Run gap turnpike and, eventually, (as far as Orange Court House) by the narrow gauge Fredericksburg and Gordonsville railroad, which was built after 1853 (*Acts* 1852-53, ch. 165, p. 136).



MICHEL, 1707.
The Potomac above the Falls.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Scotch-Irish

CATHERINE CULPEPER, Lady Fairfax, died in May, 1719, and was succeeded as Proprietor of the Northern Neck by her son, Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. At the moment the resident agent in Virginia, Edmund Jenings, having three years before superseded his nephew, Thomas Lee, in the business of the estate, was beginning to show his age. After a career of the highest official distinction, capped with the honour of serving as acting Governor of the colony during the interval between the death of Nott and the arrival of Spotswood, Jenings, *de guerre lasse,* though still tenacious of perquisites, had become an arm chair statesman. When the proprietary office was necessarily closed by the demise of the title, the details of its administration, which vitally concerned all the people of the Northern Neck, had been for some time so neglected that those who had to do business there were beginning to complain of irregularities.[1] In this situation, after some delay, Col. William Cage, the trustee named in Lady Fairfax's will, turned again to Micajah Perry for help and he persuaded Robert Carter to agree once more to assume the agency. It is significant that Col. Carter re-opened the proprietary office in Virginia in December, 1722, or precisely at the moment when the ratification of Spotswood's treaty of Albany had made the highlands of Northern Virginia safe for democracy. Col. Carter now began to do literally what the later frontier saying denominated 'a land office business.'

Among his importations into the Northern Neck the most conspicuous, because the most numerous, body of names have a strongly celtic flavor. They are as different from the names of the pioneers of Elk Marsh as they are from those of the pioneer planters on the Potomac. They represent the introduction of an important new chemical into the Virginia melting pot; to vary the metaphor they were part of the vanguard of that

'Scotch-Irish' immigration to America which was destined to make a deep impress on national character.

In 1723 Virginia had been receiving immigrants from Ireland for no more than a quarter of a century. In 1671 Berkeley had reported[2] that 'yearly we suppose there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch and fewer Irish.' The important movement from the Emerald Isle began after the battle of the Boyne. The first to come were south of Ireland Catholics who gave the Virginia people a concern, of which there remains a curious testimony. In May, 1699, Governor Nicholson submitted to the Assembly certain instructions from the Crown as to legislation. Among other things, it was provided that 'all Planters and Christian Servants be well and fitly provided with Armes and that they be listed under Offycers.' To this the Assembly objected,[3] urging, doubtless with some exaggeration,

'it is to be considered that the Christian servants in this Country for the most part consist of the Worser Sort of people of Europe, and since the Peace hath been concluded such numbers of Irish and other Nations have been bro[t] in of which a great many have been Soldiers in the late warrs that, according to our present circumstances we can hardly govern them. And if they were fitted with Armes and had the Opertunity of meeting together by musters, we have just reason to feare they may rise upon us. And if there should be any occasion for the defence of the Country (which God forbid) to make use of them, 'tis much to be doubt[d] that for the sake of their fredome and the difference of the Religion of a great many of them (especially the Irish) and for other reasons they would rather be our Enimies than contribute to our assistance.'

The servants so described explain many pure Irish names in Virginia, but they are of less significance than that racially quite distinct immigration which soon followed them and had in common with them only the fact of recent residence in Ireland. It is familiar and oft repeated story of how William III planted the lands of dispossessed Catholics in the north of Ireland with protestant Scots and how, at the end of a gener-

ation, many of them were compelled once more to seek new homes. Lecky sums up the immediate economic causes of this second move. It is one of the many chapters of England's blundering in dealing with her Irish problem:

'The Protestant emigration, which began,' he says,[4] 'with the destruction of the woolen manufacture, continued during many years with unabated and even accelerating rapidity. At the time of the Revolution [of 1688] when great portions of the country lay waste and when the whole framework of society was shattered, much Irish land had been let on lease at very low rents to English and especially to Scotch Protestants. About 1717 and 1718 these leases began to fall in. Rents were usually doubled and often trebled. The smaller farms were generally put up to competition and the Catholics, who were accustomed to live in the most squalid misery and to forego all the comforts of life, very naturally out-bid the Protestants. . . . Some of them passed to England and Scotland. Great numbers found a home in Virginia and Pennsylvania.'

These newcomers were, of course, more welcome in Virginia than their Catholic predecessors. Most of them paid their passage to the colonies by binding themselves to work for four or five years after their arrival and thus became indenture men in the Virginia tradition. They did not all come willingly. Hugh Jones records that when he wrote in 1724, Bristol and Liverpool tobacco ships 'often call at Ireland to victual and bring over white Servants . . . commonly called Kids,' and thus reveals that kidnapping was a usual aid to emigration.[5]

In 1723 the earliest of these Scotch-Irish immigrants would have served their indentures and the testimony of their names on the land books shows that when Col. Carter took up the task of seating the still unoccupied territory between Brent Town and Elk Marsh he recruited among the Scotch-Irish most of those he was able to establish in the proprietary. During the years, 1723, 1724 and 1725, he made to them no less than seventy grants in small parcels of from one hundred to three hundred acres, aggregating about 15,000 acres, be-

ginning on the lower branches of Cedar Run and in the 'forest' at their sources. Many of this first flight seem to have come into old Prince William from the Rappahannock plantations. They promptly began to plant tobacco in the clearings they made on their 'low grounds' on Town and Elk Runs, as is evident from the fact that as early as October, 1724, a land grant recites the existence of a 'Cedar Run Rowling Road' leading thither, while in 1726 another refers to 'Robert's Rowling Road' on Deep Run.

The success of this preliminary seating, of what had recently been the wilderness, must have convinced Robert Carter that he could extend the process indefinitely; for what he did next indicates an intention to capitalize successive crops of graduated indenture men. It was in July, 1724, that he inaugurated that progressive reservation to his own use of the 'great tracts' which we shall soon enumerate, by surveying and staking out the lands above Licking and on Cedar and Kettle Runs, which balanced the Elk Marsh settlements as far as they had then extended to the north. The purpose was to plant these new 'manors,' as the area south of Brent Town had already been planted, with Scotch-Irish, but with this essential difference that the next posse of pioneers should find themselves Col. Carter's liberally financed tenants rather than individualists struggling alone in the wilderness. It was in this conception, apparently at once statesmanlike and shrewd, that Col. Carter made one of the few capital mistakes of a long and fortunate career.

Before the end of 1726 there duly arrived in Stafford a new swarm of home-seeking Irish. They came this time from both the Potomac and the Rappahannock plantations. Col. Carter's surveyors and agents welcomed them cordially, but, warming from condescension to blandishments, found to their surprise that the newcomers were unwilling to seat themselves anywhere except on an estate of inheritance; they would be no man's tenants. Making their way up Cedar and Broad, they pushed through the choice 'quarters' Col. Carter had designed for them, until they reached the unappropriated foothills of the 'Occoquan Mountains,' as the Rappahannock and

the Bull Run ranges were then inclusively called. Here they could and did take up small holdings on the same terms as Col. Carter took up his great ones, and in that process they scattered. Some turned west up the main run of Great, and around the base of the Rappahannock range to the lower side of Carter's Run; but more went due north into that narrow valley, between the 'Broken Hills,'[6] and Pignut, where, in 1762, their sons became Baptists and established on Barker's branch that Broad Run Church which was the first non-conformist meeting house in this part of Virginia.[7] It is, however, a curious fact that while surveys were made for the Irish in 1727 at the base of the Watery Mountain,[8] few of them then passed into the highlands through that inviting 'thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain,'[9] where Cedar Run has its spring.

This new element in the civilization of the Northern Neck was now relatively numerous and gave the characteristic colour to the 'back inhabitants' of Prince William on the organization of that county. The government at Williamsburg was doubtful of them from the first and looked upon Robert Carter's activities as an immigration agent with a somewhat jaundiced eye: in which respect, as it happened, it soon was justified.

The new planters, lacking the means to buy negroes, drew to their aid in their agriculture that form of labor, which, while it was the cheapest, was also morally the most degrading, namely the convicts. Their little plantations thus became hot beds of turbulent opinion. It was among them that were hatched most of those plots to defeat the purpose of Gooch's tobacco law which inculcated in the bosom of that good Governor so low an opinion of the population of the Northern Neck. The proof of all this is ample in the record of the Prince William insurrection of 1732, which has survived in the minutes of the Council,[10] a record of sufficient significance here to quote at length:

'1732, March 26. Whereas the Governor was this day pleased to communicate to the members of his Majys. Council

now present, a letter sent him by express from Coll. Thomas Harrison, of the County of Prince William, advising that a number of the meaner sort of people of that county, consisting of fifty men, were got together in arms, designing, as they gave out, to destroy the public warehouses in that and the adjacent counties, expecting to be joyned by other malecontents from the neighbouring counties in the Northern Neck: It is the opinion of this Board that for the more effectual suppressing the said insurrection it is necessary that orders be forthwith issued to the commanding officers of the militia in the Northern Neck to call together the several troops and companies under their respective commands, and cause to be read to them an Act of Assembly for establishing the Militia, and to acquaint them that this is such an insurrection as they are bound by that act to suppress under the penalties therein mentioned; and in case the mutineers in Prince William County should presume to continue in arms, that they then march against, and endeavor to suppress them; And that the like orders be issued to the commanding officers of the militia on this side Rappahannock River to take all necessary measures for preserving the peace of their counties and for obstructing the passage of any number of men from the Northern Neck who shall attempt to cross that river, and in like manner to seize and secure all such as they shall find going about to stir up the people to mutiny or disobedience to the laws, sending from time to time to the Govr. accounts of their proceedings, to the end that they may receive his further directions therein.

'May 2. On reading the petition of James Bland, John Shuemack, Thomas Furr, and others concerned in the late insurrection in Prince William County, humbly acknowledging their offence and praying pardon for the same: It is the opinion of the Council that before the petrs. be received into the benefit of his Majesties pardon, they ought to appear before this Board to answer such matters as they shall be interrogated on touching the design of their tumultious and unlawfull meeting wherein they were engaged, And it is accordingly ordered that the sheriff of Prince William County summon the said James Bland, Thomas Furr, and Thomas Furr the younger, together with Henry Filkins[11] of the said county, to attend this Board at the next court of Oyer and Terminer, held the second Tuesday in June, and that all the other persons concerned in the said insurrection, upon their giving security for their future good behavior for one twelve month and one day, before the court of the said County of Prince William, be discharged from all further prosecution for their aforesaid

offence; And the Justices of the said County of Prince William to notify the same and to take recognizance accordingly.'

This record is an important testimony to the student of the social history of old Prince William; for the names of many of that band of fifty insurrectos are still to be found in the tax books of northern Virginia. Like the English who followed Nathaniel Bacon, these immigrants from Ireland, once they had set up as planters for their own account, had the defects of their qualities, as their descendants still have. Undisciplined, passionate, prejudiced, they were and ever have been malleable in the hands of the demagogue; but in 1732, as in 1776 and 1861, they showed themselves self-reliant and ready to fight against odds, as the saying is 'at the drop of the hat.' Their failures, which have been many, may usually be attributed to the leaders to whom they have given unreasoning loyalty.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

[1] The complaints reached the Assembly in 1720 (*Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 288); but see Spotswood's friendly comment on Jenings at this time in relation to the office of Secretary of State (*Spotswood Letters*, ii, 344). Jenings was deeply in debt to Micajah Perry and never succeeded in extricating himself, so that he died a broken man, after having been passed over for a second tour as Commander-in-Chief upon Drysdale's death, and after Robert Carter had foreclosed a mortgage upon his seat, 'Rippon Hall,' in York (*Va. Mag.*, vi, 10).

[2] Hening, ii, 515.

[3] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, pp. 138, 188.

[4] *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1883), ii, 260.

[5] *The Kids:* The sea captains hunted protestant 'Kids' preferentially, because they brought a higher price in the colonies. A Parliamentary committee (quoted by Lecky, ii, 261), reported in 1735, 'it appears to your committee that Thomas Cumming and his accomplices have been guilty of great barbarities and violence towards many Protestant passengers seduced and taken by him on board the ship called the *George of Dublin* bound for North Carolina.' See also the curious traditions of the Eskridge family (*Va. Mag.*, vii. 434) as to how their immigrant ancestor, who rose to high station, made his first appearance in Virginia as a 'Kid' from Wales.

[6] The land grants show that the northward and westward faring Virginian invariably so called the first unusual elevations he encountered. See, e. g., Pond Mountain described as the 'Broken Hills' in a grant of 1725 (*N. N.*, A: 149) which in 1731 (*N. N.*, C: 155) on

better acquaintance became 'South Run Mountain, before it assumed its present name.

[7] Semple, *Baptists in Virginia* (ed. Beale, 1894), 378, 406, 408. Groome, *Historical Notes of Fauquier,* 1914, p. 14. It may be noted that the records of Broad Run church show the admission of Nancy Hanks in 1778 and Luke Hanks in 1779 and that in 1785 they moved to Carolina. They were of the maternal family of Abraham Lincoln.

[8] It is first so named in a grant of January, 1726/7 (*N. N.,* B: 39).

[9] The designation first appears in a grant of 1728 (*N. N.,* B:123).

[10] *Council Journal* in C. O., 5: 1420, pp. 79, 85.

[11] Thomas Furr was one of the original Scotch-Irish settlers below Brent Town in 1723 (*N. N.,* A: 17). James Bland and Henry Filkins had been seated side by side on Occoquan since 1715 (*N. N.,* 4:48; 5: 65).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The Barrier of the Manors

THE origin of those 'manors'[1] which long controlled the development of old Prince William may be found in the privilege, claimed by the resident Northern Neck agents from the earliest days of the proprietary, of appropriating each one for himself a liberal grant of waste lands. In that category may be placed progressively Nicholas Spencer and the rape of Richard Lee's lands later known as Mt. Vernon; George Brent and the additions to the Piscataway Neck estate; William Fitzhugh and Ravensworth; Robert Carter and Richland. If no grants to Philip Ludwell and Thomas Lee were recorded during their respective agencies, when their kinsman, Edmund Jenings, had control of the books Ludwell's son and Lee both took their fill: their previous reticence does not seem to have been due to any principle.[2] There is no surviving record to testify whether the Proprietors waived composition or quit rents in these cases. If they did, the concession might be considered as compensation for service, but, to the extent that they did not, the agents were on the same footing as any other grantees: the larger the grant the greater the return to the Proprietor in composition and quit rent. On either of these bases there could be no reasonable criticism of the agents by the Proprietors unless the privilege was obviously abused. It remained for Robert Carter, during his second agency, to stretch it to its elastic limit.

During the agency of Brent and Fitzhugh it befell those worthies to incur the displeasure of Robert Carter by refusing him a grant of the escheat of a parcel of land in Lancaster which had been a Naboth's Vineyard within the broad Carter acres. Accordingly, when Carter became Chairman of the Committee of Propositions and Grievances in the Assembly of 1695 he saw to it that the 'Inhabitants' of the Northern Neck lodged with the House of Burgesses another of the long series

of legislative protests against the proprietary. The able Chairman proceeded to dress up this particular one in a report from his Committee which animadverted vigorously and eloquently upon 'the strange and exorbitant practices' of the Northern Neck agents. He raked them generally and specifically, and in due course moved the House to adopt his screed as an address to the Crown.[3] The House *Journal* shows that Carter had the support of his colleagues, but the record suddenly ends without definite action: the Council apparently declined to concur. This abortive Address of 1695 is thus of value to the historian chiefly as showing what Robert Carter thought of the proprietary before he, himself, had the responsibility of its management. In view of his own subsequent performance it is entertaining to find that one of the counts in the indictment was that

'for lands lapsing for wante of Seating, none such will happen, for in the conveyances of the sd. Lds. Agents there is not any Limitation upon that accounte, and accordingly a man may hold 50,000 or more acres of land by a secure title, and that without so much as actually seating or building upon any part of it.'

When Col. Carter himself became the proprietary agent in 1702 he apparently still entertained these sentiments, for, with the exception of Richland, he then acquired no wilderness land. At all times still the largest landholder in the Northern Neck, his acquisitions before the beginning of his second agency in 1723 were consistently of tidewater plantations already seated and in profitable operation.[4] In this way his influence had extended from Corotoman up the Rappahannock, past the falls and the great fork to Deep Run, and across the Northern Neck proper to the Potomac; and thence up that river also via Nomini to and including Governor Matthews' early dividend on Chipawansic.[5] Now, in the twinkling of an eye, he changed his policy. From the carefully nursed stock of tags of latin verse which he preserved from his youthful studies in the *Janua Linguarum Trilinguis*

Col. Carter doubtless justified what he did by quotation of the wise saw *'tempora mutantur.'*

Conditions had, indeed, changed in a quarter of a century. In the seventeenth century there were no estates of '50,000 or more acres of land' below the Rappahannock, but by 1725 there were several. The example of the earlier Northern Neck agents had not been lost on the land hungry Virginians. As early as 1701 the Assembly passed an act authorizing the organization of land companies to acquire and seat holdings of as much as 30,000 acres of frontier land,[6] but it waited for the hand of Alexander Spotswood to give this policy effect and he boldly multiplied the units. As we have seen, the eponymous hero of Spotsylvania created and undertook to seat in that frontier county a domain of unprecedented size, surpassing in extent, if not in value, even the existing Carter holdings. This example stimulated in Col. Carter's heart the element of original sin which the Roman Church calls the *libido excellendi.* His renewed relation with the Northern Neck proprietary gave him the opportunity to gratify this human appetite; and the land grants reveal him blooming out in a single year as the greatest individual owner of backwoods lands in the Dominion. It was thus that Robert Carter truly became a 'King.'

Immediately after the first of the Scotch-Irish were seated below Brent Town in the spring of 1724, Col. Carter surveyed and set aside, as inheritances for his children and grandchildren,[7] the unoccupied lands which lay between Brent Town and the Elk Marsh settlement—the lands which it was then fair to assume would be the next to be occupied in the course of another season of immigration. Once started, he went on up the Shenandoah Hunting Path (soon to become the Carolina Road) until, before the end of the year, he had taken grants for 89,937 acres, stretching all the way from Licking Run, across Cedar and Broad, between the north end of the Brent Town tract and the 'Broken Hills' (Bull Run Mountains); and thence, skirting the hills on the east, up the Bull Run valley to its head.

These six great tracts were as follows:

I. 1724. Lands later included in Fauquier and Prince William:

(a) *The Licking Run tract*[8] of 10,227 acres, which lay along and east of Licking Run, above Germantown and across Owl and Turkey runs, to what was then supposed to be the western boundary of the Brent Town tract.

(b) *The Turkey Run tract*[9] of 10,610 acres, which lay immediately above the Licking Run tract.

(c) *The Kettle Run tract*[10] of 6,166 acres, which lay next above the Turkey Run tract.

(d) *The Broad Run tract*[11] of 12,285 acres, which lay above the Kettle Run tract in the fork of Broad Run under the eastern escarpment of the Bull Run mountains at Thoroughfare Gap.

(e) *The Bull Run tract*[12] of 41,660 acres, which lay above the Broad Run tract, across the upper waters of Bull Run, reaching to the Bull Run mountains.

(f) *The Lower Bull Run tract*[13] of 8,989 acres, in two parcels, which lay east of the Broad Run tract, across the lower waters of Bull Run, adjoining the lands above the falls of Occoquan which Col. Carter had taken up in 1707.

In making these appropriations to his own use, Col. Carter may well have been sincere in feeling that he was acting also in the interest of Lord Fairfax. The acreage was, of course, larger than any precedent in the Northern Neck, where, until then, Brent Town and Ravensworth had been unique; but 'times had changed' and in 1724 Col. Carter did not greatly exceed the scale of the contemporary individual landholdings in Spotsylvania; and was well within the limits of the claims of the Virginia land companies of the next succeeding generation. It must be remembered that it was during Robert Carter's life that the Privy Council adopted and announced the policy of approval of large landholdings by those who were able to seat them. The convincing argument on this question was well stated by Governor Gooch:[14]

'Without taking up these large Tracts,' he said to the Lords of Trade in a despatch of November 8, 1729, 'upon which great improvements were necessary to be made, these Counties would not have been settled so speedily as they have been, and much of that land which has been seated in small

Parcells would in all probability have remained to this day desolate; as may be seen in the County of Brunswick which, having but few great Tracts of Land taken up in it by men of Substance, hath advanced very little in the number of its inhabitants in proportion to the other County, Spotsilvania, where the greatest Tracts have been granted & possessed and thereby given encouragement to the meaner sort of People to seat themselves as it were under the shade and Protection of the Creator.'

In any event, Col. Carter was undoubtedly justified in a feeling that so long as the quit rents increased there could be no objection from the Proprietor. That worthy was, indeed, little interested in his Virginia estate at this time except as a source of income. Although his career as a courtier had already suffered its blight and at the age of twenty-eight he had retired to the more congenial occupations of fox hunting and hound breeding at Leeds Castle, Lord Fairfax had as yet no intention of burying himself in the Virginia wilderness. He was, indeed, so absorbed in his immediate concerns that he did not answer letters from Virginia. When, in 1722, Col. Carter called his attention to the encroachments upon the proprietary by the Spotswood appropriations of land in the Great Fork, the meticulous man of business was in despair because he got no response of any kind.

'I never had one Line from the Prop^rs about this matter,' he wrote to Micajah Perry in July, 1723.[15] 'If they do not think fitt to bestirr themselves in the support of their own Estate I shall have little Reason to give myself any trouble, in throwing myself into the ffrowns of Government. As their Trustee I have done my duty in hanging out Lights for them.'

In view of this experience, Col. Carter may not have expected any notice to be taken of his reports for 1724, but it seems likely that in this he was mistaken; that either Fairfax or Col. Cage then took occasion to remark that the Carter's estate was growing somewhat rapidly and that an adjustment of the relation between principal and agent was in order. At all events, it appears that in 1725 Col. Carter took a lease of the

entire proprietary, including a 'farm' of the quit rents, for a fixed rental of £450 per annum.[16] The loss of this instrument leaves us no other evidence of its terms, but it is clear that it did not impose any limit upon the lessee in the matter of further reservation of lands to his own use. As soon, indeed, as the Potomac settlements above Difficult began to extend inland upon the southern waters of Goose Creek, Col. Carter undertook surveys on that new frontier also, and during the two years, 1727 and 1728, set aside to his own use another 52,000 acres, reaching from the headwaters of Broad of Potomac up and above Goose Creek as high towards the mountains as Crooked Run. Still unsatisfied, in 1730 he transcended the Blue Ridge and staked out 58,000 acres of limestone lands above the Shenandoah River. Finally, in 1731, the last full summer of his life, he completed his appropriations by occupying both the Blue Ridge gaps, which the Iroquois had demonstrated were strategically valuable.[17] These acquisitions were in detail as follows:

II. 1727 and 1728. Lands later included in Fairfax and Loudoun:

(a) *The Goose Creek tract*[18] aggregating 25,909 acres in several parcels, beginning 'on the upper side of Goose Creek at the upper end of a ledge or cliff of Black Rocks about 6 or 7 miles above the mouth of said creek,' and including the lower end of the fork between Beaverdam and the main run, and thence west along and above Goose Creek across the present Fauquier and Loudoun boundary to a back line stretched between Panther Skin and Crooked Run. It was within this tract that the 'Oatlands' estate was subsequently established.

(b) *The Frying Pan tract*[19] aggregating 27,000 acres in several parcels, extending from Frying Pan run of the Horsepen of Broad, south to the 'copper mine landing' on Occoquan. The largest parcel of these lands on the Horsepen of Broad adjoined the extensive areas, already preempted and bodied up by Thomas Lee, George Turberville and others; which aggregation early gave its 'manorial' character to the lower side of Goose Creek.

III. 1730 and 1731. Lands on and beyond the Blue Ridge:

(a) *The Shenandoah tract*[20] of 50,212 acres in one parcel 'on the northwest side of a branch that issues out of Potowmack River on the upper side the Blue Ridge, commonly called Chenandoah Creek.'

(b) *The Pageland tract*[21] of 8,007 acres in one parcel adjoining the Shenandoah tract: being the lands granted in the name of Col. Carter's son-in-law, Mann Page of Rosewell, and mentioned in the latter's will.

(c) *The Williams' Gap tract*[22] of 2,941 acres 'at the lower thoroughfare of the Blue Ridge known by the name of Williams' Gap, alias the Indian Thoroughfare of the Blue Ridge, including the same and the top of the ridge.'

(d) *The Ashby's Bent tract*[23] aggregating 4,207 acres, in two parcels, 'at the upper Thoroughfare of the Blue ridge, known by the name of Ashby's Bent and including the same.'

During the same summer of 1731, which saw the rounding out of the Carter holdings, two of Col. Carter's neighbours in Lancaster, Charles Burgess[24] and James Ball of Bewdley,[25] followed him into the highlands and thenceforth were engaged in surveying and taking up great grants adjacent to the Carter lands until the proprietor's office was closed by Col. Carter's death. Between them they projected the band of great tracts from the Carter terminus at Ashby's Gap south to Hedgman's river and so almost completed the circle Col. Carter had begun on Licking Run.

Col. Burgess had previously been speculating in lands in the territory which became Culpeper, and now crossed Hedgman's river at one of the upper fords to take title to more than 23,000 acres in six parcels extending from the mouth of Thumb Run, via the Cobblers, to the source of Goose Creek in what was then known as Calmes' Gap. The last of these grants included the stripling Goose Creek itself, as far down as the mouth of Chattin's Run.[26] Contemporaneously, Capt. Ball took title in the same region to 10,757 acres in three parcels: (a) between the Blue Ridge and Crooked Run, from Ashby's Gap to Goose Creek, adjoining Carter; (b) the Horsepen on the ridge between the head of Piney Branch of Broad of Occoquan and the heads of Little River, Crummey's and Chattin's Runs; (c) the 'Great Cove' under Rattlesnake and Oven top Mountains.[27]

As a consequence of these activities of Robert Carter and his friends, by far the greater part of the highlands had been preempted when, in the spring of 1736, Lord Fairfax reached Virginia and faced the problems of the future of his estate. The Proprietor fully realized that he was at the moment *persona non grata* with the ministry at home and that it was possible, if not probable, that, unless he could postpone a decision, the Privy Council might uphold the contention of the Virginia government on one or the other of its demands. His danger was that his proprietary might be confined either (a) within a line drawn from the falls of Rappahannock to the mouth of Shenandoah or (b) within Hedgman's River and the Blue Ridge. Fairfax determined without delay to insure this risk by changing, so far as he was able, the legal status of the territory lying beyond Col. Byrd's extreme claim. After studying the grant books and riding the boundaries he found that the most considerable area below the Blue Ridge which was not already substantially in the hands of a few men was the hill and dale region lying along Hedgman's River above Carter's Run. Of this he decided to take an individual grant in his own name, and at the same time to reserve from further entry also a large body, above Difficult and back of the Great Falls of Potomac, of what was then deemed mineral lands. These boundaries were to be saved, whatever might be the result of the litigation with Virginia. For these considerations, as his last act before returning to Englind in the autumn of 1737, Fairfax created his first proprietary manors. There were to be others like them set up beyond the Blue Ridge in the years to come, but the originals of an institution which was destined to stir much republican oratory were those which lay in old Prince William, viz:

Leeds Manor[28] of 122,852 acres, extending from the mouth of Carter's Run, up Hedgman's River to Happy Creek Gap, thence across the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah, down that river, and back via Ashby's Gap and the Carter, Ball and Scott boundaries to Carter's Run.

To this was added another parcel of 26,535 a. on the lower side of the Shenandoah, including the Blue Ridge between the Carter grants at Ashby's and Williams' gaps.[29]

Great Falls Manor[30] of 12,588 acres on the upper side of Difficult, extending from its branches to the Great Falls of Potomac.

Thus it befell that the only considerable area of old Prince William left open for small freehold occupation after 1737 was the White Plains.

In his first contact with the proprietary, Fairfax had developed an enthusiasm for colonization. He then criticised Col. Carter, not so much for the extent of his holdings as for allowing them to fall into the dead hand.[31] But the decisions we have recited, if made for a different reason, served only to aggravate what Carter had previously done. The fact is patent to every student of the records of Fairfax, Fauquier and Loudoun that the 'great tracts' had a deterrent influence upon the development of those communities quite beyond any purpose, or, indeed, the interest, of their proprietors. When, soon after 1737, the northward advance of the axe-wielding pioneer had brought the fringe of the forest clearings to all the boundaries of the Carter and Fairfax estates, the hitherto steady and progressive movement of settlement of the piedmont was checked by a palpable barrier. The reason is not far to seek, for Robert Carter had demonstrated it on Turkey and Kettle Runs in 1725. The 'great tracts' were uniformly administered as 'manors.' It was the practice within these boundaries to seat settlers only under leases for three lives, and not to convey the proprietary title.[32] After 1730 the prairies of the Shenandoah Valley were open to Virginians as well as to Pennsylvanians and there, for the same consideration demanded of them in the 'manors,' they could secure a grant of inheritance. The result was that for many years after 1740 most of the settlers from the South crossed the mountains and left the piedmont to others who were still to come. Dr. Schoepf, riding south over the Carolina road in 1783, through the Carter lands, observed the phenomenon and learned the reason for it.

'Along the road,' he said,[33] 'it was matter of no little astonishment to see so much waste or new cleared land, having just

come from the very well settled and cultivated regions of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The reason does not lie in any worse quality of the land, which is scarcely inferior to that beyond the Potowmack, but in the fact that individuals own great and extensive tracts of land of which they will sell none so as to leave their families the more. All of them are very much disposed to let land in parcels, they retaining possession and seeing their land as much as possible worked and settled by tenants; but tenants are not easily to be had so long as it is anywhere possible to buy land. This policy which will certainly be advantageous to the posterity of such rich and important families, has in the neighbourhood of New York and elsewhere stood much in the way of cultivation and settlement; whereas the back part of Pensylvania, Maryland and even a portion of Virginia have been more rapidly settled, poor families being able to get title to small tracts of land. The smallest possession has for every man more charm than the most imposing leasehold.'

For these considerations it is difficult to determine from the real estate records the dates when the plough followed the surveyor's chain in large parts of the highlands of Fauquier and Loudoun.[34] It is certain, however, that the present day preponderance of population and taxable values in the 'upper end' of old Prince William[35] is a comparatively modern growth; for the manors were held intact and, generally speaking, undeveloped quite down to the Revolution.[36] We know that, before he died in 1732, Robert Carter established quarters on his earliest great tracts as far north as the Frying Pan, but much of the Goose Creek tract was compelled to wait another generation before it was occupied. If Sudley was seated before 1765 by a grandson, it was not until 1802 that a great grandson built Oatlands House. The local traditions of early seatings above Goose Creek prove delusive wherever they can be tested. It is illuminating in this connection to compare the record of the processioning of the region by the Truro Vestry in 1743 with the tradition that what is undoubtedly the oldest brick house in upper Loudoun was built in 1730.[37] In Leeds manor the delay was as great. It is enough to rehearse the fact that Thomas Marshall did not remove his family thither until 1765, and then found himself in the wilderness. Despite the par-

tition and sale of the Burgess and Ball lands in this region soon after Marshall's arrival and the consequent release of the upper valley of Goose Creek for freehold occupation, a processioning by Leeds parish in the last year of its civil functions would have shown conditions in a large part of upper Fauquier similar to those existing in upper Loudoun in 1743.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

[1] *The Virginia use of the term 'manor':* A learned student of the sources of Virginia history has recently said (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 107) that 'there were no manors in Virginia.' We understand this to imply that the manorial system of local jurisdiction which had developed in England under the Tudors, of which the badges were the court baron and the court leet, was not transferred to Virginia. This is undebatable. The proof of it is in relation to the patent granted in 1616 by the Virginia Company to Capt. John Martin (for whom see Brown, *Genesis*, ii, 943), for that 'particular plantation' which he seated as 'Martin's Brandon' on the lower side of James River. The text of this patent is lacking, but it was contemporaneously interpreted as a grant to Martin to 'enjoye his landes in as lardge and ample a manner, to all intentes and purposes, as any Lord of any Manours in England doth holde his grounde." In 1619 the Virginia Assembly (*Journals H. B.*, 1619-59, p. 8) fairly objected that such powers were incompatible with the establishment in the colony of the uniform system of local government which was contemplated by the fundamental Laws and Constitutions enacted by the Virginia Company in 1618; i. e., after the date of Martin's grant; and as a consequence the Company secured the surrender of Martin's patent of 1616 and issued him a new one, minus the manorial jurisdiction. (See Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company, passim*). On the other hand, it may be noted that the owners of all the several 'particular plantations' did for a time claim and, until the county system was fully developed, exercised a certain measure of local jurisdiction, including a privilege of representation in the Assembly similar to that later exercised by the New York patroons. (See *e. g.*, the records of Berkeley Hundred, calendared in Bulletin N. Y. Public Library i, 186; iii, 167, 208).

The only examples of the full fledged jurisdictional manor established in America were in Maryland and New York, but even in those colonies they soon withered under pioneer conditions. (For Maryland see Johnson, *Old Maryland Manors*, and Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins Studies, 1883 and 1913; for New York, Cadwallader Colden's report of 1732 in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i, 252, and *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, 1910, *passim*).

While a jurisdictional manor on the developed English precedent would probably have been impossible in a civilization based on slavery, certainly so long as practically free land was available on the frontier, it remains a fact that the term manor was used in eighteenth century Virginia, in a special sense, both above and below the Rappahannock. By 1700, as Mr. Gould has shown, the Maryland manor had become

nothing more than a tract of land held intact by entail, which the proprietor was administering by a system of 'manorial' leases for three lives. This precedent seems to have spread across the Potomac and to have brought with it the term 'manor,' not as a claim of special jurisdiction but as a description of a system of estate administration. It will suffice to cite four examples of such usage, of which there is formal record: (1) By his will of 1694, George Brent of Woodstock directed that a portion of his share of the Brent Town tract be erected into a 'manor,' of which the remainder should be held, and thereafter during the eighteenth century his heirs in tail administered that 'manor' by leases for three lives. (See the surviving fragments of the will, supplemented by recitals in a subsequent deed, in *Va. Mag.,* xviii, 96; *Prince William D. B.,* W: 85; and the 'manorial' leases noted *ante.,* p. 194; (2) Like Lord Baltimore's charter, the several charters of the Northern Neck proprietary had authorized the erection of manors with full equipment of court baron and court leet, but there were no attempts to set up such courts in any of the great tracts granted by the proprietors in the seventeenth century, Mt. Vernon, Ravensworth and Brent Town. In 1736 and later years, however, reciting specifically the term in the record he made on the proprietary books, Lord Fairfax erected the 'manors' of Leeds, Great Falls, South Branch and Greenway Court, all of which he administered under the system of leases for three lives without claim of special jurisdiction. (3) That William Beverley called his great tract on the upper waters of the South Branch of Shenandoah a manor appears from the designation of it on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map as 'Beverley manor or Irish track.' This doubtless meant no more than a following of Lord Fairfax's precedent; (4) By his will, written in 1762 (*Va. Mag.,* xxxi, 50, 54), Charles Carter created two entailed estates for his younger sons, which he designated respectively the 'Manor of Cleve' and the 'Manor of View Mount.'

In the sense of these examples, it may fairly be said that the Spotswoods, Carters, Fitzhughs, Pages, Burgesses, Balls, William Fairfaxes, Colvills, Churchills, Wormeleys, and other holders of 'great tracts' in northern Virginia, also established 'manors.' That these families did not themselves uniformly use the term in will, deed and other published instruments was doubtless due to its unpopularity in Virginia, which repelled tenants; but because their lands in question were entailed and were administered on the system of leases for three lives their estates were uniformly called 'manors' in popular local parlance, and so they are described by Kercheval in his *History of the Valley.*

The interesting fact is that despite the lack of special jurisdiction which would have given these 'manors' legal significance, the colonial use of the term was not without English precedent. It was a reversion, under new conditions, from the contemporary English institution to the earlier English designation of a proprietary estate. Just as the Virginia County Court had revived and united with that of the Tudor Justice of the peace the customary jurisdiction of the 'vill' or the 'hundred' long after that jurisdiction had been distributed between the manorial courts and the royal courts in England, so the 'manor' in the colony revived the simpler form of the manor which Bracton knew. Maitland says (*History of English Law,* 2d ed., 1911, i, 596) that 'in the thirteenth century the term *manerium* seems to have been no more precise than the term 'estate,' as commonly used by laymen, is at the present time.' Holdsworth adds (*History of English Law,* ed. 1922, i, 180) an historical explanation in the statement that the 'manor' as an institution '*came* not

only to denote a certain tract of land held in a certain way *but also* to connote jurisdiction.'

[2] The sense the successive agents had of their opportunity to provide for their own families without injury to the interests of their principals is expressed in a letter by George William Fairfax to his brother, Bryan, at the very end of the history of the proprietary. Writing from England, March 28, 1783, he said:

'I hope you'l second my intention of deputing you to act as the present Lord's Agent, for it strikes me more forcible now to urge and intreat you to act in that capacity; and I make no scruple in saying was I in Virginia, I would undoubtedly avail myself in making the best provision I could for our Family, which has suffered so much by alienating so many good Estates in Yorkshire. Don't suppose, Sir, that I mean by any unjustifiable ways for I dare say you would scorn any act of that sort as much as myself or any Person living: but I should now acquit my Conscience in looking over all the Surveyors returns in the Office and where I found any vacant Lands etc., would make out the Deeds to your eldest son or a friend you can trust, that would reconvey to him, or any of them, for you know that you cannot make the Deeds to yourself.'

[3] *Journals H. B.*, 1695-1702, p. 28.

[4] At the time of his death in 1732, Robert Carter's estates in the older counties of the Northern Neck and south of the Rappahannock, acquired by inheritance or purchase, aggregated at least 125,000 acres. See his will, dated August 22, 1726, with four codicils to July 23, 1730, and the inventory made after his death in 1732 (all printed in *Va. Mag.*, v, 408, ff).

[5] For the Matthews dividend see *ante.*, p. 53. Before 1715 this had passed to John Holloway, the Williamsburg lawyer who took out a Northern Neck grant (*N. N.*, 5: 86), describing the land as 3,211 a. 'bounded Southerly by Chipawansic Creek, easterly by Potomac River.' In his will of 1726 Robert Carter recites his acquisition of these lands from Major Holloway.

[6] Hening, iii, 205.

[7] *Robert Carter's 'Manors'*: The 'King' never took his Northern Neck grants in his own name. That he considered them his own nevertheless appears from the surveys of adjoining lands which invariably refer to all those grants, irrespective of the names of the grantees, as 'Colonel Carter's.' The fact that he was the vicarious source of the titles determined the practice; but those he selected to take the titles show that he was conscious of his own advancing years. Those titles were vested in parcels, in his sons, his sons-in-law, and his grandsons; so that the grants read not only like the lower branches of the 'Carter tree' but as a calendar of revolutionary worthies. It will suffice to illustrate the point. Most of the grants were to the sons, John, Robert, Jr., Charles, Landon and George, in various combinations, but Mann Page, of Rosewell, the favorite son-in-law, appears in several, as does Lewis Burwell, the favorite grandson. The most complete pedigree is in respect to the Shenandoah tract. There the grantees are, 'Landon Carter, George Carter, Carter Burwell, Robert Burwell, Carter Page, Robin Page, Robert Carter Nicholas, Robert Carter, Jr. (son of John), Benjamin Harrison, Jr., and Robert Carter, Jr., (son of Robert Carter, Jr.)."

[8] *N. N.*, A: 64. This grant was taken in the name of George Turberville and immediately transferred to Col. Carter, who established on it his quarter called The Lodge, mentioned in his will as 'bounding on the Germans.' Followed by the Turkey Run and Kettle Run tracts, this survey was intended to set a western limit to Brent Town, but as the 'back line' of that earlier great tract was not surveyed until 1736, the Carter descriptions did not exactly fit, and left lands in between for other grants after Col. Carter's death.

[9] *N. N.*, A: 65. This grant issued in the name of Col. Carter's son-in-law, Mann Page, and subsequently passed to the Churchills.

[10] *N. N.*, A: 91.

[11] *N. N.*, A: 70. This included 'Saint's Hill.'

[12] *N. N.*, A: 71. This included 'Sudley.'

[13] *N. N.*, A: 90; C: 7. This included the great bend of Bull Run later known as 'Portici,' which was to be the battlefield of 'first Manassas.'

[14] C. O., 5: 1321, p. 213. On the principle Gooch here stated the practice of large speculative land grants grew steadily until the English government thought it necessary to prohibit it. As late as 1754 an order was sent to Governor Dinwiddie to limit all grants to 1,000 acres, in response to which he restated (*Dinwiddie Papers*, i, 370) the Virginia argument as follows: 'The granting of large quantities to one Person has been of service in settling the back and remote parts of this Dominion, as these great grants have been subdivided to poor people that come from the other colonies and are not able to be at the charge of coming here [i. e., to Williamsburg] and taking out Grants for small quantities of land.'

[15] *Carter Letter Book* MS., Va. Hist. Soc.

[16] *Robert Carter's lease of the Northern Neck*: None of the county records in the Northern Neck affords any testimony for the instrument which defined the powers and conditions under which Robert Carter's second agency was conducted. That paper was undoubtedly recorded in the lost books of the General Court. That it was a lease appears, however, from the following evidences, viz: (a) the devise in Carter's will of 1726 (*Va. Mag.*, vi, 2) to his son, John, of 'the Lease I have lately taken and am now in possession of, of the Northern Neck from the proprietors;' (b) a comment in a letter from Carter to Cage of which the surviving copy (*Carter Letter Books*, MS.) bears no date, but which discusses the preparations for the attack on the proprietary which was precipitated in 1730 and so may be related to 1728. Here Carter says, 'my lease wears out apace: it will be no great loss to me let it go as it will;' (c) Gooch's report to the Lords of Trade (C. O., 5: 1322, p. 103) in July, 1730, that the Northern Neck 'is now farmed by the Proprietor at £450 per annum and it is supposed to be worth £700, besides that tis still encreasing by new Settlements;' (d) a reference in the *Autobiography* of John Page (*Va. Hist. Register*, iii, 144) to a tradition that Robert Carter 'held the rich office of agent for the Proprietor of the Northern Neck by purchase from the Lord Proprietor, his friend (*sic*), who was contented (*sic*) to receive but £300 per annum for it (*sic*), as the report of the family stated.'

[17] *The Carter entails*: As Col. Carter's will was drawn before the great tracts of 1727 to 1731 had been surveyed, there is no reference to them therein. These lands are, however, rehearsed in the various

acts docking entails in relation to the sons, viz: (1) John of Corotoman, Hening, viii, 464; (2) Robert of Nomini, *ibid.*, iv, 454; vii, 478; (3) Charles of Cleve, *ibid.*, viii, 25, 214, 218, 436; xi, 55; (4) George of the Middle Temple, *ibid.*, v, 300; viii, 215. In pursuance of the authority of these acts George Carter's lands were several times offered for sale by the Trustees appointed for that purpose during the years 1745 and 1746 (*Virginia Gazette,* Nos. 458, 519). The last advertisement shows that the sale was ultimately accomplished in 'small parcels of 5 and 600 acres.'

Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, alone of the 'King's' sons, did not seek to modify his father's entail.

[18] *N. N.*, B: 61; C: 172, 175, 177, 178.

[19] *N. N.*, B: 145; C: 36, 37, 38, 39. See *post,* p. 422.

[20] *N. N.*, C: 77. It is of interest that Col. Carter described this grant as in Prince William at a time when Virginia had declared it to be in Orange. The boundaries of this tract (and of the adjacent Pageland) were sketched in on the later states of Warner's Northern Neck map of 1737; and so serve also to identify the location of Lord Fairfax's manor of Greenway Court, created in 1752 (*N. N.*, H: 179) which lay above the Shenandoah immediately south of the Carter tract.

[21] *N. N.*, C: 78. This tract subsequently passed from the Pages to the Wormeleys (Hening, viii, 230).

[22] *N. N.*, C: 173.

[23] *The Indian Thoroughfares*: *N. N.*, C: 174, 176. These grants are the earliest record of the names Williams and Ashby applied to the gaps. A grant to Warner Toward on September 11, 1731 (*ibid.*, D: 54, and see also E: 344) explains the first name by a reference to 'the road that leads to Williams' Cabbin at the Blew Ridge.' As to the latter name, the tradition of the Ashby family (T. A. Ashby, *Life of Turner Ashby*) is that Thomas Ashby lived and reared his family in or near the gap which later bore his name. It is possible, then, that the small land grant he took out years later (*N. N.*, F: 292) in the vicinity of the modern village of Paris, may identify the site of this early wilderness residence. Meanwhile, however, he had acquired lands elsewhere and doubtless moved his residence more than once. His name is marked on John Warner's plat of Leeds Manor in 1736 on the lower side of Shenandoah, some distance above the gap, and in 1742 he had a grant (*N. N.*, E: 494) on Goose Creek where the 'road to Shenandoah' crossed it (i. e., Delaplane) and where his descendants ever since have lived (Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 2, 1922). Considering the Williams precedent, it seems probable that the earliest settlers might have named the landmark for one they found already on the ground, but the story told today attributes the name to a son of Thomas Ashby, a well known border character about whose memory many legends have gathered. This was that Capt. John Ashby whom George Washington found living on Shenandoah River in March, 1748 (*Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, i, 1) and who later commanded an outpost in Hampshire against the indians after Braddock's defeat (*Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 459). The tradition finds colour in the fact that in 1748 this John Ashby kept the Shenandoah ferry below the Bent, and we shall see (*post,* p. 511) that it was the practice to call the Blue Ridge gaps after the Shenandoah ferry keepers; but it does not appear that either John or

Thomas Ashby kept the ferry in question in 1731, when the Bent had already taken their name: On the contrary, it appears from the Leeds manor plat of 1736 that one Kersey was living at the mouth of Passage Branch in 1736 and so probably then kept a ferry there.

[24] *Charles Burgess* represented Lancaster in the Assembly from 1728 to 1732. His name has a curious interest because, in a suit by his widow, which was appealed from the General Court to the Privy Council, the record showed that in 1736 Mrs. Burgess had somewhere in Virginia (could it have been in old Prince William?) a tenant named *Lemuel Gulliver!!* (*Acts of the Privy Council,* Colonial, iii, p. 530). Dean Swift had heard of this man in England in 1728 and was greatly entertained by a report of 'his ill reputation of being a liar' (See *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift,* ed. Ball, iv, 29).

[25] For *James Ball* (1698-1754) see Hayden, p. 63. Capt. Ball's son married a daughter of Charles Burgess, last mentioned, and their son was Col. Burgess Ball of the Continental army who is buried at Springwood, beside the 'Big Spring' near Leesburg.

[26] Charles Burgess' grants were *N. N.,* C: 162, 163, 164, 166, 167; D: 64.

[27] James Ball's grants were *N. N.,* C: 179; D: 87, 88.

[28] *Leeds Manor*: *N. N.,* E: 28. It was for the Leeds Manor lands that John Marshall was to work so hard. The story has been told from different points of view by Senator Beveridge in his *Life of John Marshall,* and by Mr. H. C. Groome in Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 1 (1921).

[29] *N. N.,* E: 34.

[30] *Great Falls Manor*: *N. N.,* E: 38. In 1765 (*N. N.,* I: 124) after it was apparent that there were no valuable minerals to be mined here, Lord Fairfax made a present of this manor to Bryan, son of William Fairfax, who ultimately succeeded as eighth Lord Fairfax.

[31] The tradition of this criticism reached Burnaby with a misinterpreted imputation upon Col. Carter's loyalty to his trust. From Burnaby's pages it has since been often quoted. Whatever may have been his first impression on learning of the extent of the Carter grants Lord Fairfax could not have entertained any such feeling against the memory of the 'King' or he would not have appointed that worthy's son, Charles of Cleve, one of his Commissioners during the critical years from 1736 to 1746. Moreover, the charge is on its face palpably unjust. Any reader of the council minutes (not to speak of Col. Carter's own letters) between 1723 and 1732 can testify that it was to Carter's prudent caveats and alert interest that Fairfax owed the ultimate prevalence of his claims in his litigation with the Virginia government.

[32] *Jones & Carter v. Roberts* (1804), 6 Call, 167.

[33] *Riese* tr. Morrison, ii, 31.

[34] The best evidence here would be MS. private papers, but, unfortunately, the most important testimonies of that kind are lacking. The Fairfax manorial rent rolls have disappeared with the quit rent rolls; and Chancellor Wythe found (See the record in the Frying Pan partition suit, *Carter v. Carter,* on file in Fredericksburg) that the 'King's' grandson, 'Councillor' Robert Carter, was a typical Virginia gentleman in the characteristic of being careless about his bookkeeping.

[35] For this purpose a dividing line may roughly be drawn from the mouth of Difficult through the site of Warrenton, to the Rappahannock.

[36] Mr. Curtis Chappelear's pleasant traditions of men and houses in the region between Goose Creek and the Blue Ridge (*The Annals of Ashby's Gap*, published in the *Winchester Evening Item* newspaper, 1905) all relate to the post-revolutionary period.

[37] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 19. In 1743 'Between the south fork of Kitoctan and Williams' Gap, no [resident] freeholder in this precinct. Between Williams' Gap, Ashby's Gap, the county line [i. e., the present boundary between Loudoun and Fauquier, west of the head of Bull Run] and Goose Creek, to the Beaver Dam and back to the Gap, no [resident] freeholder in this precinct.'

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The White Plains

THE seating of the highlands of old Prince William began in the sandstone, chestnut clad valley between the northwestern slope of the Pignut ridge and the neighbouring water shed common to the Occoquan, the Rappahannock and Goose Creek. From 1725, when the first comers identified as 'the White Plains'[1] the grass lands the Iroquois had here prepared for the buffalo, the land grants reveal the development of a community which soon assumed, and has since maintained, a character somewhat like that of Brent Town, in that its population has always been dominated by a tidewater tradition. It included, however, men of all the races which had already seated lower Fauquier. They had pushed thither, some through the thoroughfare of Cedar Run, and some through the thoroughfare of Broad Run. Limited on the west and north by the 'manors,' and on the east by the Bull Run Mountains, they crossed the divide to the waters of Goose Creek and, by 1747, had occupied all the lands on the drains of Little River and Crummey's Run, including the lower side of Goose Creek itself between the mouths of Wankapin and Chattin's.

The nucleus of this settlement was the planting of an outpost on what was at the time, and for some years remained, the uttermost verge of Virginia civilization. The pioneers were men we have already met on the Elk Marsh. In November, 1725, William Russell and James Warren took adjoining grants for 643 and 360 acres, respectively, 'on the branches of Broad Run on the *west* side of the Pignut Ridge;'[2] and Samuel Skinker took up 672 acres also described as on the branches of Broad Run, but on the *south* side of Pignut.[3] Others soon surveyed claims on both slopes of the ridge, and had already made up a small community when, during the ensuing spring, Parson Alexander Scott of Overwharton made

his way thither from the east through the gap which the Maryland ambassadors had missed in 1697. Parson Scott was a farsighted and successful purchaser of real estate, but he was moreover a faithful parish priest, and we will do him the credit to assume that his journey to the backwoods in 1726 was to pay a pastoral visit to his most remote parishoners, or perhaps to enquire why the small stream (discreetly left unnamed on the modern map), which empties into Broad Run from the north above the Thoroughfare and at the foot of Mother Leathercoat Mountain, had then recently been designated by the name of a mortal sin.[4] But whatever the motive of his visit and whatever its spiritual fruits, the worldly consequence was that Parson Scott then and a year later took two land grants in this region and thereby impressed his name permanently upon the map of Fauquier, as he had already left it to be written on the map of Fairfax. The first, dated August 10, 1726, was for 781 acres on Skinker's side of Pignut and is described as 'on the branches of Broad Run above the Thoroughfare.' The second grant, dated July 10, 1727, was, however, on the other side of Pignut and included the abandoned site of the Piscataway fort and corn fields of 1697. It adjoined Russell and Warren, but straddled the divide between the waters of the Rappahannock and the Potomac at the head of the Rappahannock Range, reaching from the foot of Pignut to and including the future site of the town of Salem (Marshall). This boundary was originally described as 'on a branch of Rappahannock River called Carter's Run in King George County and on the head of a branch of Broad Run of Occoquan in Stafford County,' and was ultimately found to be made up of 3,533 acres.[5] It was subsequently made a boundary not only for Leeds manor but for James Ball's Horsepen tract which touched it at the head of the Piney Branch of Broad.[6]

Following Parson Scott came an overflow from Germantown. In June, 1731, John Fishback took a grant of 1,028 acres 'at the head of a fork of two branches of Broad Run of Occoquan' and a few months later Jacob Holtzclaw surveyed 362 acres adjoining and 'at the head of a small branch of Goose Creek.' Read together, these boundaries reached to

Little River and included that 'Fishback Ridge' which ever since has been a landmark on the map of Fauquier.[7] In 1741 Tilman Weaver had a grant between Crummey's and Chattin's Runs, north of Ball's Horsepen, which, by 1772, had passed to another descendant of Germantown, John Rector, when the Assembly found the location to be 'convenient for an inland town' and authorized Rector to lay one out upon it. That town was intended to be called Maidstone, as a compliment to Lord Fairfax, but its first appearance on the map denominated it, in accordance with common parlance, as Rectortown.[8]

The comprehensive occupation of the territory beyond the grants we have named took place during the years from 1739 to 1747, while William Fairfax had responsible charge of the proprietary during the absence of Lord Fairfax. To that period belong the appearance here of such Potomac River names as John Peyton,[9] Charles Ewell,[10] Nathaniel Chapman,[11] and George Byrn.[12] Contemporaneously, William Fairfax reserved on the lower side of Goose Creek fair inheritances for two of his younger sons and one of his wife's Massachusetts brothers; having meanwhile taken up in his own name some escheated surveys in the valley between Pignut and the Head of the Rappahannock Mountain, and so ousted several of the earliest seatings of Rappahannock River men.[13] Thus the new community became characteristically a Potomac River outpost. Other than Skinker, the only Rappahannock name which was there rooted was that of Turner; for it was at this time also that Thomas Turner and his son Harry, successive clerks and burgesses of King George, established the foothold in the highlands, which their descendants have since maintained.[14]

In the midst of this mapmaking William Powell found, in 1741, the limit of the White Plains community at the future site of Middleburg,[15] where cornerstones were already set against a further advance down Little River. A current of immigration similar to that which occupied the White Plains had overflowed hither from the Cub Run settlements east of Bull Run, reaching between the Carter manors to the Bull Run

Mountains and around their head. In 1729 Thomas Owsley gave his name to a northward flowing tributary of Little River near its mouth, which is still known as Owsley's Run;[16] adjoining him on the west was the tract of John Mercer of Marlboroughtown, which included the site of the town of Aldie;[17] while on the south William West, the surveyor, saved between their lines a strategic site on the Carolina road on which to establish his well known Ordinary.[18]

While not comparable in extent with the holdings of the Brents, Fitzhughs, Jeffreys, Carters, Lees, Burgesses, Colvills and other proprietors of great tracts which had been carved out of the proprietary and were administered as manors, the holdings in the White Plains area by the men we have cited, and by other non-residents, their contemporaries, whose names have not persisted locally, were generally greater than had previously been recorded in old Prince William. The opportunity to create those holdings on the scale recorded in the Northern Neck grant books was a by-product of the contemporary preference of the class of small freeholders for the Shenandoah Valley, for which, as has been noted elsewhere, the existence of the manors was responsible. This fact was a potent influence in determining the social atmosphere of the White Plains in the post-revolutionary period when descendants of many of the original grantees came there to live.

Another characteristic of the White Plains community may also be attributed to the accident of its origin. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the vigorous and self-conscious Rappahannock men, who developed the Elk Marsh settlement, began to demand independence from the Potomac river interest which controlled the original Prince William from the county seat on Cedar Run. They were weary of being the 'back inhabitants' of a tidewater county. As soon as they were strong enough they set up their own county of Fauquier. When this claim was allowed, the White Plains community was still in its infancy and had no power of self-determination. It was swept up in the political map making, and was grouped with the Elk Marsh men, although, unlike them, its relations

with Dumfries and Alexandria were sympathetic. As a consequence, a germ of individuality was propagated under the shadow of Pignut. The planters there remained sentimentally a part of Prince William, despite the act of Assembly which included them in Fauquier, and declined to be swallowed by their dominant neighbours on the South. Neither their family ties nor their business drew them through the Cedar Run thoroughfare to their new court house. Their only lure thither was a process. They continued spiritually and commercially to look out upon the world through their own avenue of immigration, which was the Broad Run thoroughfare. The highway system indicated on Bishop Madison's map reveals this state of mind graphically, and it was similarly emphasized when the Manassas Gap railroad was built. Thus in the very beginnings of Fauquier there arose that political distinction between the 'lower end' and the 'upper end,' which is one of the persisting peculiarities of that county.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINETEEN

[1] *The White Plains*: The name was probably suggested by a pioneer's *coup d' oeil* of the numerous blocks of insoluble white quartz which were left scattered over the surface of the valley in the process of disintegration of the locally characteristic crystalline schist. Most of these loose rocks have since been collected into stone fences and the name is no longer obvious; but even today a new ploughed field occasionally looks like a battlefield of old time on which have bleached the bones of long dead warriors.

[2] *N. N.*, A: 178, 179.

[3] *N. N.*, A: 174; renewed, 1743, F: 133. *Capt. Samuel Skinker* was established as a merchant on the Rappahannock opposite Port Royal before 1722 (See Hening, iv, 113, and his name on all the Rappahannock River maps beginning with those of 1737) and later sat in the King George court. We have seen him in 1724 acquiring lands adjoining Ludwell's Quarter below the Elk Marsh (*N. N.*, A: 101). One of his descendants subsequently resided on the Carolina road when his lands were selected as the location for a District Court House and became the town of Haymarket (See *post*, p. 318). Another established himself in the White Plains community, where his descendants persist. The Pignut mountain land was not planted for many years but has been held continuously by the Skinkers under the grant of 1725. It is designated 'Huntley' on the Fauquier map of 1914.

[4] The stream is named in *N. N.*, B: 119. 'Mother Leathercoat' is the gatepost of Thoroughfare Gap on the north, opposed to 'Biscake' on the south. The names are recorded respectively in *N. N.*, E: 326, and A: 70. See also the plat of the Gap in *N. N.*, E: 14.

[5] *Gordonsdale*: Parson Scott's grants here recited are *N. N.*, A: 213; B: 85. The latter, depicted on the Leeds Manor plat of 1736, called for 2,823 acres, but in 1774 it was reported (*Journals H. B.*, 1773-76, p. 86, 228) that a re-survey revealed an original underestimate of 710 acres. This was the beginning of the property later known as Gordonsdale, the seat successively of Scotts and Peytons. From the former family the surrounding magisterial district derives its name. The romantic story of why John Scott built the original Gordonsdale house in 1776, as told by Bishop Meade (ii, 211), is supplemented with the documents in Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, p. 603.

[6] *N. N.*, D: 87. Ball's Horsepen is depicted on the Leeds Manor plat of 1736. Cornering with Ball on the east, and north of Scott, was Owen Grinnan's dividend (*N. N.*, D: 28) identified, by a description which is still recognisable, as 'on a north head branch of Broad Run, below the pines.'

[7] *N. N.*, C: 158, 198. For 'Fishback Ridge' see the Fauquier map of 1914.

[8] *N. N.*, E: 240; F: 352. For 'Maidstone . . . on the lands of John Rictor (*sic*)' see Hening, viii, 621. Rector's petition for this authority (*Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, p. 259) alleges that in 1772 'several tradesmen have already settled at this place, and others are willing to settle there in case a Town is established.'

[9] *N. N.*, E: 292; F: 222, 236. The will of *John Peyton* (1691-1760) of 'Stoney Hill' in Stafford mentions his Pignut grant and shows that he had purchased other property in that neighbourhood. He was the grandfather of that Chandler Peyton (1769-1827) who married a daughter of John Scott of Gordonsdale and subsequently bought that property from Scott's widow (Hayden, pp. 495, 515).

[10] *N. N.*, E: 302, 326. *Capt. Charles Ewell* (1713-*post* 1747) lived in Dettingen parish and was the father of the first of the three successive Jesse Ewells who have been pillars of Prince William. He was brother of that Bertrand Ewell (1715-1795), surveyor of Prince William, who was identified with the development of Dumfries and the Quantico Valley (Hayden, p. 335).

[11] *N. N.*, G: 151. This grant has a special interest because it assumed and localized the name, *'The Plains.'* The tradition of the Chapman family is that Jonathan and his son, Nathaniel, came to America together early in the eighteenth century and that the former seated himself on Four Mile Run in Fairfax, where he died before 1749. It was, then, undoubtedly this Jonathan Chapman who had the grant in 1742 (*N. N.*, F: 80) at the access to Thoroughfare Gap, where 'Chapman's Mill' is proven to have been standing in 1757 (*post*, p. 345), and, as his name heads the list of Chapmans on the tablet let into that mill, it is probable that he founded it. This deduction would date the construction of the mill prior to 1749 and make it the explanation of Nathaniel Chapman's acquisition of the Pignut boundary here referred to. This Nathaniel was the iron master who was operating the Accokeek furnace in 1753 on behalf of the Principio Company (*post*, p. 426). He died in 1760, leaving a son, Pearson (1745-1784), from whom have descended the Chapmans of Glymont, Md.,

Dumfries, Alexandria and 'Chapman's Mill,' as well as Dr. Nathaniel Chapman (1780-1853) of Philadelphia, a physician of the first distinction in American medicine (See *Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.*, i, 581).

[12] *Byrnley*: *N. N.*, F: 145. This was the property, lying immediately north of The Plains, which is still known as 'Byrnley,' and is so marked on the Fauquier map of 1914. George Byrn first appears in the Prince William records in 1740 on Powell's Run (*N. N.*, E: 150), where he accumulated a large boundary before he seated himself in the White Plains community. He was a practising surveyor and in 1745 served as the Commissioner to lay off the boundary line between Dettingen and Hamilton parishes, as appears from his certificate which remains on file in the Prince William records (*post*, p. 306). Byrn is buried at 'Byrnley,' where his tombstone may still be read.

[13] William Fairfax granted (1) to his son, Bryan, 4,281 a. in two parcels on Goose at the mouth of Wankapin and in the fork between Little River and Hunger Run (*N. N.*, E: 177, 281, 381; F: 205); (2) to his son, William Henry, 1,280 a. on Goose, adjoining Leeds Manor (*N. N.*, E: 361, 495; (3) to his wife's brother, John Clarke, 1,748 a. east of William Henry's land, i. e., in the vicinity of Rectortown (*N. N.*, E: 158). These two tracts last mentioned subsequently were purchased by George Washington. William Fairfax's own Pignut escheat was *N. N.*, E: 115, in name of Edward Washington, who conveyed by *P. Wm. D. B.*, D: 312.

[14] *Thomas Turner*: In May, 1732, Charles Taylor had a warrant for a survey of 1,700 acres at the north end of the Cobblers, but Robert Carter's death intervened before a grant issued (*N. N.*, D: 90). The survey was, however, depicted in Taylor's name on the Leeds Manor plat of 1736 and in November, 1740, a grant issued for the same land to Harry Turner of King George (*N. N.*, E: 198). He transferred the title to his father, Col. Thomas Turner, who added to the acreage from the adjacent Burgess lands, as appears from his will drawn in 1757 (*Va. Mag.*, xx, 439; *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, v, 129). There is found a devise to a grandson, Turner Dixon, of 'my Cobler Mountain tract containing upwards of 3,000 acres.'

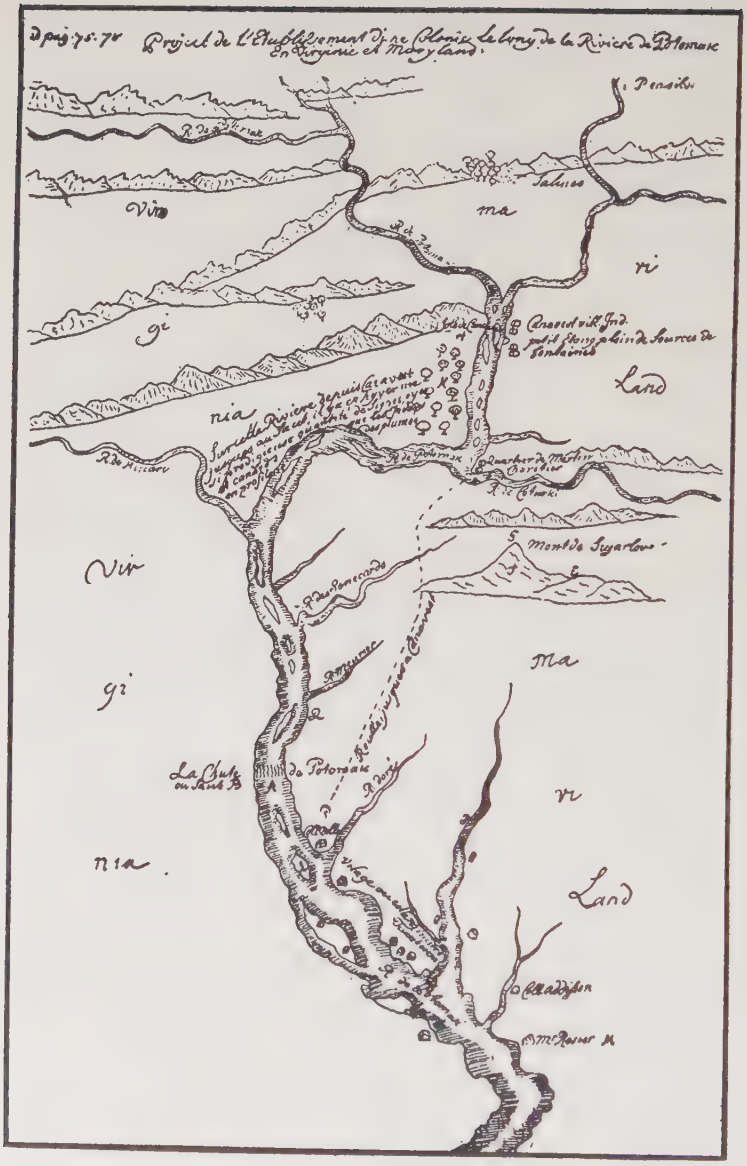
The memory of Thomas Turner is kept fresh in the Virginia tradition by a pleasant record of his prowess as a gardener. In John Randolph's *Treatise on Gardening*, published at Williamsburg about 1760 (*W. & M. Quar.*, xxv, 138, 166), mention is made of 'Col. Turner of King George who was eminent for cauliflowers.'

[15] *N. N.*, E: 354. *William Powell* was the father of Col. Leven Powell, who founded Middleburg in 1787 (Hayden, p. 507; Hening, xii, 605).

[16] *N. N.*, C: 41; E: 154, 432. *Thomas Owsley* was son of that Clerk of Stafford whom we first met on Accotink in 1692 (*ante.*, p. 90) and from him descend those of the name who distinguished themselves in Kentucky and the 'Southwest,' including the recent commander of the American Legion.

[17] *N. N.*, C: 190; D: 98; E: 10, 12. It was on this land that John Mercer's distinguished son, *Charles Fenton Mercer*, lived, founded the town of Aldie (see *post*, p. 577), and left his name to 'Mercer District' of Loudoun.

[18] *N. N.*, E: 146, 147. See *post*, p. 494.



GRAFFENRIED, 1712.

The Potomac above the Falls.

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Catoctin Borderland

WHEN the county of Loudoun came into existence in 1758, it was assigned arbitrarily a territory which had been occupied by three successive thrusts of immigration, and had already developed into the three distinct communities which still give the northernmost area of old Prince William the social atmosphere of a border land. That judicious observer of Virginia topography and civilization, Joseph Martin, summed this up at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century in a discerning estimate:

'A very considerable contrast,' he said[1] 'is observable in the manners of the inhabitants in different sections of the County. That part of it lying N. W. of Waterford was originally settled principally by Germans and is now called the German settlement, and the middle of the County, S. W. of Waterford and W. of Leesburg, was mostly settled by emigrants from the middle states, many of whom were members of the society of Friends. In these two sections the farms are generally from one to three hundred acres each and are mostly cultivated by free labor. In the S. and E. parts of the County the farms are many of them much larger and principally cultivated by slave labor.'

The territory which Martin found to be 'principally cultivated by slave labor' lies below the range of the Catoctin hills and extends west beyond Middleburg. A modern political geographer, with the duty of rectifying the frontier on scientific principles, would doubtless divide it between Fairfax and Fauquier, for on every standard of 'self-determination' it is closer akin to them than it is to what historically and economically we may term Loudoun proper: but as it happens, it was here, south of Catoctin, that that community had its beginning.

In their northward progress to the Broken Hills, as the early grants called the Catoctin range, the tidewater men we have followed up the Potomac left unclaimed a considerable area above Goose Creek, including the drains of Sycoline and Tuscarora and extending thence east to the site of Leesburg. Hither penetrated, in 1728, the Loudoun pioneers. They were mostly Scotch-Irish who had already been recorded below Brent Town, and had made their way up the Shenandoah Hunting Path, reversing the race movement of the Iroquois. As below, they took up here small grants, but there soon appeared among them, to complete the map, those ubiquitous speculators, Catesby Cocke and George Eskridge. We meet here also, in 1729, a name which has ever since connoted large landholdings in Loudoun—George Slater.[2]

The first of these immigrants from the south were Jacob Binks, Isaac Lasswell and James Rice. In October, 1728, they had grants of lands on which they were then living, described as 'on both sides of Goose Creek, beginning about three miles above the mouth of Secoline Branch,' and 'on the northwest side of Goose Creek.'[3] Later, John Lasswell and others pushed beyond them. Keeping above the Carter boundary, this advance guard turned the western escarpment of the Catoctin hills and established a series of disconnected clearings reaching up the North Fork of Goose Creek in the direction of the Blue Ridge at Williams' Gap. Incidental references in grants of 1731, to 'the Path from Jacob Binks' to John Lasswell's' and to 'the road that leads to Williams' cabbin at the Blue Ridge' show that these pathfinders were still following the Iroquois trail.[4]

That aboriginal highway served also, almost at the same time, as an avenue of immigration from the north. A band of Germans followed it across the Blue Ridge.[5] They were an eddy of the important stream of population which was then flowing from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley. The earliest of them to reach the Potomac were at the mouth of Antietam Creek certainly in 1726, whence later they pushed across the Packhorse Ford to found the Virginia settlement

long known as Mecklenburg before it became Shepherdstown.[6] It was probably from that nest that came also the original German settlers of Loudoun. Because they took possession of the land as squatters in the wilderness, they themselves left no records, but the tradition of their descendants,[7] that sixty families of them were in the Catoctin valley in 1731, is verified in principle by the earliest notes of the Virginia surveyors when they reached the Blue Ridge. In July, 1731, land grants to Virginians are identified below the Short Hills, by reference to 'Dutchman's Creek,' and above 'at the Blue Ridge at a place called the Meeting House.' Recruited later by others of their nationality who came through Maryland down the valley of the Monocacy, and taking leases of the lands they themselves improved but which had been granted to Virginians, these Germans gradually spread to the southwest. Below the Short Hills they had kept to the north of Catoctin Creek, but from the valley, now known as 'Between the Hills,' they scattered along the base of the Blue Ridge as far south as the village of Wheatland and made up that 'German settlement' to which Martin referred.

Following close on the heels of the Germans, came, also from the north, the pioneers of the third element in the population of Loudoun. In February, 1730/1, Samuel Marksberry[8] recorded a survey 'on Kittokton run back of Kittokton Mountain near the Thoroughfare, or Hunting Path, through said Mountain' and thus introduces us to the Catoctin valley, looking in from the south through Clark's Gap. Lower down the stream an Irishman named Asa Moore built, according to the tradition in 1732, the first house on the south branch of Catoctin Creek and named it Waterford in memory of the place of his nativity.[9] He soon had neighbours of English blood. In 1733 Amos Janney left his residence at the Falls of the Delaware, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and, migrating to Virginia with his family, established himself at Waterford. 'When they came to Virginia the neighbourhood where they settled was almost uninhabited but, other Friends coming soon after and settling near them, a meeting for worship was

held at their house."[10] In 1741 this society built a meeting house at Waterford and organized 'Fairfax preparative meeting,' under the jurisdiction of Hopewell Monthly Meeting which had recently been established in the Shenandoah Valley. An evidence of the rapid growth of the new society is that in 1745 it was licenced by the Concord Quarterly Meeting (sitting in Chester County, Pennsylvania), to organize a monthly meeting in association with the 'Manoquesy preparative meeting' in Maryland. That the Waterford Friends preponderated in this association is apparent from the fact that the new organization was entitled 'Fairfax Monthly Meeting,' after the Virginia county in which they lived. Their minutes[11] show that the Waterford colony was swelled by additions not only from Bucks and Chester counties in Pennsylvania but from New Jersey, from Calvert County in Maryland and direct from England and Wales. Among the earliest names appear prominently several Janneys, Thomas John, Edward Norton, Samuel Harris and Thomas Bourne. These good people had found the lands about Waterford already preempted by Catesby Cocke and John Mercer and presumably bought or leased from them, but, about 1740, they began to expand to the southwest. Crossing the divide to the waters of Goose Creek, they established a settlement called Harmony where the town of Hamilton now stands and thence pushed on to the still unclaimed lands which lay above the Carter manors between the North and Beaverdam Forks of Goose Creek. Here they took out in their own names a series of original grants and built another meeting house. This settlement also grew steadily until the number of its worshippers justified administrative independence from Waterford, as Waterford had graduated from the jurisdiction of Hopewell; and so 'Goose Creek Monthly Meeting' came into existence.

There was but small sympathy between the Quakers and the Germans thus brought into contact[12] but they had a common interest in disapprobation of the slaveholding civilization to the south of them. The sentiment seems to have been cordially reciprocated. After the Revolution a long smothered

resentment blazed in the litigation over the Shelburne glebe. When it came to the political issues which lead to the war between the states, without hesitation the Quakers and the Germans aligned themselves against their neighbours and with the north.[13] After the appeal to arms, the Catoctin run became a Rubicon. Above it was organized a company of Scouts who took the name of Loudoun Rangers, enlisted in the federal army and sought to emulate the exploits of Mosby's similar confederate command.[14] In such a situation both parties played true to all the precedents of civil war: being near neighbours, their ambition was to cut one anothers throats. The opportunity did not come until April, 1865. Though delayed, the meeting was eminently satisfactory to the 'cavaliers.' Indeed, Col. John Scott of Warrenton dwells upon the incident with a gusto out of all proportion to the military achievement and records with cordial approval the terse report by the federal officer commanding at Harpers Ferry: 'Mosby surprised the camp of the Loudoun Rangers near Keyes Ford and cleaned them out.'[15]

Quite apart from the social problems which arose from the casual contacts of the settlement of the Catoctin valley, that region offers other interests to the historian. Its geological exhibit is highly coloured and, in consequence, its soils are not only valuable but varied.[16] The agricultural conquest of such lands was attended by stimulating differences of experience even on adjoining farms. It is, then, perhaps to be expected that there should have arisen out of such a natural laboratory the system of improved agriculture which was to regenerate all the territory of old Prince William, and that there should be controversy as to the inventor of it. The change of the staple from tobacco to wheat in old Prince William was not followed by a complete change in agricultural practice. The Virginian merely adopted from the tobacco plantation the wasteful system in which the 'old field' played the conspicuous role. Writing to Arthur Young in November, 1787, George Washington described[17] how this was done:

'I must observe that there is perhaps scarcely any part of America where farming has been less attended to than in this state. The cultivation of tobacco has been almost the sole object with men of landed property and consequently a regular course of crops has never been in view. The general custom has been first to raise a crop of Indian corn (maize) which according to the mode of cultivation is a good preparative for wheat; then a crop of wheat: after which the ground is respited (except from weeds and every trash that can contribute to its foulness) for about eighteen months: and so on alternately, without any dressing, till the land is exhausted, when it is turned out without being sown with grass seeds, or any method taken to restore it: and another piece is ruined in the same manner. No more cattle are raised than can be supported by lowland meadows, swamps, etc., and the tops and blades of Indian corn: as very few persons have attended to sowing grasses and connecting cattle with their crop. The Indian corn is the chief support of the laborers and horses. Our lands . . . were originally very good but use and abuse have made them quite otherwise.'

A course of agriculture of that kind, sustained for a generation, inevitably must reduce any standard of civilization which rested upon it. Such a degradation was, indeed, beginning to show itself in the emigration to Kentucky of the best people of northern Virginia, when out of Catoctin came forth the deliverer. In the last year of the eighteenth century someone introduced the use of gypsum as a soil amendment and corrective of soil acidity. The Quakers, conscious of their proud record of superior agricultural practice which has been sustained to this day and has made their Catoctin farms truly blossom like the rose, maintain a traditional claim that the benefactor was one of them, and say that Isaac Janney learned the art during a visit to Chester County, Pennsylvania. On the other hand, there is documentary evidence for John Alexander Binns, son of the first Clerk of Loudoun, and through his mother descended from the Alexanders of Chotank and Alexandria. This representative of the tidewater tradition published in 1803 a little modest book, scarcely more than a pamphlet,[18] in which he rehearsed his experiments in

the use of gypsum, which he says were the first ever undertaken in Virginia. The question of the local priority is an old controversy and need not be reopened, for the evidence is that even in Virginia Washington had made similar experiments at Mount Vernon as early as 1787.[19] The really interesting fact is that before 1800 the Catoctin valley was able, by the use of land plaster, to establish a successful rotation of grain and grass, with incidental live stock husbandry, which has distinguished it ever since. The immediate results were remarkable, and attracted the curious attention of Thomas Jefferson. Commenting on Binns' book in a letter to an English correspondent, dated June 30, 1803, he was able to say:[20]

'the County of Loudoun . . . had been so exhausted and wasted by bad husbandry that it began to depopulate, the inhabitants going Southwardly in quest of better lands. . . . It is now become one of the most productive Counties of the State of Virginia and the price given for the lands is multiplied manifold.'

From Catoctin this economy spread to Fauquier and thence the 'Loudoun System' of agriculture became an example for all piedmont Virginia and was acclaimed a worthy rival of the famous 'Norfolk System' of England.

The local chroniclers of Loudoun have generally overlooked the part the Catoctin border land played in the history of the Northern Neck proprietary. It was, indeed, of small significance in the development of the community, but should be recorded here if only to note the disappearance of what was once an important local landmark.

When, in 1732, Lord Fairfax heard of Robert Carter's death he apparently determined that there should be no more opportunity for such diversions from his inheritance as the 'King' had made during the years of the lease of the proprietary. So it was that the power of attorney sent out to Massachusetts to authorize William Fairfax to assume charge of the Proprietor's interest in Virginia in succession to Carter, was limited

in its terms to *collecting* what might be due the estate: there was no authority in it to grant lands.[21] The consequence was that the Proprietor's land office remained closed from Robert Carter's death in 1732 until Lord Fairfax had himself come to Virginia and had been through the travail of the great survey of the Northern Neck. Then, and then only, did he re-open his land office for a few months in the summer of 1737. This was at William Fairfax's house in King George, but the Proprietor himself signed the few grants then recorded[22] before he sailed away to be on the ground in London when the cause of *Virginia* v. *Fairfax* should come on to be heard by the Privy Council.

As the Proprietor did not enlarge his Agent's powers when he left, the land office closed again automatically. Doubtless Lord Fairfax expected a speedy settlement of his litigation; certainly he planned an early return to Virginia. But the case dragged and after two years the pressure from Virginia to re-open the office was so great that he was forced to give his Agent power to grant lands. Apparently he did so unwillingly and only with a warning that there must be no more Carter manors.

Beginning in May, 1739, there now ensued during the eight years William Fairfax exercised the full proprietary powers, that flood of small grants which completed the land map of old Prince William. The significant thing about these grants is that for the first time in the history of the proprietary the plenipotentiary appropriated very little in his own name. He did, indeed, issue, on the Carter precedent, a number of grants, scattered all over old Prince William, in the names of his younger children, and his wife's Salem brothers, of friends like Parson Charles Green of Truro, or of employees like Edward Washington,[23] but they were moderate in acreage, individually and collectively. On Cedar Run, at Pignut, on Little River and on the upper waters of Goose Creek, he thus took up boundaries, most of which had been surveyed in Carter's day, but for which no grants had issued pending the payment of the composition. This was in a measure a clearing

out of the arrears of the office. In no case did any of these acquisitions exceed a thousand acres in one parcel. Such reticence did not, however, mean that William Fairfax failed to appreciate or to act upon his opportunity to build a fortune for his children. He was not backward in his acquisition of land in the large tracts which the contemporary Virginia fashion demanded of one of his place in the world. The difference was that he bought his lands. This fact is illustrated by his principal investments which become significant at the point we have now reached in the development of the map of old Prince William because it happens that the largest part of William Fairfax's Virginia estate was laid like a cap stone upon the Catoctin region.

The earliest land speculators in that region who, in 1731, took grants for the lands of which they found the Germans in possession, were as has been noted Francis Awbrey, Benjamin Grayson, Catesby Cocke and John Mercer. In 1740 John Colvill[24] bought out them and many lesser men and, by prearrangement, divided the territory with William Fairfax. Keeping for himself the lands lying between Catoctin Creek and the Catoctin Ridge and stretching from the Potomac to Waterford, he conveyed to William Fairfax 46,466 acres, constituting all the territory on the Potomac lying between Catoctin Creek and the Shenandoah River, including the Blue Ridge from Gregory's gap to Harpers Ferry.[25] The purchaser divided this property at the Short Hills into two estates, naming the northern one 'Shannondale,' and the southern one 'Piedmont,' and administered them as manors, on leases for three lives. By his will he left these lands, with his mansion house, Belvoir, to his eldest son, and the latter in turn, by his will of 1780, entailed them, with the intention that they should constitute the 'plantation' of Belvoir House, always to be held with it. But soon after this last will was written, the success of the American Revolution made it necessary for George William Fairfax, by codicil, to change his testamentary dispositions and his proposed entail was never made effective.

In the early years of the nineteenth century 'Shannondale'

and 'Piedmont' were squandered away in fruitless speculations[26] and, as a consequence, it happens that the good people who live today on those lands, in Berkeley and 'Between the Hills' in Loudoun, do not know the name Fairfax. Even the tradition of how intimately that name was once associated with their lands has dissipated like the smoke of their ancestors' chimneys.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY

[1] *Gazetteer of Virginia,* 1836, p. 210.

[2] *N. N.,* C: 40.

[3] *N. N.,* B: 151, 157; C: 101.

[4] *N. N.,* C: 178; D: 54.

[5] The tradition is that there were several families of other than German origin established east of the Blue Ridge at this time. We have noted the existence of Williams' cabin there. Mr. Kilgour says (*History of Loudoun County,* MS.) that about 1732 'Nicholas Osborne and John Osborne came from the Valley and settled at the foot of the Blue Ridge just above Woodgrove.' Neither name appears in the land grants.

[6] *Shepherdstown*: See Graham, *The Planting of the Presbyterian Church in Northern Virginia,* 1904; Dandridge, *Historic Shepherdstown,* 1910. Here Thomas Swearingen was licensed in 1755 to maintain a ferry (Hening, vi, 494, viii, 263), and here Thomas Shepherd laid off his land as a town before 1762, as recited in the act (*ibid.,* vii, 600) by which it was established under a name (Mecklenburg) significant of the origin of its population.

[7] Head, *Loudoun County,* 1908, p. 111.

[8] *N. N.,* C: 104.

[9] Kilgour, *History of Loudoun County* MS.

[10] Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends from its rise to the year* 1828 (1870), iii, 248.

[11] The original minute books of Fairfax Monthly Meeting, a mine of genealogical material, are preserved in the Friends' Library at the Park Avenue Meeting House in Baltimore.

[12] In Yardley Taylor's admirable *Memoir of Loudoun,* 1853, is expressed the Quaker feeling toward their German neighbours: 'The north western parts of the County were originally settled by Germans, principally from Pennsylvania, and many of their descendants remain . . . . Many old log houses that are barely tolerable are in use by persons abundantly able to build better ones.' It is at once fair and interesting to compare with this the warm eulogy of the industry of these Germans in Scharf, *History of Western Maryland,* 1882. See also the estimate of their influence upon American character in Hermann Schuricht *History of the German Element in Virginia,* 1890. That nationalist German author cannot restrain, however, an expression of impatience

at their acceptance of the obligations of American citizenship. His chapter xi 'Retrogression of the German Type' is illuminating in the light of subsequent events.

[13] At the election of 1861 the Loudoun precincts of Waterford, Lovettsville, Hoysville and Neersville gave majorities against secession. They have since consistently cast substantial Republican votes.

[14] *The Loudoun Rangers*: 'All the officers and privates were either of German, Quaker or Scotch-Irish lineage, the first named class predominating,' testified Briscoe Goodhart in his *History of the Independent Loudoun Virginia Rangers* (*U. S. Volunteer Cavalry Scouts*) 1862-65, 1896. Apart from its war stories, this little book is valuable for its casual record of traditions of the Loudoun Germans (*e. g.,* that they introduced the black heart cherry tree into Virginia), for, unlike Germantown, no literature has emanated from 'between the Hills' and little is known of the origin and migration to America of its inhabitants.

[15] *Partizan Life with Mosby,* 1867. 'When within fifty yards of the Loudoun Rangers the order to charge was given. Two of them were killed, four wounded and 65 taken prisoners, together with 81 horses with their equipment. The rest of the command sought refuge in the bushes. The only loss which Baylor sustained was Frank Helm of Warrenton, who was wounded as he charged among the foremost into the camp.'

[16] Arthur Keith, *Geology of the Catoctin Basin.* U. S. Geological Survey, 1893; Carter and Lyman, *Soil Survey of the Leesburg Area,* U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1904.

[17] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, xi, 178. With this should be compared Dr. Schoepf's contemporary description (*Riese,* 1783, ii, 32) of the economy of tobacco planting, in which the old field was substituted for manure, as he observed it in lower Virginia.

[18] J. A. Binns, *A Treatise on Practical Farming,* Frederick, Md., 1803. Thomas Jefferson's copy of this rare bibliographical 'item' is in the Library of Congress. It is discussed and the facts about Binns' life are collected by R. H. True in *W. & M. Quar.* (2d Series), ii, 20.

[19] On June 10, 1787, during the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, Washington entered in his diary: 'Rid to the farm of one Jones to see the effect of plaister of Paris, which appeared obviously good.' This is followed, on October 29th, after his return to Mount Vernon, with the entry: 'Spread, whilst it was raining, 2 bushels of the plaister of Paris had from Philadelphia, on the South half of the lawn.'

[20] Jefferson MS., Library of Congress.

[21] This power, dated February 20, 1733/4, was recorded in Prince William, (*D. B.,* B: 349) September 18, 1734, soon after William Fairfax had reached Virginia.

[22] They included the Proprietor's own earliest manors of Leeds, Shenandoah and Great Falls (*N. N.,* E: 28, 34, 38).

[23] *Edward Washington.* The breeding of this worthy has so far eluded the genealogists. He was not of George Washington's immediate family, if related to him at all. In the land grants issued in his name in 1737, and thereafter, all of which he immediately transferred to William Fairfax, he is described as 'yeoman' and 'planter.'

In 1737, he was 'sub sheriff' of Prince William (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 15) and in 1748 he was one of the inspectors at Occoquan and Pohick warehouses (*Journals H. B.,* 1742-49, p. 299). The intimacy of his business relations with William Fairfax suggest that at this time he was in some way attached to the Northern Neck estate office, probably as a collector. He lived on the upper or Fairfax shore of the Occoquan, and in 1753 was one of the original trustees of Colchester (Hening, vi, 396). In 1765 he was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the Truro vestry (Goodwin, p. 44). This Edward Washington died in 1792 at a great age, leaving a will which was proved in Fairfax. In this he named a son, Edward, who had been a Truro vestryman from 1779 to 1785 (Goodwin, pp. 94, 110). When George William Fairfax's estate was settled in 1788, it was found that 'Capt. Edward Washington' had a two year lease of the Belvoir fisheries (Battaile Muse's inventory MS.). In 1802 he was the successful defendant against Charles Carter of Shirley of a local title to the 'copper mine landing' tract on Occoquan (See *post,* p. 432). He appears in the records also in several minor public capacities down to his death in 1813. Albert Welles (*Washington Family,* 1879, p. 308) gives the wills of both these Edwards and conjectures that they were descended from the immigrant, Lawrence. This was safe because in 1786 Lund Washington had stated of the elder that he 'believed him to be a relative from his strong resemblance to the family,' and because the Stafford Washingtons had not been developed genealogically when Welles wrote; but Dr. Stanard's subsequent pursuit of them (*Va. Mag.,* xxii, xxiii) revealed no Edward at all, not even that earliest one to whom William Fitzhugh refers in March, 1681/2 (*Va. Mag.,* i, 47).

[24] *John Colvill,* born in Newcastle on Tyne, of a family which had there prospered as merchants (See the pedigree in *Archeologia Aeliana,* second series, xix, 115), was trading in the Potomac with his own ship in 1733 (See the minute of his appearance before the Virginia Council, April 26, 1733, in *Council Journal,* C. O., 5: 1420, p. 129), and by the following year had established himself in Prince William on a plantation he called 'Cleesh,' lying on Great Hunting Creek. (See his deeds of October, 1734, from the heirs of Thomas Simmonds in *Prince William D. B.,* B: 444, 464, 488). He was at once commissioned of the county court and elected a member of the Truro Vestry (*Council Journal,* April 23, 1734; *Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 8). Thereafter his name appears frequently in the land records in relation to large transactions. He took an active part in the militia and in 1740 was Colonel of Prince William. The next year he was a candidate for the Assembly and was defeated in a close contest by Thomas Harrison in the poll headed by William Fairfax (Boogher, *Gleanings,* 116); but when, in 1743, Fairfax was advanced to the Council, Colvill succeeded to his seat in the Assembly and thereafter sat until 1747 (*Journals H. B.,* 1742-49, pp. 77, 78). He died in 1755 (See his will dated May 6, 1755, and proved January 20, 1756, *Fairfax W. B.,* B, No. 1, p. 97). The Catoctin lands he retained after his transactions with William Fairfax, aggregated 16,290 acres (*N. N.,* E: 502). Colvill devised these lands to the contemporary earl of Tankerville, who had married his cousin, and they remained so vested until the American Revolution (Hening, viii, 554; *W. & M. Quar.,* vi, 62).

John Colvill's brother, Thomas, who had long lived in Cecil County, Maryland, died at Cleesh in October, 1766, aet. 78 (*W. & M. Quar.,*

iii, 267; *Md. Hist. Mag.*, xviii, 179), having named George Washington as one of his executors (See his will dated October 8, 1766, and proved January 6, 1767, in *Fairfax W. B.*, B, No. 1, p. 424, and for the trouble in which it involved the executor, *Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ix, 474; xiii, 164; *Archeologia Aeliana*, second series, ii, 120; *ante.*, p. 139). Cleesh then passed under John Colvill's will to the earl of Tankerville, who sold the house to Charles Little, and subdivided the land into lots. On one of these lots, purchased in January, 1789 (*Fairfax D. B.*, R, No. 1: 365, 369), Bryan Fairfax built his house 'Mount Eagle,' which is marked on Thomas' *Plan of the Town of Alexandria*, 1798.

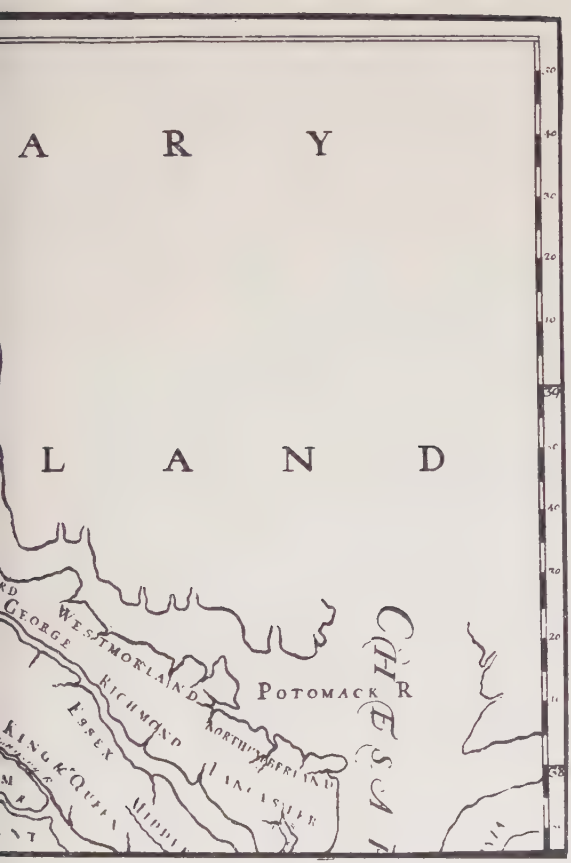
[25] Colvill's four deeds to William Fairfax, all dated January 23, 1740/1, are recorded in *Prince William D. B.*, E: 191, 199, 207, 219. With 'Shannondale' and 'Piedmont' they conveyed 'Springfield' and 'Towlston.' The two last named tracts were on Difficult Run and aggregated 6,997 acres. The consideration named in all these conveyances is sterling money at the rate of two shillings per acre.

[26] *The passing of Shannondale*: By his will, proved in England in 1787 (P. C. C. *Major*, 319) George William Fairfax left all his property to Ferdinando Fairfax (1769-1820), second son of his brother, Bryan, who thus became his successor in title to 'Belvoir,' 'Shannondale' and 'Piedmont,' besides other property in Virginia and in England. For this Ferdinando of 'Shannon Hill' (where the long-frequented Shannondale Springs hotel afterwards stood), see Brockett, *The Lodge of Washington* (1876). His speculations have left a melancholy record, beginning with the bridge he built over the Shenandoah in 1797 (Shepherd, ii, 127), and continuing with his iron works and land ventures (See *Recollections of Admiral R. R. Wormeley*, 1906, and the opinions in the reported cases of *Fairfax v. Muse*, 2 Hen. & Mun., 558; 4 Mun., 124; *Fairfax v. Lewis*, 23 Va., 20; 11 Leigh, 233).

PART FOUR

The Political Pedigree

Gooch, 1730.


A R Y
L A N D
GEORGE
WESTMORLAND
POTOMACK R
RICHMOND
ESSEX
KING & QUEEN

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The Parishes and Their Churches

IN its original political subdivision the territory of Prince William is distinguished by a difference from the older communities of the Northern Neck, which is significant of contemporary social development on the frontier.

Throughout the seventeenth century the practice of the Assembly was to create counties as they were necessary and to require the county courts to divide them into parishes;[1] but in 1730 it began itself to assume the function of creating parishes also. What is most interesting about the new policy is that henceforth the organization of the parish preceded the organization of the county, and so reversed the old practice. While nowhere declared, it is evident that this change, like the increase of the property qualification for the suffrage which soon followed it,[2] was stimulated by the new problems of government which grew out of the influx upon the frontier of a numerous undisciplined population, a population which included east of the Blue Ridge many Irish ex-servants and English ex-convicts who had served their time in the tidewater plantations, and, west of that boundary, was coloured by aliens who had never known Virginia at all. The colonial tradition of individualism recognised that the new citizens should be given at once the largest measure of local self-government consistent with the public security; but it was apparently felt that, until they had proved their political capacity, there should be caution in entrusting them with all the independence implicit in county administration. It is by the existence of such a sentiment that we can interpret the entirely new hesitations, frequently revealed by the Journals of the House of Burgesses, during the first half of the eighteenth century, to respond to demands for the erection of new frontier counties, even when the increment of population justified such action on the old precedents. The principle was

laid down in the act of 1705[3] that large frontier counties were necessary for military protection, wherefore it was declared that no existing county henceforth should be divided 'unless there shall be left in the upper county at least 800 tithable persons.' It is probable that Spotsylvania and Brunswick satisfied this test in 1720, certainly the former soon exceeded it, but for some years the measure was rather of quantity than quality. As a result of this experience a new county was henceforth authorized only when and as there were established as residents within its boundaries enough men of substance to give assurance of conservative administration, but meanwhile the argument of population was met by the creation of new frontier parishes. To appreciate this distinction the modern Virginian must read his history forward rather than backward, as has been his habit, and realize the function of the parish in the colonial period. His political principles, rooted in the revolutionary tradition of animosity against an established church, predispose him to picture the parish as a mere agency for the collection of levies to support a sometimes free-living parson who enjoyed special privileges at the expense of his ancestors. But the eighteenth century parish was much more than that. It was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was, indeed, the inherited primary unit for the mutual distribution of the burdens of group taxation, a degenerate representative of the Anglo-Saxon 'vill' which left progressively more degenerate descendants in the present day magisterial districts.[4] It had absorbed certain duties of local government and police which only historically had to do with the church, such as the presentation of moral misdemeanors, the administration of poor relief, the discipline of vagrants, the education and apprenticing of bastards, and the processioning of lands.[5] As a necessary consequence of this combination of function, the churchyard became the forum for the debate of local politics between the meetings of the county court and the vestryman there had opportunity to prove his mettle.

The new practice of the Assembly in the creation of parishes thus became an expedient, as population spread, to set up

schools in which the vestryman, as the only local magistrate who was chosen by popular vote, might be trained to assume the larger responsibility of a county court justice appointed to represent the Crown. That the precaution was justified is apparent from the number of occasions on which the Assembly had to dissolve vestries in the new parishes because they had failed properly to function.[6]

It is necessary, then, to begin the study of the political pedigree of old Prince William with the parishes, for in that territory, in the generation between 1730 and 1760 we shall find the parish of Hamilton developing first into the County of Prince William, and again, after Dettingen had been deducted from it, into the County of Fauquier; while the parish of Truro grew into the County of Fairfax and the parish of Cameron into the County of Loudoun. Finally, to complete the illustration of the thesis, in 1782 and 1795 there were before the Assembly unfulfilled petitions to erect the parishes of Shelburne and Leeds also into new counties. That this was not accomplished means simply that the process of development, which began in 1730, was arrested by the ending of the old *regime* before the promotion of the two youngest parishes could be justified.

When, in 1664, the County of Stafford was carved out of Westmoreland above upper Machotic Creek, the existing Northern Neck parishes on the Potomac were Great Wycomico and Bowtracy in Northumberland; Cople and Washington in Westmoreland. Following this precedent, the new county also was divided into two parishes, separated by Potomac Creek. This division was undoubtedly prescribed by the Council, for the earliest court minutes refer to the two parishes as accepted facts, described only as the 'upper' and the 'lower' parishes. That this was a division of the territory more for the purpose of civil than ecclesiastical administration appears from the fact that until well into the eighteenth century, and long after they had assumed the names of Overwharton[7] and Chotank,[8] these two parishes had but one parson to serve them both.

It is with the 'upper' parish that we are concerned, for it included all the territory of Virginia drained by streams emptying into the Potomac above Potomac Creek. Parson Alexander Scott could thus justly observe in 1724 'the bounds of my Parish is not known.'

This vast area retained the name Overwharton only until January 1, 1730/1. For the first time undertaking to create a parish, the Assembly had provided that as of that day all the Potomac frontier above a line extending from the mouth of

> 'Chopawansick Creek in a South-West line to be made from the head of the north branch of the said Creek, to the parish of Hanover'

in King George, should be a new parish with the name of Hamilton.[9] A year later, after Prince William had come into existence, Hanover parish was also docked and that part of it which lay north and west of Deep Creek was added to Hamilton.[10] This increment included the territory of the streams draining into the north fork of the Rappahannock and made that parish co-terminous on the west with the new county of Prince William.

Although it was to be many years[11] before the notable brick churches, which Bishop Meade described, were built for St. Paul's ('Potomac'), Overwharton ('Aquia'), and Dettingen ('Quantico'), it appears that the sites of all of those churches were selected as early as 1667. On April 3rd of that year Stafford Court ordered

> 'that the Minister preach in three particular places in this county, viz: at the Southwest side of Aquia, at the Court House, and at Choatank at the house belonging to Mr. Robert Townsend: to officiate every Sabboth day in one of these places until further order.'

Some months later (October 28, 1667) this was supplemented with a provision that

> 'Whereas there is no certain place in the upper precincts of the county for the reading of divine service, the Court doth

order that John Withers, Church Warden for those precincts, agree for a house to read in, in the most convenient place.'

The first of these minutes proves that Aquia was the original parish church of Overwharton, and it seems to follow from the second that Quantico became, almost contemporaneously, the first chapel of ease of that parish. Churches so located would have sufficed for the population of the 'freshes' until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The activity of seating above the Occoquan after 1700 by the Masons, Owsleys, Wests and others would, however, have required, soon after that year, a chapel also in that new upper precinct; and there is record evidence that Overwharton duly met this demand by building the second chapel referred to in Parson Scott's report of 1724 as the original of Pohick church. A contemporary plat[12] bears witness that in 1715 such a chapel stood, in what was later known as the Belvoir neck, on the south side of Dogue Run, immediately below the mouth of Piney Branch and above a 'county main road' (i. e. the Potomac Path) leading to the Occoquan. Before 1730, however, this had been superseded by a house of worship which stood 'above Occoquan ferry' for by that description was identified the church in which the Assembly directed that Hamilton parish be organized.[13]

Almost contemporaneously with the complete political consolidation of the territory between the Potomac and the north fork of the Rappahannock the process of subdivision began. In this process the parish units lead and went furthest. Hamilton was destined to be separated into seven parishes, while Prince William was cut up into only five counties, but in each case the carving was done in two groups, originating above and below the Occoquan. In respect to those groups we now proceed to follow the parish development.

I. The Parishes Above Occoquan.

Truro

In 1732 the parish of Hamilton was first docked by the

erection of a new parish of Truro[14] to include all of Prince William north and east of a line running

'by the river Ockoquan and Bull Run (a branch thereof) and a course from thence to the Indian Thoroughfare[15] of the Blue Ridge Mountains.'

The Overwharton chapel, which was described in the act creating Hamilton parish as standing 'above Occoquan ferry,' now became the parish church of Truro. It was designated in the Truro vestry book as 'Occoquan Church' until 1733, when the name 'Pohick' was assumed, indicating that the building was near the ford by which the Potomac Path crossed Pohick Run. This church stood and was in use until 1772, when the parish moved into the still surviving Pohick brick church, on which construction had been begun in 1767.[16] The location of this final parish church of Truro, which took with it the name of its predecessor, was determined after some debate between George Mason and George Washington, of which Bishop Meade preserves the well known amusing anecdote. The future father of his country carried the day, and the new church was built not on Pohick but some two miles to the north of the ford, at the cross roads made by the 'back road' from Occoquan to Alexandria and the Ravensworth Rolling Road leading to Pohick warehouse. The explanation of the move is that the new site was relatively as convenient to Belvoir and Mt. Vernon as the old site had been to Gunston.[17]

Meanwhile, as the population of Truro spread north up Four Mile Run and along the Potomac and more slowly west towards Bull Run, Truro undertook to keep pace by providing everybody with a convenient chapel of ease. In the matter of church building Truro indeed made a record which surpassed that of any other parish in old Prince William. During the first sixteen years (1732-1748) of the incumbency of Charles Green, a merry Irishman who could get what he wanted done and was at once physician of bodies and physician of souls, three new churches were built by the vestry; and after the parish had been twice docked the work went on until all-told Truro

vestry was the author of six churches of which two were of notable brick construction. In the order of their priority these chapels of ease were as follows:

(a) *Falls Church*: Soon after Truro was established, services were held at the house of William Gunnell, on the upper waters of Four Mile Run.[19] It was soon found that a more convenient location would be the nearby crossing of those pioneer avenues of immigration, the road leading up the ridge from Hunting Creek to Difficult, and the road which lead from Magee's (later Francis Awbrey's) ferry over the Potomac below the Little Falls; and there the vestry determined to build an 'upper church.' In March, 1733, they ordered the construction of 'a church at the cross roads near Michael Regans.' This was the site on which 'Falls' Church ever since has stood.[19] There was an addition made to the original church in 1750, and in 1763, before it passed out of the control of Truro, the vestry resolved to rebuild it of brick;[20] but that achievement was reserved for Fairfax parish.

(b) *The Chapel above Goose Creek*: On April 6, 1733, the Truro vestry arranged for services to be held 'at the Chappell above Goose Creek.' Later entries in the vestry book show that Francis Awbrey was engaged from 1733 to 1735 in building and completing such a chapel. This was the first church built in what is now Loudoun. It stood on the stream originally called Cool Spring Run, at the head of that notable landmark, the 'Big Spring,' beside which now runs the main road between Leesburg and Point of Rocks.[21]

(c) *Rocky Run*: In 1745 the Truro vestry ordered that a chapel be built on the western (or Bull Run) boundary of the parish to balance that on the eastern (or 'Falls') boundary. In April of that year the general location was settled as between Salisbury Plain Run and Little River, and in May this was specified as 'at or near the spring nigh Mr. Hutchinson's and the Mountain Road.' This was Andrew Hutchinson who was then a member of the Truro vestry and had taken, in 1726, a land grant on the west side of Salisbury Plain Run. In August, 1745, Hutchinson duly made a deed for the site so selected, but,

before construction on the new church began, the vestry changed its plans and ordered that the 'church be built at Rocky Run instead of the place already appointed, it appearing there is no water there.' Thereafter a chapel actually was built at Rocky Run, which certainly was in existence in 1752, when a reference to it appears in the minutes of Fairfax court. It was on lands of Willoughby Newton and was the original of the church at Newgate (Centreville).[22]

(d) *Alexandria*: In 1751 the town of Alexandria, then two years of age, held a lottery for the purpose of raising funds to build a church.[23] There is no mention in the Truro vestry book of any parish levy for the construction of such a church, but in 1753 Parson Green was instructed to preach at Belhaven every third Sunday.[24] It thus appears that the original of Christ church was, like the contemporary construction of a new Fairfax court house in Alexandria, a voluntary undertaking of town promotion, and stands as another testimony to the enterprise of the Scots merchants who had founded that town.

(e) *Payne's*: In 1765 the Truro vestry arranged for regular services in a tobacco barn on the plantation of Samuel Littlejohn. The site of this plantation has not been identified, but it seems likely that it was in the vicinity of Edward Payne's plantation 'on the middle ridge near the Ox road,' where the brick church, thenceforth known as Payne's, was built in 1766, and stood until it was dilapidated during the war between the states.[25]

Cameron

The year 1748 marked the culmination of a stirring period in the history of the 'freshes' of the Potomac. The development of trade marts on Quantico and Hunting Creek had been followed by a large increase in the population of the back country. Thus it was that at the same session of the Assembly in that year the towns of Dumfries and Alexandria were created and a new parish of Cameron was authorized in the upper end of Truro.[26] The southern boundary of that parish was described as a line running from the Potomac up

'Difficult Run and its meanders from the mouth to the head thereof, and from thence by a line to the head of Popes-head run and down the said run, its several courses and meanders, to the mouth thereof'

where it empties into Bull Run. For ten years the new parish maintained this line but after Loudoun had been laid off, with its (original) southern boundary defined by Difficult and Rocky Runs, an area of Cameron lying on Bull Run between Popes-head and Rocky Runs was left in Fairfax, separated from the county in which lay the remainder of Cameron. This inconvenience of having the parish in two counties was then taken to be justification, by an act of 1762,[27] to restore to Truro 'all that part of the said parish of Cameron that lies below the present established lines that divide the said counties of Loudoun and Fairfax.'

The Cameron vestry book is lost and definite records are lacking for the history of its churches. It seems, however, that the new parish at once established the location of its church midway between the two chapels it had taken over from Truro, viz, that 'above Goose Creek' and 'Rocky Run.' The evidence is that the first such church was built in the branches of Sugarland on the eastern ridge road leading from Hunting Creek, via Falls Church and the first Fairfax Court House (Tyson's Cross Roads) to the Blue Ridge at Key's (*alias* Vestal's) gap. This was the point where later a junction was effected by 'the roads from Georgetown and Alexandria to Leesburg,' where Bishop Meade was informed there had once been a church.[28] But apparently (for we must still conjecture) the original church on Sugarland was superseded by another at Gum Spring on the upper waters of Broad Run, of which Bishop Meade saw the remains; and this in turn gave way to the still later church which was built on the 'Frying Pan' branch of the Horsepen of Broad.[29] These three churches were all of wooden construction, and disappeared after the Revolution. Of the Cameron churches, only Rocky Run and Big Spring persisted into the nineteenth century.

Fairfax

The concentration of population in and about Alexandria after 1749 lead to a local demand for a separate parish. Application for authority to secede from Truro was first made to the Assembly in 1761, but, being opposed, was continued from year to year. Finally, in 1764, the influence of Alexandria prevailed and a bill for a division was passed.[30] By this a new parish of Fairfax was erected above the boundary of a line running

'by Doeg creek, from the mouth thereof to Mr. George Washington's mill and from thence by a straight line to the plantation of John Munroe and the same course continued to the line that divides the counties of Fairfax and Loudoun.'

When the effect of this legislation was checked up it was found that the proposed division would have resulted in Truro being reduced to half the number of tithables there were in the new parish; and, more than that, Truro woke up to the loss of some of the largest individual contributors to her levies, including 'Mr. George Washington' whose mill was mentioned. There was a prompt and effective protest and at the next session of the Assembly a bill was introduced to rectify the boundary.

The new parish now offered[31] a compromise line, beginning at

'Clifton's (or Johnson's) Ferry on Potowmack River to run from thence over the Ford on Dogue's Run where the back road from Colchester to Alexandria crosses the same and from there to the Fork of Difficult Run.'

Truro declined this, but at last (May, 1765) an agreement was reached and the boundary was defined[32] as

'from the mouth of Little Hunting Creek up the same to the forks thereof; thence up the meanders of the South branch thereof to the Gum Spring thereon; from thence by a straight line to the ford of Dogue run where the back road

from Colchester crosses the said run and from thence by a straight line to the forks of Difficult.'

The new parish at once began church building. In 1767 the vestry contracted to replace both Falls and Alexandria (not yet known as Christ's) with the brick structures which still survive. The former was completed in 1769 but the latter not until 1772.[33]

Shelburne

In May, 1769, the 'Minister,[34] Vestry and other inhabitants of the Parish of Cameron in the County of Loudoun' petitioned the Assembly, representing that 'the said Parish is very extensive and inconvenient to the People who reside in the upper Parts thereof' and submitted a plan of division which they prayed might be authorized.[35] The Assembly held this reasonable and ordered a bill, but the matter went over to the next session. Then it developed that there was opposition to the plan. Nevertheless, the Assembly stood by the petition in principle and a division was enacted by a bill which became law in June, 1770, creating a new parish of Shelburne.[36] The boundary was described as a line running

'by Goose Creek, beginning at the mouth thereof and running up the same to the mouth of Little River, thence up the said Little River to the intersection of the line dividing the land of James Mercer, esq., and John Evans, thence along the said line and the several lines dividing the lands of the said Mercer and Wilkinson and Hunter, Charles West and Robert Burwell, esq., to the line of Fauquier County.'

So far as the Church was concerned, Shelburne was, in 1770, a parish *in partibus*. Lying between Goose Creek and the Blue Ridge, it included not only the stronghold of the Loudoun Quakers, but that 'German settlement' under the mountains, which had not yet been assimilated by Virginia civilization. There was, too, of course, an infiltration of dissent among the Irish element of the population, though perhaps this was not as strong as it then was in the adjacent

parish of Leeds. In this situation the tidewater gentry who had seated plantations below Leesburg and up the valley of Goose Creek contrived to control the vestry and, armed with the authority of the law, took up not only the civil functions of the office but assumed the then unprofitable task of establishing the Church. They levied the cost of a glebe upon a resentful population and were only deterred from building a parish church because the Revolution intervened before they could agree on a site. Church services were meanwhile held, according to Bishop Meade, at Leesburg [i. e., Big Spring Church], the Pot House and Middleburg, all localities in which the church was cheerfully supported, while a missionary 'Mountain Chapel' was established in the Short Hills.

As a result of the feelings generated during its brief history, the post-Revolutionary demand on the Shelburne vestry to surrender its glebe to the overseers of the poor was insistent and vigorously maintained. A few devoted churchmen who had served on the last vestry drew out the resistance, but ultimately were compelled to surrender. Their case[37] is an interesting contrast with that of Fairfax parish: the difference seems to have been not so much of law as of social atmosphere.

II. The Parishes Below Occoquan.

Dettingen

Upon the organization of Truro, the docked, but still vast, parish of Hamilton lying altogether South and West of Occoquan and Bull Run, took over as its parish church the original Overwharton chapel on the Quantico. The site was near the Quantico warehouse where the town of Dumfries was soon to arise. Bishop Meade testifies from the Dettingen vestry book that in 1744, when Hamilton was again divided, 'an old and indifferent church' stood 'near [the site of] Dumfries' which, in 1752, was sold 'for fifteen hundred weight of tobacco' to make way for a brick church.[38]

During the twelve years which followed the separation of Truro from Hamilton, the 'back country' of the latter (now

lower Fauquier) was beginning to assume an individual character, due to the infusion of Rappahannock influences among its population. The warehouses at Falmouth and on the Quantico were now launched upon an active and aggressive rivalry. It was then inevitable that there should soon be a proposal to dock Hamilton again.

This was done in 1744[39] when the parish was divided by a line

> 'to be run from the dividing line of Stafford and Prince William counties a straight course to the head of Dorrel's run: thence down the said run to Cedar run: thence to the fork of Broad Run near the lower line of colonel Charles Carter's tract called Broad Run tract: thence to the mouth of Bull-Lick run, opposite Jacob Smith's, in Fairfax County;'

and it was provided that the upper parish should retain the name Hamilton, while the lower parish should take the name Dettingen in memory of the recent battle at which the eponymous hero of Prince William had had the honour to be wounded.[40]

The angle of the boundary so established, destined to control also the limits of Leeds parish, was in the first important fork of Broad Run above its confluence with Cedar at the mouth of the stream then known as the 'North Branch' but designated North Fork on the modern map; and the eastern terminus on Bull Run was at another landmark of the Carter grants which is designated in the early surveys 'Muddy Lick' and 'Licking Branch,' as well as 'Bull Lick,' and appears as 'Young's Branch' on the modern map.[41]

On the separation of Dettingen from Hamilton, the former took over the original church on Quantico. It is possible that it took over also another wooden church in the neck at the confluence of Broad and Cedar, for a large part of the Brenttown tract was left in Dettingen and, in 1744, that neighbourhood was already well populated with Chotankers who would have been more likely than any others then on the frontier to build a church. At all events, in 1752, the Dettin-

gen vestry undertook the construction of two notable brick churches on the sites mentioned above.[42] Bishop Meade, who had access to the Dettingen vestry book, says that the Quantico church then built cost 'one hundred thousand weight' of tobacco, and so, doubtless, did Broad Run church, which was of the same size. Of the latter, the Bishop adds: 'the Church at Broad Run was . . . contracted for in 1752 . . . of brick and very substantial. . . . It has not been many years since the roof and walls . . . fell to the ground. . . . There were galleries in the Church at Broad Run, one of which was . . . put up by Mr. Thomas Harrison.'[43]

During this period the parson of Dettingen was James Scott, the worthy younger brother of Parson Alexander Scott, whom we have already met in Overwharton.[44]

Hamilton

For a quarter of a century, from 1744 when Dettingen was created until 1769 when Leeds came into existence, the parish of Hamilton consisted of the territory of what is now Fauquier, plus the upper end of Prince William. For the earlier portion of this period (prior to 1752) there are few surviving county records, while the Hamilton vestry book is gone altogether, destroyed a leaf at a time, as one eats an artichoke, in the Fauquier Clerk's office.[45] There is thus little material upon which the historian may reconstruct the society of Hamilton at this time. This is unfortunate for it was a formative period when significant social changes were in progress. It does appear that the centre of gravity of the population of the parish was then in what has since been known as lower Fauquier, and, for this reason, it is fair to assume that a chapel was built in this region soon after Hamilton was first established, and that it was that chapel, promoted in 1744 to be the parish church, which we find ten years later on the Fredericksburg-Winchester road where that highway crossed Elk Run.[46] This site was convenient to the gentry who were

then seated in this region,[47] but it left all the wide, if still thinly settled, area on either side of the Bull Run Mountains exposed to the individualistic religious practices of the Scotch-Irish and the presbyterian Germans who were then the characteristic population of that region. There was in this situation an unexampled opportunity for an active missionary minister, but none was forthcoming. That good man, James Keith (a grandfather of Chief Justice Marshall), was parson of Hamilton at the time of the separation of Dettingen, as he had been since he came from Henrico in 1733,[48] and he continued in the cure of the upper parish until his death in 1751. For all the ardours of his generous youth which had taken him 'out' for the Pretender in 'the 15,' and after that failure had left him the enterprise to face a migration to Virginia, it does not appear that Parson Keith was a fisher of men. Perhaps application might have been made to him of Samuel Davies' contemporary criticism of the Virginia clergy as a class that they 'were generally degenerating from the Calvinistical articles of their own Church and careless about strengthening the things which remained.' But whatever were his failures in his shepherding duty at this critical time, Parson Keith was a flaming pillar of righteousness compared with the notorious individual who next succeeded to his responsibilities.

In July, 1753, John Brunskill, jr.,[49] was collated parson of Hamilton and he seems thereafter to have secured the unusual privilege of being presented by the vestry and inducted by the Governor.[50] In this way he succeeded in rooting himself in a legal tenure of the parish. Once securely established in charge of the churches and on the glebe (which was a part of the Germantown tract[51]) he gave loose to his natural appetites, for he seems to have been one of the class of church of England parsons which John Hammond described as the curse of seventeenth century Virginia, 'such as wear black coats, babble in a pulpit and roar in a tavern, and . . . rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks.'

Commissary Dawson 'reproved, advised and exhorted him;' but in vain, as was perhaps natural because that prelate was himself no anchorite. At last Brunskill's conduct became an open scandal 'to the great joy and triumph of the Newlights.' In April, 1757, the vestry preferred written charges against him 'for divers immoralities such as profane swearing, Drunkeness and immodest actions,' and sent one of their number, Joseph Blackwell, to Williamsburg to file the indictment with the Commissary and to invoke the aid of the Prince William burgesses. One of the latter[52] took the paper to Governor Dinwiddie, who at once laid it before the Council, and, although the jurisdiction was doubtful, Mr. Brunskill was summoned and put on trial before the Council. That court found that 'every fact he was charged with had been fully proved,' and that the parson was 'a scandal to his profession and ought to be disqualified.' The Governor accordingly instructed the vestry to exclude him from their churches. Brunskill was, however, recalcitrant. He stood on his title under the canon law, and, so far as the record goes, seems to have maintained his position.[53] In such a situation it can be understood why not only the 'enthusiasm' of the 'Newlights,' but the open dissent of the Baptists contemporaneously secured a strong foothold in the upper end of Hamilton.[54]

The last record of Brunskill is in 1758: if he did not then die, it is probable that the heavy hand of the Bishop of London fell on him and that he disappeared; for the next recorded parson of Hamilton was James Craig, who received the King's bounty for Virginia, October 11, 1758. During the ensuing decade under Parson Craig, the parish fell in with the church building movement, then current in northern Virginia, and built at Elk Run, on the site of the pre-existing wooden structure, a handsome cruciform brick church. This had been recently completed in 1769, but its life was brief. Bishop Meade says:[55]

'Elk Run church was about fifteen miles, I think, below Fauquier Court House, on the road to Fredericksburg, upon a

small stream from which it took its name. It was a substantial brick church, cruciform, I believe. I am not certain that the roof was on it when I first saw it, in 1811. Its walls continued for many years after this and I saw them gradually disappear during my annual visits to the Convention.'

At some time previous to the reconstruction of Elk Run church Hamilton provided also a wooden chapel of ease on Turkey Run, conveniently located with reference to the upper end of the parish on the Dumfries-Rappahannock road near its junction with the Marsh road.[56] This was the 'Turkey Run Church' which Bishop Meade said[57]

'was situated . . . about a mile below Fauquier Court House. It was an old frame church, which, after the erection of one at the court house, was carried away and converted into a barn, and is still used as such.'

Leeds

In May, 1769, the 'Minister[58] and sundry inhabitants of the Parish of Hamilton' petitioned the Assembly[59] 'that by reason of the large extent of the Parish it is not in the Minister's Power to perform his Duty as a Preacher to the whole Parish in so regular a Manner as is necessary, and many of the Inhabitants reside so far from their Parish Churches that they can but seldom attend Public Worship: from which causes Dissenters have opportunity and Encouragement to propagate their pernicious Doctrines: and that there [are] now in the said Parish 2804 Tithables which Number is expected to increase.' This petition defined the desired boundary as

'a straight Line to begin at the North Fork of Broad Run at an Angle made by the Line that divides the said Parish of Hamilton from the Parish of Dettingen, and to end at two red Oaks on the Bank of the North Fork of Rappahannock River in the Plantation of Jesse Williams,'[60]

adding that this line 'would divide the said Parish into nearly equal Parts, leaving a small majority of Tithables in the lower part.' The petition was promptly granted and an act passed in December, 1769, established the boundary described in the petition and created a new parish of Leeds above that line.[61]

This act provided that the Hamilton glebe should be sold and the proceeds divided between Hamilton and Leeds in proportion to the number of tithables, after deducting for Leeds a proportion representing its original contribution. At the ensuing session it was represented that this was unjust and an act was passed in January, 1770,[62] providing that the total share of Leeds was its proportion on the basis of tithables at the time of division. But this did not end the matter. In July, 1771, the vestry of Hamilton petitioned the Assembly that before the division there had been an agreement that the docked Hamilton should have a majority of 100 tithables, and it was found that the agreed dividing line gave Leeds a majority of 60; wherefore, they asked that the boundary line be relocated,

'beginning at the Place mentioned in the said act of Assembly, and running from thence in a direct course to the mouth of Carter's Run, which will include such a number of Tithables as the Petitioners think themselves entitled to by the said Agreement.'

To this Leeds retorted, in March, 1772, with a petition denying that there was any such agreement, and

'setting forth that there is now a greater number of Tithables in the said Parish of Hamilton than in the said Parish of Leeds; and that before they were divided two large Churches, one Brick and the other of Wood, were built, both of which are in the present Parish of Hamilton, and that the Petitioners have been obliged to build four Churches in their own Parish at a very considerable Expense.'

Wherefore Leeds demanded that Hamilton refund to it 'a rea-

sonable proportion of the Tobacco paid for building the said Brick Church.' In all this Leeds was fully sustained.[63]

The Leeds petition of 1772 is an important testimony because, among other things, it fixes the date of the construction of the four wooden churches with which that parish was equipped. Bishop Meade describes[64] these churches indefinitely enough, as 'Taylor's Church, not very far from Warrenton, Goose Creek Church, near Salem, Old Bull Run Church, whose location I cannot specify, and Piper's Church, in Leeds Manor, not one of which are (*sic*) now standing.'

In 1779, during the full flow of revolutionary sentiment, Mr. Jefferson brought forward his rhetorical, but logically inescapable, bill 'for religious freedom.' At the moment this was merely a gesture so far as concerned Virginia, but in the acerbities of post war politics the dissenters made of it a rallying cry for the disestablishment of the Church. In 1786[65] the Jefferson bill became law and was soon given full practical effect. Although the Church was not finally disestablished until 1799,[66] the same Assembly which enacted religious freedom as a principle deprived the vestries of all their functions as civil magistrates. The duties of 'overseers of the poor,' and of processioning lands were then divorced from the Church; and the county courts were instructed to 'cause their said county to be laid off into convenient districts,' in each of which the freeholders were to elect three such 'overseers.'[67] This act was the obituary of the parish. Under it the vestries lost their taxing power and the new 'overseers' definitely superseded them as practical political entities in the life of the Commonwealth. But more than that, the counties now seemed intent on ignoring even the memories of the past. In old Prince William the new 'districts' consistently, but undoubtedly with no little local inconvenience, wiped out not only the names but even the historical boundaries of the old parishes.[68]

In the eighteenth century the Virginia parishes were work-

ing symbols of an ancient race inheritance. Like other such symbols, they withered in the fires of a revolution lit by democracy. In old Prince William their names have disappeared, their corner stones have been removed. No man today knows even his election precinct with reference to what was a parish line. It takes spade work to uncover their landmarks for the curious inspection of the archeologist.

On the other hand, of the seven brick churches built in old Prince William between 1752 and 1770, by a concatenation of fortuities, three survive. So it is that, under new conditions, Pohick, Falls, and Christs still are able to cherish the lamp which they received in their youth, and continue, somewhat fitfully perhaps, to radiate its influence. But Quantico is gone, Payne's, Broad Run, Elk Run all are gone. Honest brick and mortar though they were, fit to be the shines of many generations of men if only those who built them had suffused their craftsmanship with the soul of a people, their remains are become like those of the people who once congregated in them, 'entombed in the urns and sepultures of mortality.'

And yet, in another sense, these four lost churches also survive, for their sites are enduring bench marks of the highest reach of the tide of the old civilization of Virginia. A contour line drawn through those sites may be taken as a boundary which, without changing his habit, the tidewater planter could not pass on his march to the Blue Ridge. For beyond that boundary began the America of today.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

[1] Hening, i, 399, 469, 478; ii, 18, 29, 44, 218; Bruce *Institutional History*, chap. vi. In 1701 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1697-98, p. 423; 1701, pp. 547, 552) in pursuance of his instructions, Governor Nicholson made an effort to reform the boundaries of all the counties and parishes in order to secure greater equality of tithables, but the Assembly refused to act without petitions from the localities involved. As a consequence of this position there is no legislative record of the earliest Northern Neck parishes The names are, indeed, preserved in several documents (e. g., in the list first published by Beverley in the 1705 edition of his *History*) but the boundaries must be dug out of the several county

records, if, indeed, that is possible (*Cf.* Hening, ii, 218). Bishop Meade did not have access to those testimonies, whatever they may be, with the result that his statements in respect to these parishes lack authority.

[2] *The suffrage qualification*: The act of 1736 (Hening, iv, 475) defined the qualification of suffrage as a freehold in 100 acres of uninhabited land or 25 acres improved with a house and plantation. The pre-existing law (Hening, iii, 172, 236) gave every freeholder the right to vote. Gooch's comment on the act of 1736 is significant of the reason for the change at this time. He held it to stipulate 'indeed too inconsiderable a Qualification' but that this was better than nothing for 'all attempts made heretofore to Exclude the *Mobb of the Populace* . . . had proved vain.'

[3] Hening, iii, 284.

[4] For the historical absorption of the primitive 'vill' by the parish in Tudor times, after the dissolution of the monasteries had destroyed the medieval system of poor relief, see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 2d ed., i, 560.

[5] *The poor law*: Most of these duties had devolved upon the church wardens under the Tudor poor laws (5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 2; 14 Eliz., c. 5: 39 Eliz., c. 3) which were based on the organization of what was theoretically voluntary charity. As the collection of the benevolences so required was entrusted to the church, it followed naturally that the disbursement of the fund should be entrusted to 'the church wardens of every parish and four substantial householders who . . . shall be called Overseers of the Poor of the same parish.' In Virginia practice the 'substantial householders' were drawn from the vestry; so that the administration of the poor law, and with it the assessment of the parish levies, soon fell into the hands of what tended to become a close corporation. It was, therefore, to secure a revival of the Elizabethan intention that Bacon's act (Hening, ii, 356, 396) stipulated that six elected freeholders should sit with the vestry in laying the parish levy.

For the civil functions of the church wardens see Hening, ii, 51; for the colonial poor law, *ibid.*, iv, 208; vi, 29; for the processioning law, *ibid.*, ii, 101; iii, 327, 530; v, 426. All of the powers are arrayed in the article, 'Church Wardens,' in Starke, *The Virginia Justice*, 1774, p. 84.

[6] *The dissolution of the vestries*: *e. g.*, Truro in 1744, when it was made to appear that 'several pretending to act as vestrymen are not able to read or write' (Hening, v, 274. But see Parson Charles Green's indignant comment in *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 21). The problem is best illustrated by the experience in the case of Frederick. Here the parish and county were created by the same act of 1738 (Hening, v, 78), but with provision that they should be organized only when the Council should so direct. As it turned out, neither organization could be justified for five years, and the vestry then chosen had to be dissolved in disgrace (See the recitals in Hening, vi, 258, and Cartmel, p. 180).

In 1757 the vestries of both Dettingen and Hamilton were also dissolved (Hening, vii, 144, 245) but the reasons given in the acts were not so frank. In the case of Hamilton it is apparent from the evidence that that parish was then under suspicion by the Assembly as a hot bed of dissent and that this fact influenced the decision of the Council in that year to refuse its assent to the promotion of Hamilton into a county.

[7] *The name Overwharton*: In 1664 on one occasion the Stafford court recites the 'upper' parish as 'Potowmack parish.' The name, 'Overwharton,' was, however, in use in 1702 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 377). Its origin appears in the Stafford court minutes of 1692, when it was recited that Parson Waugh was living on lands on Potomac Creek, 'commonly called or known by the name of Overwharton Plantation,' which were claimed by the widow of that 'Henry Meese of London, merchant,' who had once lived in Stafford.

[8] *Chotank parish*: The 'lower' parish, in which William Fitzhugh lived and which he offered in 1683 to purchase from Lord Culpeper (*Va. Mag.*, i, 125) was at the end of the seventeenth century called 'Chotank' from the creek which drained it (See the list of parishes in 1680 in *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1677-80, p. 557, and *Va. Mag.*, i, 243; and the description in the land grants of 1691 and 1692, *N. N.*, 1: 101, 188); but in 1702 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 377) and 1703 (*Journals H. B.*, 1702-12, p. 13) it had assumed the name 'St. Pauls' by which it was thenceforth officially designated.

Long after this change of style had become effective, the neighbourhood was, however, known locally as 'Chotank,' though that name was contemporaneously applied particularly to the Withers plantation which eventually was vested in the second Augustine Washington (Hening, vi, 513).

[9] *The earl of Orkney*: *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 73, 75, 76, 77, 81, 110; Hening, iv, 304. The name was a belated compliment to Lord George Hamilton (1666-1737), Governor of Virginia from 1710 until his death, under whom Spotswood, Drysdale and Gooch served as lieutenants. A cadet of two notable Scots families, he was a sterling soldier, beginning his career under William III at the battle of the Boyne and serving, with distinction, as a general officer under Marlborough, at all the great battles in Flanders, from Blenheim to Malplaquet. William III made him earl of Orkney in 1696, when he married that King's *maitresse en titre*, his own cousin, Elizabeth Villiers. Orkney was never in Virginia, but, unlike his successors, the other absentee Governors, Lords Albemarle, Loudoun and Amherst, his name has not survived on the Virginia map.

Among the 'might have beens' which could have changed the course of Virginia history, it is interesting to recall, as a match to Dean Swift's ambition to be Bishop of Virginia (*Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Ball, i, 132), that Lord Orkney's nephew, Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), the husband of Nelson's celebrated Emma, pulled strings to be appointed Governor of Virginia in 1772 in succession to Lord Bottetourt, when Dunmore got the post. (See Mr. Brock's note in *Spotswood Letters*, i, 159.)

[10] *The Rappahannock Parishes*: The pedigree of the Northern Neck parishes on the Rappahannock is intricate. It seems (for the evidence for the earliest dates is not conclusive) that when Rappahannock County was set off from Lancaster in 1656, several small parishes remaining in Lancaster were combined under the name of one of them as Christ Church, and the territory of Rappahannock was erected into the parish of Farnham. About 1660 (See Dr. Bruce's quotations of county records in *Institutional History*, i, 104, 219) Sittingbourne was created above Farnham; and before 1686 (*ibid.*, i, 84, 109) St. Mary's was created above Sittingbourne. Both these new parishes, like Christ Church and the counties, for some years

included both banks of the river (*cf. N. N.*, 2: 320, reciting lands on the north shore to be 'in Saint Mary's parish' in 1700), so that when growth made new divisions necessary, the river became the natural boundary. In this way, before 1684 (*Institutional History*, i, 68, 90), Farnham became North and South Farnham; in 1704 (*cf.* the proceedings of 1694, *ibid.*, i, 59), the south side territory of Sittingbourne became St. Anne's (in Essex); and in 1713 (*Journals H. B.*, 1712-1726, pp. 49, 59; Hening, iv, 49; Trott, *Plantation Laws relating to the Church*, 1721, p. 129) the north side territory of St. Mary's became Hanover. So it was that when Hamilton was organized the procession of the Northern Neck parishes on the Rappahannock, reading north, was Christ Church, in Lancaster; North Farnham and Sittingbourne, in Richmond; and Hanover, in King George. Until 1732 Hanover thus reached to the Blue Ridge, including all the territory now of Fauquier, which drained into the Rappahannock. The act of 1732 (Hening, iv, 366), referred to in the text, recited 'the great length of the parishes of North Farnham, Sittenburn, Hanover and Hamilton in the counties of Richmond, King George and Prince William,' and proceeded to distribute their jurisdiction for convenience of administration. Truro was erected above Occoquan, out of Hamilton, and, in compensation all that part of Hanover which lay in Prince William was added to Hamilton (*cf. Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 200). The remainder of Hanover was then divided into two parishes, Brunswick, above the Dogue Swamp, and Hanover, below. At the same time, North Farnham was likewise divided at Totuskey, into Lunenburg above and North Farnham below.

[11] *e. g.*, a brick church on Aquia was first built in 1751 (*W. & M. Quar.*, xii, 82); four years later it burnt and the still surviving structure was substituted (Hening, vii, 151).

[12] Attached to *N. N.*, 5: 27, which refers to the site as 'land of Coll. George Mason, called the Chappell land.'

[13] Hening, iv, 304.

[14] *Truro*: Hening, iv, 367. Mr. Hugh Blair Grigsby says (Meade, *Old Churches*, ii, 425) that Truro got its name from the 'borough of Cornwall, England . . . the shipping port of the tin and copper ore found in its vicinity. Probably there were mines in the vicinity of Truro parish in Virginia.' This was a shrewd guess. The parish was named by 'King' Carter just before he died, having reference to his Frying Pan copper mine which was included in it (See *post*, p. 422). He confidently expected the new parish to be a mining district.

It is a coincidence that there should be a town of Colchester in a parish of Truro in Virginia, and a town of Truro in a County of Colchester in Nova Scotia.

[15] Meaning Ashby's Gap, as appears from Hening, v, 207. This was the origin of the future county boundary between Fairfax-Prince William and Loudoun-Fauquier (See *post*, p. 341).

[16] We follow Dr. Goodwin in his identification of 'Occoquan Church' with the first 'Pohick Church.' The justification is that there is no entry in the Truro vestry book between 1732 and 1767 relating to the construction of a new parish church.

[17] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 63.

[18] *Gunnell's Church*: Dr. Goodwin conjectures in a note to his edition of the *Truro Vestry Book* that Gunnell's church was on Difficult. The land grants, however, show William Gunnell in 1729 (*N. N.*,

C: 8, 9) 'on the South side of Four Mile Run two or three miles below the head, adjoining Simon Pearson.' In 1724 (*ibid.*, A: 57) Simon Pearson had taken up a large area on the plateau on which Falls Church stands and in which head the Fairfax streams known as Holmes (including Tripps), Four Mile, Pimmets, and Scotts.

[19] *Falls Church*: The site is indicated and the name assigned on a plat recorded in *N. N.*, E: 474, to illustrate George Harrison's grant of August 3, 1742. On January 16, 1729/30 (*N. N.*, C: 11) Michael Regan had a grant 'on the west side of the North Fork [i. e., Tripps] of Holmes Run, adjoining Simon Pearson' and on the same day (*N. N.*, C: 10) John Trammell had a grant adjoining Regan but above him 'near the head of the north run of Holmes.' It appears from the Truro vestry book that the deed for the site was made in 1746 by John Trammell long after the church had been built.

[20] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, pp. 27, 34.

[21] *The chapel above Goose Creek*: The site was on Francis Awbrey's grant of December 19, 1728 (*N. N.*, B: 167) as appears from the plat in *N. N.*, E: 110 illustrating Awbrey's supplementary grant of November 26, 1739. There 'Cool Spring Run' is shown flowing into the Potomac with the 'Chappel' depicted beside it. After the Revolution, Col. Burgess Ball (1749-1800) of the Continental army, acquired these lands, and, removing his residence from Spotsylvania (See Hening, x, 469), built beside the Big Spring the house, 'Springwood,' in which he ended his days. In 1799 he staked out near that house a family burying ground and there his family planned to bury him when a few months later he died. A statement of the circumstances of his burial, made by his grandson, Capt. G. W. Ball of the Confederate army, to Mr. H. E. Hayden (*Virginia Genealogies*, p. 113), confirms the other records of the site of the Truro 'chapel above Goose Creek.' 'A deep fall of snow having hidden the stakes,' said Capt. Ball, 'the servants charged with preparing the grave mistook the order and dug it about 150 yards lower down in the midst of a neglected burying ground of old colonial times, surrounding the ruins of a log meeting house which once stood at the head of the famous Big Spring.' Dr. Goodwin comments that 'this chapel was in use certainly in Dr. David Griffith's day [when he was parson of Cameron parish] just before the Revolution, and probably until the first church was built in Leesburg, about 1812.' For Francis Awbrey, see *ante.*, p. 153.

[22] *Rocky Run Church: Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 22. Dr. Goodwin argues that 'Hutchinson's' and 'Rocky Run' were two different churches and that both were built by the Truro vestry. The former he locates 'at Dranesville.' Hutchinson had no land in that vicinity, but was seated (*N. N.*, A: 224) at the site first selected and then discarded. The 'Mountain road' referred to in the Hutchinson deed was not the road leading to the Blue Ridge at Key's (later Vestal's) gap, on which Dranesville stands, but the road leading to Williams' gap, which crossed both Rocky and Salisbury Plain runs, i. e., the original of the 'Braddock road' of the Fairfax tradition. It seems probable, then, that the church on the site of the modern village of Dranesville was built by the Cameron vestry.

Mr. Choate marks the Rocky Run church on his map in the vicinity of Newgate and gives it the date 1749, but the Truro Vestry book

shows that it was under construction in October, 1746. Willoughby Newton had his large grants of 1743 and 1749 (*N. N.*, F: 114, G: 319) 'on both sides of Great Rocky Cedar Run and on the upper side of Little Rocky Run.'

[23] *W. & M. Quar.*, xii, 74.

[24] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 30.

[25] *Paynes Church:* Neither Littlejohn nor Payne appear in the land grants. The explanation seems to be that they seated lands included in the great 'Jeffreys' tract' which had been patented in 1677 by Cadwallader Jones back of Ravensworth. The site of Payne's church was on the still existing Ox road between the present day Fairfax Court House and Fairfax station. See *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 50, where the history of Payne's church is told at length.

[26] *Cameron parish:* Hening, vi, 214, where only the title of the act appears. The line is, however, recited in the resolution authorizing the bill (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 298, 405), and again in an act of 1752, Hening, vi, 271. See also, vii, 301, 612.

The parish was named in honour of the Northern Neck proprietor, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, who was baron of Cameron, and in 1748 had recently established his definite residence in Virginia.

The first parson of Cameron was John Andrews who received the King's bounty for Virginia April 17, 1749 (Fothergill) and still appears in the clergy lists of 1754 and 1755 (Perry). There is an amusing picture of him at the time of Braddock's expedition in *Mrs. Browne's Diary* (MS. Library of Congress).

[27] Hening, vii, 612. This apparently precipitated Cameron's long delayed demand in 1766 for a share in the Truro church plate and glebe (*Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, pp. 35, 38; Hening, viii, 202).

[28] *Old Churches*, ii, 273. Mr. Choate shows this church on his map and dates it 1746, but that seems a confusion with Rocky Run. More probably it was built in 1749, immediately after the organization of Cameron.

[29] The Frying Pan church is marked on the Choate map with the date 1790. The modern village of Floris, originally known as Frying Pan, identifies the site. See *post*, p. 432.

[30] *Fairfax parish*: Hening, viii, 43. The name, like that of Cameron, was a compliment to the proprietor of the Northern Neck.

[31] *Journals H. B.*, 1761-65, p. 341.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1761-65, pp. 308, 346, 363; Hening, viii, 157. There is a plot of this line of record in Fairfax, June 15, 1765. The net result of the final decision was to leave the entire Mt. Vernon estate in Truro. See Dr. E. L. Goodwin's lively discussion of the politics of the controversy, and the subsequent election of new vestries, in his edition of the *Truro Vestry Book*, p. 36.

[33] See Bishop Meade, ii, 256, and Charles A. Stewart, *Falls Church* (1913). Both of these authors used the Fairfax vestry book. Much history of that parish is preserved also in the cases arising out of the efforts to force a sale of the glebe after the Revolution, viz.: *Terrett* v. *Taylor* (1815), 9 Cranch, 43; *Mason* v. *Muncaster* (1824), 9 Wheaton, 445.

[34] He was probably Archibald Avon (or Avens) who received the King's bounty for Virginia February 10, 1767 (Fothergill), and, according to Bishop Meade, was preferred to Cameron parish in that year.

[35] *Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, p. 203, 211.

[36] *Shelburne parish: Ibid.*, 1770-72, p. 108; Hening, viii, 425. The name was a compliment to William Petty (1737-1805) Lord Shelburne, afterwards first Marquis of Landsdowne, whose liberal politics in relation to the American colonies during the anxious years, 1763-1768, won him the confidence of Virginia.

[37] *Selden v. Overseers* (1840), 11 Leigh, 127.

[38] *Old Churches*, ii, 207. Bishop Meade's record of the location of this church is confirmed by a petition from Prince William which was before the Assembly in September, 1744 (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 91), which refers to a site described as 'below Quantico warehouses and Quantico church.'

[39] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 89, 148, 325; Hening, v, 259. Unfortunately, the petitions do not survive, for the record in the Assembly shows there was some feeling.

[40] *Dettingen Parish*: The name was a by-product of a popular enthusiasm which soon passed into oblivion. 'A battle on land gained by English troops had not been known since the days of Marlborough,' says Wright in his *Caricature History of the Georges* (Second edition, 1868, p. 148), 'and the whole country resounded with exultation. Dettingen was in a moment the theme of every ambitious or popular scribbler, and pamphlets in prose and verse, ballads and songs and epigrams were showered upon the Duke.' The battle was fought June 27, 1743, and the act creating Dettingen parish was passed in September of the year following. This was the last honour shown the Duke of Cumberland in Prince William. The Scots population would not have suffered another, after Culloden.

[41] *The Hamilton-Dettingen line*: The Carter Broad Run tract of 12,285 acres, to which reference is made in the statute, lay at the foot of the Bull Run mountains on both sides of Broad Run, and is described in the land grant of 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 70) as 'beginning in the fork of Broad Run, running thence up the North Branch.' Jacob Smith had his land grant in 1725 (*N. N.*, A: 109) 'on the north side of Bull Run,' beginning at the Carter marked poplar which stood opposite the mouth of 'Muddy Lick' (Cf. Hening, vii, 478). John Young, who later gave his name to 'Young's Branch,' had his land grant in 1728 (*N. N.*, B: 13) on the upper waters of 'a branch of Bull Run called the Licking Branch.' The identification is established by the map which accompanied the 1782 petition of Cameron parish to be erected into a county (see *post*, pp. 329, 345) on which the Bull Run terminus of the Dettingen-Leeds boundary is designated 'Young's Branch.'

The Hamilton-Dettingen parish line was surveyed in June, 1745, by James Genn (the surveyor who in 1748 was the head of Lord Fairfax's corps in the Shenandoah Valley with which George Washington had his first engineering experience in the field) under the direction of George Byrn (see *ante.*, p. 263), and their report and plat remain among the Prince William records.

The location of this boundary by the modern student is curiously complicated by an erroneous survey of it made in 1829 by Thomas Nelson, jr., of which a plat is included as an inset in Mr. W. H. Brown's Prince William map of 1901. Here the line is so laid down as to place

the angle at the mouth of Cameron's Branch of Broad Run and the Bull Run terminus near the mouth of the Buck Hall branch. This is directly contradicted by the Genn survey, made when Dettingen was created.

[42] On April 17, 1752, the vestry of Dettingen advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (*W. & M. Quar.*, xii, 214), for bids for the construction of 'two Brick or Stone churches each to contain in the clear 1,800 Feet.' Five years later (1757) they were prosecuting suits against the contractors for 'their public buildings' (Hening, vii, 144).

[43] This was the second of the name. See *post*, p. 345.

[44] Hayden, p. 593.

[45] This is Bishop Meade's distressing testimony. See *post*, p. 696.

[46] In a grant of 1746 (*N. N.*, F: 264), there is a reference to 'the Chapel Road' near Elk Run. The 'Elk Run Church' was laid down by Dalrymple in 1755 on the Fry & Jefferson map.

[47] e. g. The Footes, Fitzhughs and other Chotankers of Brent Town, as well as their neighbours, the Blackwells, originally of Northumberland, for whom see Hayden, p. 266: *Va. Mag.*, xxii, 438.

[48] *James Keith* received the King's bounty to go to Virginia, March 4, 1728/29 (Fothergill). His first charge was of Curl's church in Henrico, where he ministered from 1730 until October, 1733, when he resigned to take the cure of Hamilton. See *History of Henrico Parish*, and the romantic story of his marriage in Beveridge, *John Marshall*.

[49] *John Brunskill* commanded in 1697 a ship in the Virginia trade (*W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 121), and in 1716 a parson of that name was established in Virginia. The latter made the report in 1724 for Wilmington parish in James City (for which see Hening, iv, 141) and, in 1756 'in the fortieth year of my ministry,' being then the incumbent of St. Margaret's in Caroline, he signs a protest to the Bishop of London against the famous 'option act' of 1755 which brought on the 'Parson's Cause.' See Perry, *Church Papers, Virginia*, pp. 199, 210, 277, 446.

[50] In his letter to the Bishop of London, July 23, 1753, Commissary Dawson reports, 'Mr. Brunskill officiates in Hamilton Parish, Prince William—Mr. Agnew's title,' but in 1754 and 1755 'John Brunskill, jr.,' is regularly listed as parson of Hamilton. In the latter year he served also the parishes of Raleigh and Nottoway, in Amelia. See Perry, pp., 406, 411, 414.

[51] *The Hamilton Glebes:* The original Hamilton glebe was in the vicinity of Elk Run Church and after the erection of Dettingen in 1744 was sold so that the proceeds might be divided (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 325.) A portion of the Germantown tract on Licking Run was then purchased for a new Hamilton glebe. The convenience of this site lay in its being about half way between Elk Run Church and Turkey Run Church. The conveyances were made in three parcels in June, July and October, 1746 by Tilman Weaver, Jacob Holtzclaw, John Rictor (sic.), Elizabeth Marr and Herman Fishback, to John Wright and Joseph Blackwell, church wardens (*Prince William D. B.*, I: 127, 158, 230). On his edition of the Fry & Jefferson map (1755), Dalrymple laid down this glebe as 'Brunskill's parsonage' to mark a station on the route there indicated as the Falmouth-Winchester road. Thence Thomas Jefferson transferred it as 'Glebe' to his map (1787). But meanwhile that glebe had been sold in 1770 in order to divide the capital invested in it with the new Leeds parish (*Fauquier D. B.*, 4:106) and a new one purchased for Hamilton. This last glebe, which was on the Marsh Road between

the modern villages of Liberty and Bealeton, was in turn sold in 1806 by the Overseers of the Poor after the disestablishment of the church (*Fauquier D. B.*, 16:634).

[52] The Prince William burgesses in 1757 were John Bell and Henry Peyton.

[53] Bishop Meade (ii, 217), refers to Brunskill's reputation and trial, calling him 'Joseph.' The full record of the proceeding may be found in Perry *Church Papers, Virginia,* p. 449, ff.

[54] Thus John Wright was a church warden of Hamilton in 1746, but his son became a Baptist. See *Tyler's Quar.*, iv. 260.

[55] *Old Churches,* ii, 217.

[56] *Turkey Run Church* stood on the Dumfries-Rappahannock road between the 'Alwington' and 'Fry Town' which are indicated on the Fauquier map of 1914. (See Fauquier Historical Society, *Bulletin No.* 1, 1920, p. 75). Being off Dalrymple's route to Winchester, it was not marked on the Fry & Jefferson map. As the tradition of the Fauquier Keiths is that Parson James Keith was buried under the altar of Turkey Run Church in 1751, it is probable that that church was in existence in 1755, if not in 1746, when the Hamilton glebe was purchased. It is specifically referred to in the Leeds parish petition of 1772.

[57] *Old Churches,* ii, 217.

[58] He was James Craig who is listed as parson of Hamilton in Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Almanac* as late as 1774.

[59] *Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, p. 195.

[60] *The Hamilton-Leeds line:* No contemporary survey of this line has come to light. In 1741 George Williams had a land grant on the north side of Rappahannock River (*N. N.*, E:443). On this clew Messrs. H. C. Groome, Alfred B. Horner and H. I. Hutton, of Warrenton, have traced the title through the Fauquier records to Jesse Williams, a son of the grantee, and from him to the present owner of the land, thus establishing the location of Jesse Williams' plantation, in which the Leeds line terminated; and, after a careful study of the ground, judge that the 'two red oaks' on the bank of the Rappahannock must have stood approximately opposite the mouth of the Culpeper stream marked on the Fry & Jefferson map, 1755, as Negro Run, and still so known locally.

[61] *Leeds parish: Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, p. 354; Hening, viii, 403. The name was taken from Leeds manor, a large part of which was in the new parish. It may be noted that the boundary line ran through the southern limits of the Fauquier Court House settlement afterwards known as Warrenton, but left Turkey Run Church in Hamilton. In view of the subsequent controversy this is significant, as most of the vestrymen of Leeds who objected to being included in Hamilton were residents of the Fauquier Court House village.

[62] Hening, viii, 428.

[63] *Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, pp. 125, 255, 269; Hening, viii, 625.

[64] *Old Churches,* ii, 219. Bishop Meade adds that the parson of Leeds was a Scot, James Thompson (1739-1812), who came to Virginia in 1768 and served as a tutor in the family of Col. Thomas Marshall, went to England for orders in 1769 and returned to minister in Leeds parish for the remainder of his life. He married a daughter of Nimrod Farrow of Leeds Manor (whose name remains on the map at Farrowsville) and lived on the glebe 'near Salem,' *i. e.*, in Whitewood, north of The Plains.

[65] Hening, xii, 84.

[66] All the legislation is conveniently arrayed in B. W. Leigh's *Code of* 1819, i, 77.

[67] Hening, xii, 27. For subsequent amendments see *Code,* 1819, ii, 264. Under the constitution of 1851 these districts became the territorial units from which justices of the peace were elected. After a brief masquerade as 'townships' during reconstruction, they ultimately became, under the constitution of 1874, the present day 'magisterial districts.' For the origin of the office of 'overseer of the poor' see *ante.,* note 5.

[68] *The Magisterial districts:* Until 1857 the new districts were designated only by numbers, but then was adopted the practice of giving them names. These were generally taken from the principal villages, or from some geographical feature, with a sprinkling of compliment to local dignitaries. The list of names is now printed in each volume of the session laws, e. g., *Acts* 1924, p. 785:

Prince William: Dumfries, Occoquan, Coles, Brentsville, Manassas, Gainesville.

Fairfax: Falls Church, Providence, Dranesville, Mount Vernon, Lee, Centreville.

Loudoun: Broad Run, Jefferson, Mount Gilead, Mercer, Lovettsville, Leesburg.

Fauquier: Centre, Scott, Marshall, Lee (formerly Rappahannock), Cedar Run.

Arlington: Washington, Arlington, Jefferson.

Sir William Keith (1730?) 1738.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Counties and Their Court Houses

WE have seen how the entire Northern Neck was laid out as a county in 1648 and that the earliest population soon separated into two communities, on the Potomac and the Rappahannock. This natural consequence of the geography of the territory and the amphibious habits of the seventeenth century Virginians was necessarily followed by political separation also. In 1651 that part of Northumberland fronting on the Rappahannock was set off in a new county—Lancaster.[1] Thereafter, as the settlements extended northward, other counties were in turn cut off from Northumberland and Lancaster, fronting always on the Potomac and Rappahannock, respectively. In this way were erected successively the Potomac counties of Westmoreland (1653)[2] and Stafford (1664)[3] and the Rappahannock counties of Rappahannock (1656 and after 1692, Richmond)[4] and King George (1721).[5] The interior boundary between them was never specified in the acts creating these counties. The Assembly assumed, what doubtless seemed to it to be an obvious fact, that there was a drainage ridge of poor land (or 'forest' as it was called) between the two great rivers, which constituted a natural frontier, so that all lands on the streams flowing into those rivers appertained to the several counties fronting on them respectively.[6]

Prince William

When the seating of the piedmont began, after 1722, the spread of population in Stafford soon occasioned a demand for the carving, from its vast area, of a new frontier county. In 1726 this was nearly accomplished. A bill was then ordered to divide Stafford at Aquia creek and create above that boundary

a county, to be named *Hartford,* but after debate the proposal was rejected.[7] The demand persisted. In May, 1730, it had become so insistent that the Assembly felt obliged to yield; but secured the assent of the Council only by an agreement contemporaneously to erect the territory into a new parish, with a provision that this lesser jurisdiction should be given several months of experimental operation before the county government was launched. On this basis two bills, one for a parish and the other for a county, proceeded together through the Assembly and became law on the same day, July 9, 1730.[8] But by its terms the act creating Hamilton parish was to take effect on January 1, 1730/1, while the county act was postponed three months further, or until the ensuing new year's day; which was March 25, 1731, according to the calendar then in use.

This act provided that,

'all the lands on the head of the said Counties, above Chopawansick Creek on Potomac River, and Deep Run on Rappahannock River, and a southwest line to be made from the head of the north branch of the said creek, to the head of the said Deep run . . . be made a distinct county, and shall be called and known by the name of Prince William County."[9]

This description is specifically interesting as recording the Assembly's appreciation of two facts (*a*) that once the falls were passed, the geology of the country changed so that the further projection of the old Northern Neck interior boundary line ceased to be naturally appropriate[10] and (*b*) that the bounds of the Northern Neck proprietary were still uncertain.

On this last point it will be observed that no northern or western limits were set for the new county. It was clearly the intention of the Assembly that those boundaries should ultimately be the Blue Ridge and the north fork of the Rappahannock; for those landmarks were then believed in Virginia to be the extreme boundaries of the proprietary; but the Assembly did not feel confident enough in its own opinion to say so. On the other hand, Col. Carter, the agent for the

proprietary, maintained that the Culpeper charter of 1688 included all lands drained by the waters of the Potomac and the Rappahannock. When Governor Gooch learned how far south the Shenandoah headed, he vigorously denounced this claim as a preposterous inversion of relative rights.[11] Pending a determination of the issue thus joined, both parties stood their ground. In September, 1730, Col. Carter boldly described as in Stafford the grants on the Shenandoah which he took out for himself and his son-in-law, Mann Page;[12] while contemporaneously the Virginia government proceeded to limit the jurisdiction of Prince William by indirection. Spotsylvania had been defined as marching on the north fork of the Rappahannock, and thence across the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah River. When, in 1734, Orange[13] was cut off from Spotsylvania, these limits were vaguely extended: the boundaries of Orange were declared to be 'northerly by the grant of the Lord Fairfax and Westerly by the utmost limits of Virginia.' This left a discreet record; but, practically, Orange at once assumed jurisdiction not only of all the disputed territory in the Great and Little Forks of the Rappahannock, but also of all the lower Valley beyond the Blue Ridge.[14] In 1738 this usurpation was avowed and retracted by the Assembly in erecting Frederick.[15] That new county was declared to include the territory, *'at present deemed to be part of the county of Orange,* lying on the northwest side of the top of the said mountains,' north of a line 'from the head spring of Hedgman's river to the head spring of the river Potowmack.' This new boundary showed what the Assembly now believed, as the result of Northern Neck survey of 1736, would be the adjudicated bounds of that proprietary: it was contemplated that Frederick should be within the Fairfax domain. Finally, after Lord Fairfax had prevailed and had established his boundary on the *south* fork of the Rappahannock (i. e., the Rapidan and the Conway), and thence to the head spring of the north fork of the Potomac (the Fairfax Stone), Orange was, in 1748, withdrawn south of this line. Culpeper was then created[16] to include the Great and

Little Forks of the Rappahannock, i. e., the territory between the Rapidan and the Hedgman, thus to march on Hedgman's River with Prince William, as it does with Fauquier today. By these devious, but historically interesting, processes[17] were the boundaries of Prince William ultimately established.

And so in the fourth generation of descent from Northumberland, but as the first of those descendants once more to extend its jurisdiction without interruption from the Potomac to the Rappahannock, the old Prince William of our study came into existence.

A few days in advance of the taking effect of the Prince William act, Governor Gooch proceeded to organize the new county.[18] Thomas Harrison of Chipawansic[19] was designated County Lieutenant, and Catesby Cocke,[20] son of a former Secretary of the colony and himself trained in the Secretary's office at Williamsburg, was appointed Clerk. A month later a commission of the peace was issued and other dispositions made, as appears from the following entries in the Council Journal:[21]

1731, *April 27.* 'The Governor, with the advice of the Council, is pleas'd to nominate Justices of the peace for the new erected County of Prince William, viz: Thomas Harrison, Dennis McCarty, Will[m] Linton, Francis Awbry, Robert Jones, Burr Harrison & Moses Quarles of the Quorum; and Leonard Barker, Wm. Harrison, Valentine Barker, John Wright, John Allen, Will[m] Hackney and Joseph Hudnal, Gent.;[22] and also to appoint Robt. Jones, Gent. Sheriff of the said County of Prince William for the ensuing year.[23]

'Ordered that the Surveyor[24] of Prince William County do, as soon as conveniently may be, run and mark the dividing line from Chappawamseek to Deep Run to ascertain the bounds between the said County and those of Stafford and King George, pursuant to the Act of Assembly.

'On application of the inhabitants of Prince William for considering the place where the court of the said county ought to be held, It is ordered that the court of the said county be held on the upper side of Occoquan River near the ferry

landing, and that the justices of the said county take care that a court house, prison, pillory and stocks according to law be erected at that place with all convenient speed.'

There is no subsequent action of the Council modifying the designation thus made of the site of the first court house of Prince William until 1742, but it does not appear that the order was carried out literally. In 1731 'the upper side of Occoquan River near the ferry' had been for a year the site of the parish church of Hamilton parish and was a natural place for the court house, but the evidence points to the fact that the public buildings actually built were at the Occoquan *lower* ferry landing. It was here that the second George Mason owned a plantation subsequently known as Woodbridge. On the organization of Prince William he leased it to John Mercer of Marlboroughtown, and when that lease fell in, George Mason's widow renewed the lease in 1737, specifically excepting the ferry and 'the Court House and prison.'[25] On John Warner's Northern Neck map of that same year 1737 the Court House is duly marked on the lower side of Occaquan.

Since this original court house was established, Prince William has four times removed her seat of justice.

The first move was after the county had been docked by the creation of Fairfax in 1742. It was natural that the back country (later Fauquier), which was then rapidly filling up, should take that opportunity to demand a court house more conveniently accessible to the new planters. It seems to have been agreed that this was fair and that the new site should be somewhere on Cedar Run, but there was difficulty in agreeing upon the exact location. Five sites were proposed, the Governor felt unable to decide between them, and, ultimately, it was necessary to go to arbitration. The following entries in the Council Journal[26] reveal the debate and the decision, viz:

1742, *June* 19. 'Ordered that the Court house of Prince William be at a place called Brent Town, belonging to Richard Foot.'[27]

October 20. 'On reading the petition of several of the inhabitants of Prince William County in relation to the appointment of a proper place for their court house, and hearing Richard Blackburn and Thomas Harrison, jun^r^, Gent., and inspecting the plan of the said county as it will remain after the division shall take place, It is the opinion of this Honble Board that [the Court house of the said county be placed either at Brent Town, Hoomes, Tacquets Ford, Watkins, or Waters, as the Governor shall appoint on viewing the plan[28]] it shall be referred to Col. Henry Fitzhugh, Col. William Fairfax and Col. John Colvil to view the several places proposed for building the court house of the said county, and report to the Governor which they think most convenient for that purpose.

December 15. 'By an order of Council, held at the Capitol October 22, (*sic*) 1742, it was referred to Col. Henry Fitzhugh, Col. William Fairfax and Col. John Colvil to view the several places proposed for fixing the court house of Prince William County and to report to the Governor which they thought the most convenient for that purpose, In obedience to which order they met at the Iron Mines at Niapsco and, having heard all parties and evidences, are of opinion that Philemon Waters' plantation is the most convenient place to fix the court house for the said county, And have accordingly given the same under their hands, dated 23d, Novr., 1742, Which, being approved on by the Board, It is ordered that the court house for the county of Prince William be erected at the plantation of Philemon Waters accordingly.'

Led by local tradition, Mr. George C. Round of Prince William explored in 1911 the site so selected and identified it on the farm known as Ashmore, lying north and east of the modern village of Orlando.[29] This second court house stood in the forks of the Dumfries road and so was accessible not only from tidewater but from all parts of the inhabited back country.

When Prince William was docked a second time, in 1759, and Fauquier was erected, Dumfries was in the full swing of her largest prosperity, and at once made a bid for the court house. The argument was persuasive that the town was the commercial centre of the county, and the site of the parish church; and, moreover, since the area of the county had been reduced, had become more convenient of access to the majority of the inhabitants than the site on Cedar Run. The

change was made accordingly. The authority for it was the action of the Council on June 13, 1759,[30] viz:

'The Board this day having taken under consideration the most commodious Place for fixing the Court House for Prince William County, it was the opinion of the Council and accordingly, Ordered that the Court House for the said County be established in the Town of Dumfries, and that in the meantime the Courts be held in the old Place.'

The loss of the Prince William records of this time leaves no evidence of the date of the actual transfer. The earliest surviving record is an incidental reference, in the summer of 1761,[31] to a court house then established at Dumfries. It seems probable, therefore, that that building was constructed immediately after the Council's order and that the court moved into it in the spring of 1760.

After the decay of Dumfries the centre of gravity of the county shifted again. The country on either side of Broad Run, above the confluence with Cedar, had now become the most populous part of the county, and included the land owners of the largest political influence.[32] In 1822 this community succeeded in having the court house moved again and brought to its doors. A fourth site was accordingly found on the main stem of the Dumfries road leading to Thoroughfare gap. This was a part of the Bristow tract of 'Brent Town' then vested in the Commonwealth,[33] and here a new court house was authorized in 1820. Two years later, as the transfer was made, a town was established about this court house, under the name Brentsville.[34]

Prince William court remained here thenceforth until 1893, when the inconvenience of the distance of Brentsville from a railroad accomplished the final removal to the fifth site at Manassas.[35]

Meanwhile the diminished Prince William had for a season re-asserted her original dignity in the matter of dispensing

justice for the whole territory which had once been included within her boundaries. When, in 1788,[36] Virginia established a system of superior District Courts to be held throughout her territory by judges of the General Court, one of the districts was made up of the four northern counties, Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun and Prince William, and the seat of that District Court was established at Dumfries. Ten years later, in 1799, it was urged upon the Assembly that Dumfries was 'not only remote from the centre of the District but inconvenient to suitors;' whereupon commissioners were appointed to establish, at the expense of the four counties, a more convenient common forum.[37] These commissioners pitched upon Haymarket as the site[38] and there, on lands of William Skinker, built a court house, clerk's office and jail; which were thenceforth occupied until, in 1807, the District Court was converted[39] into a Circuit Court to be held periodically at every county seat, as is still the practice. The court house at Haymarket then fell into disuse and soon was sold;[40] when it was converted into the still standing church. While this building was a temple of Themis, Bishop Meade[41] had an experience at Haymarket which resulted in a characteristic passage in his book: 'A race course once adjoined the court house and in preaching there in former days I have on a Sabbath seen, from the court house bench on which I stood, the horses in training for the sport which was at hand. Those times have, I trust, passed away for ever.'

Fairfax

The decade following the organization of Prince William was a period of vigorous young life in that community. The Scots merchants established themselves on the Quantico and Hunting Creek, the long depressed price of tobacco rose, and the seated area steadily widened towards the Blue Ridge. But there were growing pains in the process. The Irish ex-servants, who were multiplying as freeholders in the back country, had not yet been assimilated as Virginians and were a politically disturbing element. It was they who precipitated the armed insurrection

against the warehouse law in 1732,[42] and it was they who animated the long seated Potomac river men with that sentiment of sectionalism which was now evident at every session of Prince William court. The politicians like Thomas Osborne, who courted the new citizens for their votes, found to their cost that the old planters, lead by Thomas Harrison of Chipawansic, were arrayed against them;[43] and retorted by exasperating the county court into indiscretions for which in turn the justices were necessarily punished.[44] From the point of view of the government at Williamsburg, Prince William was, for these considerations, not unjustly deemed a turbulent community. It was natural, then, that the effort, which persisted throughout this period, to divide the county, should find little sympathy in the Assembly. Undoubtedly Governor Gooch and the Council said, when those proposals came up, that they had enough frontier troubles without multiplying them, and would reject any bill which attempted the creation of a new county jurisdiction until there should be someone resident therein on whom they could rely. And so it was that propositions from Prince William for a division were disallowed by the Assembly in 1732, 1736, 1738 and 1740.[45] On the first occasion a new parish of Truro was created, but this is as far as the legislature would advance. On the last occasion the proposition was postponed to the next session, which it was expected would be held in December, 1740; but before that time Governor Gooch had departed on the Cartagena expedition and there was no further opportunity to act until May, 1742, after the Governor's return.

During the interval, William Fairfax[46] moved his residence from King George to Belvoir on the Potomac, and immediately began to take an active hand in the affairs of Prince William. Appointed at once to be 'first' in the commission of the peace and so authorized to preside in Prince William Court, he next offered himself for election as a burgess in the new Assembly which Gooch called in February, 1741/2. At the election he headed the poll, his colleague then chosen being Thomas Har-

rison;[47] and the two went to Williamsburg with a mandate to bring about the long pending separation into two counties.

At the March court of 1742 two new propositions for the division of the county had been certified to the Assembly. These differed on the principle of sectionalism,[48] viz:

(a) 'for dividing the County by a Line to be drawn from the head of Chippowamsick to the Head of Difficult Run.'

(b) 'for dividing the County in the same manner as the Parishes in the said County are divided.'

The first was for the creation of a purely Potomac river county which would exclude most of the back inhabitants; the second for a natural development such as had been contemplated from the original organization of Prince William. It does not appear which proposition William Fairfax himself advocated, but it is clear that he was intent in any event on securing such a division as would assure his own immediate neighbours of a surcease from the problem of the 'back inhabitants.' On the organization of the House of Burgesses he was appointed a member of the Committee on Propositions and Grievances and sat with it in the consideration of the two propositions he had brought down with him. The first was rejected, but the second was held reasonable, thus at last assuring the ambition of the residents above Occaquan, but tying Thomas Harrison and the Quantico men to the back-country Irish. A bill to give effect to this decision was introduced on May 18th and, after some amendments by the Council, was approved by the Governor and became law on June 19, 1742.[49]

By this act the new county of Fairfax was defined as coterminous with the pre-existing Truro parish, that is to say, it included all that part of Prince William which was above

'Occoquan and Bull Run, and from the head of the main branch of Bull Run by a straight course to the Thoroughfare of the Blue Ridge of Mountains known by the name of Ashby's Gap or Bent.'

The difference in the description after ten years, significant of the spread of population, was a specification of the terminal 'Indian thoroughfare' by an English name.[50]

The books containing the minutes of Fairfax court prior to 1754 are missing and there is thus no surviving record of the details of the organization of the county. As William Fairfax qualified as the first County Lieutenant and presiding justice in the county court, the date of organization may be deduced from his Northern Neck grant books, where it appears that he began to describe land as in the County of Fairfax with a grant dated November 2, 1742.[51] Lewis Elzey was the first sheriff and Catesby Cocke, transferred from Prince William, the first clerk.[52] There is a tradition that the organization was effected on the Occoquan,[53] which fits in with the probabilities, and it seems likely that those who took part were the justices, resident in Fairfax, who had been included in the last previous Prince William commission, viz: William Fairfax, John Colvill, Richard Osborne, Jeremiah Bronaugh, Lewis Elzey, William Payne, Thomas Pearson and John Minor. The first commission for Fairfax,[54] designated them of the quorum in a court which included also William Henry Terret, John Gregg, Gerard Alexander, Edward Barry, Daniel Jenings and Thomas Arbuthnot.

Meanwhile, on the same day the act creating Fairfax was approved (June 19, 1742), the Council[55]

> 'Ordered, that the Court House of Fairfax County be built at a Place called Spring Field, situated between the New Church and Ox Roads, in the Branches of Difficult Run, Hunting Creek and Accotinck.'

The 'place called Spring Field,' so referred to, was happily named. It was a tract[56] of 1429 acres of land on which were collected the sources of Accotink, Wolf Trap of Difficult, Pimmet's and Scott's runs. Including thus a portion of the valley between the eastern and middle ridges of Fairfax, it extended to the northern plateau of the former, now known as Freedom Hill, and there the court house was built. The selection of the particular site undoubtedly turned on the fact that it was a natural station on what was in 1742 the main highway of the new county, the 'New Church [or the eastern ridge] road'

named, in the Council order, which lead from Hunting Creek, via Falls Church, to that northernmost gap in the Blue Ridge which may then already have been known as 'Key's' but was later to become 'Vestal's.'[57] Probably no place more generally accessible to the whole county (which, of course, then included the settlements on Goose Creek and Catoctin) could have been found. Here the Fairfax court was to remain for ten years and thereafter leave its memory as a landmark.

After Alexandria had been established, that enterprising community launched a movement to draw thither the seat of county administration. In the face of the opposition of the upper inhabitants, it offered to build a new court house by subscription and so save the county any expense by the move. This turned the decision. The earliest evidence is a resolution of the Committee on Propositions and Grievances in the Assembly, recorded March 10, 1752,[58] as follows:

'Resolved that it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Proposition from the County of Fairfax, in opposition to the Proposition from that County for appointing the Court of the said County to be held in the Town of Belhaven, be rejected.'

At the ensuing meetings of the Council the proposal came before that Board and was, in due course, approved by the following resolutions:[59]

1752, March 23. 'A petition subscribed by many of the principal inhabitants of Fairfax County for removing the court house and prison of that county to the town of Alexandria, which they propose to build by subscription, was this day read, Ordered that the justices of the said county be acquainted therewith and required to signify their objection against such removal, if they have any, by the 25th of next month, on which day the Board will resume the consideration thereof.'

April 25. 'Upon the petition of many of the inhabitants of Fairfax County for removing the court house and prison of the said county by subscription to the town of Alexandria, the Board being satisfy'd that it is generally desired by the people, and on notice given, no objection being made to it, Ordered that the court house and prison be removed accordingly to the town of Alexandria.'

Governor Dinwiddie thereupon issued his proclamation, as was reported in the *Virginia Gazette* on April 30, 1752,[60] and so the transfer was accomplished.

The first session of Fairfax court to be held at Alexandria was on May 3, 1752,[61] and there it remained for nearly half a century. The second court house, so established, stood on the east side of the Market Square, facing Fairfax Street between Cameron and King, nearly opposite to the Carlyle House. There was some delay in completing it. On December 19, 1754, the Trustees of Alexandria entered in their minutes[62] an order

'that John Carlyle, John Dalton, George Johnston and William Ramsay do what is further to be done towards finishing of the Court House.'

By 1788 this second court house had fallen into decay. When the question of repairing or rebuilding it was under consideration there arose a point of constitutional law as to the right of the County Court to 'levy tobacco' for the cost of the work. Virginia had then only recently achieved her estate as a sovereign Commonwealth and precedents were in the making. At the January court, 1789,[63] George Mason objected that, under the Virginia Bill of Rights, the power of taxation in such cases had been taken from the County Court, and was sustained in his position only by the close vote of 12 to 10.[64] Application was accordingly made to the Assembly for power to act.

By the time this question came before the legislature in the December of 1789, Virginia had passed her 'act of cession'[65] to the federal government of a site for the proposed national Capitol and there was the possibility that Alexandria might be excluded from Fairfax County. The action taken by the Assembly, therefore, took the form of an 'Act for altering the place of holding courts in the county of Fairfax.'[66] By this it was provided that a new court house should be erected by the county; and the site was specified to be in the vicinity of Ravensworth.

'on the lands of William Fitzhugh, gentleman, or on the lands of any other person within one mile of the cross roads at Price's Ordinary.'

The cross roads so selected seems to have been the junction of the east and west main road leading from Alexandria to Newgate (now called the 'Braddock' road) with either the 'Ravensworth Rolling road' leading south, or nearby with the 'Guinea road' leading north.[67] A preliminary survey of the prescribed terrain failed to reveal a suitable location, so at the February and April courts of 1790 it was ordered that compliance with the act of 1789 should be postponed until commissioners could report the result of a thorough study. At the May court this action was confirmed and it was ordered that the whole question be sent back to the Assembly upon the following report:

'The Comrs. appointed to view the land within one mile of Cross Roads at Price's Ordinary, and to treat with proprietors of the price of two acres whereon to erect a Court House, Prison, Pillory and Stock, returned the following report:

'In obedience to an order of the Worshipfull Court of Fairfax County, we, the subscribers, met at the house of Mrs. Price on Monday, the third day of the instant, and the question being put how we were to ascertain the mile mentioned in the order of court whether by a straight line, or measurement as the road now goes, it was determined the line ought to be run as the road, we plainly discerning the impracticability of the road being removed, either to the right or left of its present course, etc. We accordingly proceeded to lay off the mile, beginning at the centre of the cross roads at Price's and run northeasterly course nearly with the road, except in such places as the Commissioners were of opinion the present road may be straight[ened] and its course shortened; and we found our distance of one (1) mile from Price's to [be] one chain short of the place of Benoni Price said to be where the Ravensworth line crosses the road, which makes 322 poles to the land of Mrs. May West; which was viewed with great attention, and could find no proper situation for erecting public buildings thereon, there being no good water within four hundred yards, from the best information from the people living on the land. It being suggested to us that the land of Thomas Gratford, Jr., was

within one mile of Price's, we went and viewed the said ground and enquired of the tenant if the water was good and convenient to the place where we were viewing, and he informed us there was no good water near his house, and that he drank rain water. Therefore, we conceived it improper to erect a Court House, Jail, etc. We then taking into consideration the whole of the business, that the mile ended on the land of the heirs of Henry Fitzhugh, upon which a good site cannot be obtained, and secondly that the situation is but indifferent having no natural advantages for public buildings, thirdly that the situation on Thomas Gratford's land more exceptionable than the others, foreseeing the great expense that would attend removing the public roads nearly a mile from the present grounds, and greatly to the injury of individuals, we therefore make our report that we have no proper place within one mile of the cross roads from Price's which at present can be had or obtainable to erect a Court House, and gaol upon; and of course thought any applications to the proprietors unnecessary [as we] could find no proper situation for erecting public buildings.'

Thenceforth the question of removal dragged for ten years. The condition of the court house in Alexandria meanwhile became such that in November, 1790, the court recorded it to be 'unfit to transact business in at this time,' and 'until a decision of the several applications to the Legislature of this State is known, respecting the removal of the court house from the town of Alexandria,' they felt it necessary to move into temporary quarters. To this end the court did 'accept of the new court house over the market on the court house lot, offered to the County Court of Fairfax by the co-operation of the town of Alexandria.'[68] At last, in 1798, the Assembly acted.[69] After first restoring to Fairfax all that part of Cameron parish in Loudoun which lay above

'a line drawn from the mouth of Sugar Land run to Carter's Mill on Bull run,'[70]

the Fairfax court was required

'to fix a place for holding court therein at or near the centre thereof, having regard to that part of Loudoun hereby added to the said County of Fairfax.'

This, of course, made necessary a site north of that proposed at Price's Ordinary. At this time the 'Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Road Company' was locating the new road to the Valley, which, after 1802, was to be known as the Little River Turnpike and was destined to become the main artery of the county leading out of Alexandria. The Fairfax Court had no difficulty in finding, at the junction of this new road with the Ox road, a site which satisfied the last requirement of the Assembly. Accordingly, on June 27, 1799, they took title at this cross roads to two acres of land by conveyance of Richard Radcliffe,[71] on which to erect a court house and other buildings 'in pursuance of an Act of legislature'; and here was erected the third and, after an hundred and twenty years, the still existing Fairfax Court House.[72] The necessary buildings were completed and occupied in 1800[73] in time for the Fairfax Court to remove from Alexandria before that town passed under the jurisdiction of the federal government and became part of the District of Columbia.[74]

Loudoun

After Cameron parish had been in existence for six years, its inhabitants petitioned the Assembly (October, 1754) to erect them into an independent county. This petition was deferred to the next session and then, after a motion for further delay had been adopted, a bill was introduced and passed, only to be thrown out by the Council.[75] Nothing daunted, the 'upper inhabitants' of Fairfax renewed their petition to the next Assembly and were again told to wait.[76] At last, in April, 1757, a bill was introduced, which, after determined opposition from the Tidewater, passed both House and Council and became law, June 8, 1757.[77] By this act the original proposal to dock Fairfax by the parish lines was modified and a new county, to be named Loudoun,[78] was erected north of a boundary defined as

'above Difficult run, which falls into Potowmack river and by a line to be run from the head of the said run a straight course to the mouth of Rocky run.'

Meanwhile, in anticipation of the approval of the bill, the Council had, on May 24, 1757,[79] issued a commission of the peace

'for Loudoun, and that the following Gentlemen be in it, viz: Anthony Russell, Fielding Turner, James Hamilton, Aeneas Campbell, Nicholas Minor, William West, of the Quorum, Richard Coleman, Josias Clapham, George West, Charles Tyler, John Moss, Francis Peyton and John Mucklehany [sic].'

This court was organized on July 12, 1757, when Aeneas Campbell qualified as Sheriff and Charles Binns, as Clerk.[80] The Governor evidently had some difficulty in selecting a County Lieutenant, for it was not until December 1757 that he issued a commission. The choice fell on young Francis Lightfoot Lee, one of the sons of President Thomas Lee, who now established himself on some of his father's lands which fell into the new county; a little later he was named also 'first' in the commission of the peace.[81]

It does not appear where the Loudoun court held its earliest meetings.[82] It was not until the summer of 1758 that the site for the court house was selected. The Council minutes[83] show that that question was first considered on May 3, 1758,

'Upon a Motion made and agreed to for Reasons appearing to the Board, it is Ordered that the Consideration of establishing the Court House for Loudoun County be postponed to the Day after the next Court of Oyer and Terminer, and that the Clerk write to the Sheriff requiring him to give notice to the Parties concerned to Attend.'

In pursuance of this notice the decision was made on June 15, 1758:

'The Council having this Day taken under Consideration the most proper Place for establishing the Court House of Loudoun County, it appearing to them that the Plantation of Captain Nicholas Minor was the most convenient place and agreeable to the Generalty of the People in that County, it was their opinion, and accordingly Ordered, That the Court House for the said County be fixed on the Land of the said Minor.'

The site selected was an obviously convenient one, as well to the Quakers on Catoctin Creek as to the Potomac river and Goose creek men, for it was the cross roads formed by the junction of the 'Mountain road' leading from Alexandria to Key's (*alias* Vestal's) gap of the Blue Ridge with the 'Carolina road' leading southwest from the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy (later Noland's ferry). During the ensuing summer, Nicholas Minor[84] proceeded to lay out, in streets and lots, his land surrounding the site so selected for the court house, and, by an act of Assembly approved October 12, 1758,[85] it was provided:

'Whereas Nicholas Minor, of the county of Loudoun, gentleman, hath laid off sixty acres of his land adjoining to the court house of the said county, into lots with proper streets for a town, many of which lots are sold and improvements made thereon, be it enacted that the land so laid off . . . be and the same is hereby erected and established a town and shall be called by the name of Leesburg.'

The unusual language of the Council minute that the Loudoun court house should be '*fixed* on the land of the said Minor,' was prophetic. Before June 11, 1761,[86] the first court house was duly built on lots numbers 27 and 28 on the plat of Leesburg and there its successors have remained from that day to this,[87] a conservative accomplishment which is unique among the court houses of old Prince William.

In the economic depression of the lower tidewater region, which ensued upon the Revolution, several families, long established in the lower counties of the Northern Neck, transferred their residence to lands in what was then Loudoun, for which their fathers and grandfathers had taken grants. This migration, including Carters, Turbervilles, Lees, Balls, Eskridges and Berkeleys, determined what became locally known as the 'cavalier' character of the neighbourhood which reached from the branches of Cub Run and the Horsepen of Broad (including the Carter 'Frying Pan' lands) to the Little River

water gap at the north end of the Bull Run Mountain. The transplanted habit of life and of agriculture of this society was so markedly different from that of the Quakers on Catoctin that there soon developed misunderstandings in the conduct of the county administration of Loudoun. The 'cavaliers,' finding they could no longer control the local government, as their fathers had been wont to do in their communities, then brought forward a proposal to erect Cameron parish into a new county south of Goose creek and Little river. In November, 1782,[88] the Assembly had before it a numerously signed petition to that end, which included a plan to round out a boundary on the Bull Run Mountain by taking over the upper end of Prince William, above Chestnut Lick Run. It was argued with some show of justice that the size of Loudoun, as it then stood, 'renders it extremely difficult to attend the county court and calls of state, many of your petitioners having upwards of twenty-five miles to the court house' at Leesburg. A bait was held out for the acquiescence of the Quakers in an offer to waive all claim to 'the Court House and publick Buildings in the Town of Leesburg on the North Side of Gooscreek,' and to build a court house for the proposed new county by subscription. But the Quakers, confident of their power in the new republican *regime,* would not agree to release so many important contributors to the cost of local government, and nothing came of the project at the moment. The agitation continued, however, and was the spring of a compromise reached in 1798.[89] Then, as we have already noted, the territory of Cameron was divided. A new southern boundary for Loudoun was defined and all the lands below the mouth of Sugarland Run and Carter's mill on Bull Run were restored to Fairfax. The majority of the 'cavaliers' were thus divorced from the Quakers. It does not appear whether they found the post-revolutionary society of Fairfax more to their taste, but, it is certain that they did not find in it an asylum from democracy. They proved quite unable to revive the habits and customs of the golden age of Mt. Vernon, and they soon found themselves even here surrounded by 'foreigners' who cared no more for the Virginia

tradition than did the Quakers on Catoctin. These new comers on the other hand were in sufficient numbers, and evinced such a glacier like persistency of character, that eventually they were able to shape the community civilization to their standards.[90]

Thus was the new Fairfax aligned with the diminished Loudoun as a land of 'farms' where once had been 'plantations.'

Fauquier

In the spring of 1755, while Braddock was in camp at Alexandria preparing to march to his destruction, and John Marshall was still in his mother's womb, the 'back inhabitants' of the twice docked parish of Hamilton, felt that the time had come for the erection of a county of their own. The tidewater men of Dettingen were quite willing to end an association which had always irked them. It remained necessary only to convince the government at Williamsburg that the privilege had been earned. A petition for a new county was accordingly presented to the Assembly in May, 1755, and a bill was authorized to give it effect. The House of Burgesses promptly passed this bill, but the Council, still lacking confidence in the character of the 'back inhabitants,' refused assent; as contemporaneously it refused to approve a similar bill relating to Cameron parish.[91] In April, 1757, this petition was renewed; but this time a counter petition from Dettingen, representing that there was proposed an undue reduction of the number of tithables in Prince William, caused the bill to be rejected in the House.[92] When the petition was renewed the third time, in September, 1758, still further opposition developed. A series of counter petitions from Fairfax and Loudoun, obviously fishing in troubled waters, then urged that the territory between Bull Run and the Bull Run Mountains be divided between those counties; while Dettingen Parish contended that the docked Prince William be protected to the extent of an assurance of at least 2,000 tithables.[93] The net result of this discussion was delay in the realization of Hamilton's ambition. The bill for a new county was not introduced until March 17, 1759, but it was

Francis Fauquier, Esquire (1704-1768)

then promptly pushed through, and became law on the April 14th following.[94] By this act a new county of Fauquier[95] was carved out of Prince William above a boundary[96] described as

'a line to be run from the head of Bull run and along the top of Bull run mountain to Chapman's mill[97] in Broad run thoroughfare: from thence by a direct line to the head of Dorrell's run; and from thence by a direct line till it intersects the nearest part of the line dividing Stafford and Prince William counties.'

The first commission of the peace for Fauquier was authorized by the Council, May 7, 1759,[98] and included, of course, a number of the justices who had previously sat in Prince William court. The roster was 'Thomas Harrison,[99] Joseph Blackwell, John Wright, William Blackwell, John Frogg, John Bell, William Eustace, John Churchill, William Grant, [of the quorum], John Crump, Duff Green, Yelverton Peyton, Thomas Marshall, George Lambkin, Wharton Ransdell, Elias Edmonds, Thomas McClennahan, and Richard Foote, Gent.' A majority of these justices organized the new court on May 24, 1759, when Henry Churchill[100] qualified as County Lieutenant; Joseph Blackwell, as Sheriff; and Humphrey Brooke as Clerk.[101]

It remained to establish a court house. The local tradition is that the organization meeting was held at a private house in the vicinity of Elk Run Church. At that meeting the new court certified to the Governor its opinion,

'that the plantation of John Duncan is the most proper and convenient place for a Court House of this County';[102]

but when the Council acted on June 13, 1759,[103] the decision was that

'upon considering the most proper place for establishing the Court House of Fauquier County; for Reasons appearing to the Board, it is, Ordered That the Court House of the said County be fixed on the Land appertaining to Richard Henry Lee, Esq.'

The site so selected was on the Rappahannock branch of the Dumfries road[104] within the limits of President Thomas Lee's 'Great Run tract,' which had now descended to his son, the soon-to-be famous Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly in Westmoreland.

The first court held on the Lee lands was on June 25, 1759, 'in the house of William Jones.' Since then three court house sites, all in close proximity, have been successively occupied by buildings erected in 1760, 1762 and 1790. On the last and still use site, new buildings were constructed in 1853 and 1889.[105]

When the original court house was established, Andrew Edwards had license to keep ordinary in its vicinity and probably at the same time Alexander Cunningham, one of the Scots merchants who then traded in northern Virginia, set up nearby a 'Red Store.' From this nucleus a village grew up, but it was not until the third court house was built, in 1790 on the present site, that Richard Henry Lee had a limited area of his surrounding lands laid off in town lots with regular streets. This was a mere proprietary arrangement, for no application had even then been made to the Assembly to give 'Fauquier Court House' a municipal status.

In 1777 Hezekiah Balch, a graduate of Princeton, established a classical school in Fauquier. In 1788 this was endowed with some of the Lee lands and was incorporated as 'Warren Academy,'[106] named in honour of the revolutionary hero of Bunker Hill. The school in turn passed on the name to the town. In 1797 a local deed referred to 'Fauquier Court House now called the Town of Warrenton,' and in 1807 'Warrenton' is laid down on Bishop Madison's map; but it was not until January, 1810, that a charter was secured confirming the name and establishing a municipality.[107]

After the Revolution the area of Fauquier north and west of Pignut began slowly to fill up with population. The movement included not only a few Virginians who had inherited earlier land grants on Goose Creek and its tributaries, but many descendants of the original Irish settlers of the lands below Fauquier Court House who, since Mr. Jefferson's legisla-

tion of 1776 docking all entails in the Commonwealth, could now obtain fee simple titles in the Fairfax and Carter 'manors.' Considering the distance these people now found themselves from the place where public business was transacted, it was inevitable that they should soon demand that they be erected into a county of their own. The first definite proposal to that end was in November, 1795, when the Assembly had before it a petition to divide Fauquier into two nearly equal halves.[108] The signers were all residents in the 'upper end,' i. e., above 'the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain.' Prefacing that the county 'as it now stands contains between five and six thousand tithables,' the argument for division is interesting because it has since been perennial:

'That the said County of Fauquier from its great Extent (being full fifty six miles in Length) renders the attending of Courts extreamly inconvenient and burthensome to your Petitioners, when attending in Suits, Either as parties or witnesses, as well as in other necessary calls for attendance at that place, The Multiplicity of business in Court often occasions your Petitioners, even as witnesses, to attend many days; When they are obliged to submit to the Extravagant charges of the Tavern-keepers, or to press on the Neighbouring Farmers, when it is often found difficult to obtain a Lodging and Entertainment. Add to this the delay of Justice occasioned by the number of suits in the said Court.'

The proposed boundary was described as

'a Line to begin at the Mouth of Carter's Run, to extend across the said County to Intersect the Line which divides Fauquier and Prince William nearly Opposite to the house of William Herndon.'

From the map which accompanied the petition it appears that 'Herndon's' was 5¼ miles south of Chapman's mill in Thoroughfare gap, say at the modern Shepherdstown.[109] It thus follows that the proposed boundary differed from the Leeds parish boundary only in that it was enough further north to leave the court house in what was intended to be the lower county. It was, then, the evident purpose of the petitioners to

realize the colonial destiny of Leeds parish; but their proposal failed. A counter petition from the lower end was held 'reasonable' and that from the 'upper end' was rejected. The old precedents for the promotion of parishes into counties were now definitely broken.

The separatist sentiment persisted, however, though henceforth actuated by new considerations. With the opening of the nineteenth century began a progressively widening economic divergence of the communities in the upper and lower ends of Fauquier. This was due primarily to the dislocation of the old population, which took place after the Revolution, in the migrations which involved Fauquier with all of eastern Virginia. Of the two most numerous of these movements, the first, from 1782 to 1800, was chiefly of the smaller landholders who abandoned their grandfathers' seats in the low country and sought new homes either in the piedmont highlands or, in greater numbers, on the soldiers' bounty lands in Kentucky.[110] The second, about 1825, affected the large landholders, including the Chotankers of Brenttown, and swept them in a truly astonishing procession to what was then called the 'Southwest."[111] The vacancies thus left on the map were then filled up by the expansion of the Germans from Germantown and by the introduction of new elements from the tidewater who were content to seat themselves on lands deemed exhausted and so to be bought cheap, because they lacked the enterprise to follow the frontier. Neither the residents of Warrenton nor their kinsmen in the 'upper end' had much social sympathy with these new fellow citizens, but they were themselves too widely separated to join forces effectively. Those residents at the county seat were men of parts, mostly educated in the professions,[112] and they took full advantage of their opportunities to control the politics of the county and the machinery of local government. It was not long before the use of this power stirred jealousies among the larger tax payers who lived scattered on the grass lands of the highlands. After the two regions came to be served by different railroads and so to look out upon the world from different points of view, this divergence of political interest became

marked. In consequence, while there was yet opportunity, several new attempts to divide the county originated in the Goose Creek valley; but, as none was efficiently organized, always there was the same failure. At last in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1902 there was introduced into the fundamental law a provision[113] that

'no new county shall be formed with an area of less than six hundred square miles, nor shall the county or counties from which it is formed be reduced below that area: nor shall any county be reduced in population below eight thousand. But any county the length of which is three times its mean breadth, or which exceeds fifty miles in length, may be divided at the discretion of the General Assembly.'

This provision, perhaps with specific intention, has effectively blocked, certainly for the time being, the still persistent aspirations of the 'upper end' for independence. Although Fauquier has twice the area of many of the counties of eastern Virginia, its compact shape is such that its length does not equal three times its mean breadth, nor does that length exceed the prescribed minimum of fifty miles; while the total area is 648 square miles.

Alexandria (now Arlington)

A by-product of Thomas Jefferson's bargain with Alexander Hamilton, which established on the Potomac the seat of the government of the United States, was the carving of another county out of Fairfax. Although this was entirely independent of the process of promotion of parishes into counties, it is a coincidence that the new county had practically that effect upon the parish of Fairfax.

Alexandria County had its origin in the act of Virginia of 1789.[114] offering 'the cession of ten miles square, or any lesser quantity of territory within this state to the United States in Congress assembled for the permanent seat of the general government.' By the act of Congress of March, 1791,[115] the President was authorized to lay out the District of Columbia so as

to include the town of Alexandria. When this was done, including also a portion of Fairfax,[116] Congress assumed jurisdiction; and, in February, 1801, erected the Virginia territory, so taken over, into a federal County of Alexandria.[117] The county thus derived its name from that of the pre-existing town.

In 1846 Virginia and the Congress agreed on a retrocession of that territory[118]; and a year later, resuming her jurisdiction, Virginia duly constituted the former federal County of Alexandria a county of Virginia with the same name, as from March 20, 1847.[119] So the name remained until 1920 when, after a fierce dispute with the City of Alexandria,[120] the county procured the permission of the Assembly to change its name to Arlington.[121]

The Arlington County court house has long stood on the hill, now known as Fort Myer Heights, which overlooks the Potomac opposite Georgetown, D. C. The location is beside what has been, at least since 1733, the main thoroughfare of that community, the road leading to Falls church from the successor to that 'Aqueduct' bridge, which had in turn superseded the ferry known successively as 'Magee's, 'Awbrey's' and 'Mason's.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO.

[1] The act is not in Hening, but see Robinson, *Va. Counties,* p. 83. The counties fronting the Rappahannock at first included the territory on both sides that river.

[2] Hening, i, 381.

[3] Robinson, *Va. Counties,* p. 87: Hening, ii, 239.

[4] Hening, i, 427: iii, 104.

[5] *Ibid.,* iv, 95; Robinson, *Va. Counties,* p. 199.

[6] *The changes in the County Boundaries in the Northern Neck*: It is now necessary to read the land grants to appreciate the fact stated in the text, for the political boundaries have been greatly modified. This began with minor practical rectifications for mutual convenience, such as those ordered by the Assembly in 1663 in respect to Northumberland and Lancaster; in 1667 in respect to Stafford, Westmoreland and Rappahannock; and in 1738 in respect to Westmoreland, Richmond and King George (*Journals H. B.*, 1659-93, p. 48; 1727-40, p. 383; Stafford court minutes, October 28, 1667). As early as 1677, and again a century later (1769), it was proposed radically to redistribute the territory of the narrow peninsula by running the county

boundaries from river to river, but on neither occasion did the proposal meet with favor (Hening, ii, 406, 421; *Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, p. 338). It was not until the American revolution when many corner stones disappeared, that the historical boundaries were abandoned. In 1776 (Hening, ix, 244) the original east and west boundary of Stafford and King George was altered to the present north and south boundary, spreading both counties entirely across the peninsula. Again, in 1777 (Hening, ix, 432), Westmoreland was docked back to Rosier's Creek on the Potomac and intruded to the Rappahannock below Bristol Mine Run, by exchange of lands with King George. The old ridge boundary now remains only south and east of the west end of Richmond.

[7] *Journals H. B.*, 1712-1726, pp. 408, 414. While this bill was before the Assembly, 'King' Carter was drawing that will which he subsequently dated August 22, 1726. In it he referred to lands on Bull Run as being in Hartford County (*Va. Mag.*, v, 408; vi, 1).

[8] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 72, 75, 76, 77, 81, 110; Hening, iv, 303. Governor Gooch's comment in reporting this act to the Lords of Trade (C. O. 5: 1322, p. 103) was simply that it was 'necessary for the conveniency and benefit of the people interested.'

[9] For the name, see *post*, p. 653.

[10] *The Stafford-King George line*: The interior boundary between Stafford and King George, which was wiped out by this act, extended through the present county of Fauquier, but the tradition of its location was long lost. William Fitzhugh recorded the clew in his description in 1689 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 372), of a course 'by and betwixt the branches of both the rivers Rappa. and Potowmack, *that is now the known bounds of Stafford and Rappa. countys.*' The line can be recreated from the land grants as a projection, between the heads of the waters of the Potomac and the Rappahannock, of the old Northern Neck ridge line, until the north end of the Rappahannock range is reached; thence the line turned west sharply below the springs draining into Goose creek, and terminated at the source of Hedgman's river in the Blue Ridge. The Winchester road follows this line approximately from the southern boundary of Fauquier through Warrenton to the village of Marshall. Thus Thomas Lee's grant (1718, *N. N.*, 5: 239), which included the site of Warrenton, was in Richmond, as being on Great Run of Rappahannock, while the grant of Parson John Bell (1724, *N. N.*, A: 92), adjoining Lee on the east, was in Stafford, as being on Cedar Run of Potomac. Parson Alexander Scott's grant (1727, *N. N.*, B: 85), at the north end of Rappahannock range, was described as being in both Stafford and King George, as drained by both Carter's Run of Rappahannock, and Broad Run of Potomac. Finally, a grant to John Mercer (1729, *N. N.*, C: 128), of lands 'near the Coblers Mountain,' was described as being in Stafford, as being on the waters of Goose Creek of Potomac.

[11] In his dispatch of July 10, 1731 (C. O., 5: 1322, p. 383) Gooch said:

'Since [last year] the People in this Dominion, as well as many Strangers from Pennsylvania, have discovered a strong Inclination to extend our settlements on the western side of the great mountains and on the River Cohongarooton, under Grants from this government [in order] to hold their lands of the Crown; to which they urge too that land doth of Right belong as lying beyond any part of those Rivers called or known by the Names Rappahannock or Potomack. On the other hand, the Proprietor's Agent insists that not only the main

streams which form those Rivers but all other Rivers and Streams which Communicate therewith, by what Names soever they are known, and the lands encompassed thereby, are within the limits of his grant . . . . I judge the Proprietor's charter can't have so large a construction as is pretended . . . . If all the lands . . . . be allowed to belong to the Proprietor of the Northern Neck, as his Agent pretends, the King will then have very little more land to dispose of in Virginia.'

[12] *N. N.*, C: 77, 78. See *ante.*, p. 245.

[13] Hening, iv, 450, cf. also p. 77.

[14] The earliest court records of the territory beyond Ashby's gap are in consequence still at Orange Court House (see Scott, *Orange County*, p. 31), but, as Mr. C. E. Kemper has pointed out, some people cautiously followed Col. Carter's lead and, until Frederick was organized in 1743, not only described their Shenandoah lands as in Prince William, but recorded their deeds in that county. Among the earliest surviving records at Manassas are several such deeds.

[15] Hening, v, 78; vi, 376. But *cf.* Cartmel (*Frederick County*, p. 18) 'Owing to some delay of the population in these parts not being able to support a sufficient number of competent men able to officer the new county, the courts for all this section were held at Orange C. H. until November 11, 1743, when the first court was held for Frederick county.'

[16] The act was passed March 23, 1748, but is noted in Hening, (vi, 211) only by title. For the text see Robinson, *Virginia Counties*, p. 204.

[17] The Northern Neck map of 1746 elucidates this entire development by sketching in the county lines and laying down the proprietary boundary as adjudged in 1745 and surveyed in 1746.

[18] The evidence of date rests upon two land grants (*N. N.*, C: 129, 130), of March 20, 1730/1, which were described as in Prince William. The county court order books and all other local records of the time of the organization are missing.

[19] It was the practice of the Governor as Commander-in-chief to appoint the County Lieutenants without the advice of the Council, so that no record of this appointment appears in the Council Journal; but a subsequent record (C. O., 5: 1420, p. 79) shows that 'Col. Harrison' was acting in that capacity during the warehouse insurrection in Prince William in 1732.

Thomas Harrison (1665-1746), 'of Chipawansic', was the son of the Burr Harrison of the Stafford of Parson Waugh's day (*ante.*, p. 137). In his youth he had lived for a time with his father on the frontier at Hunting Creek (see the deposition he made for Col. Byrd in 1737, *Westover MSS.* ed. Wynne, p. 105), and in 1706 he was one of the syndicate, including John West, William Harrison and Thomas Pearson, which took a grant of 4,639 acres (*N. N.*, 3: 153) on that stream below its fork; but in the following year he established himself in his father's residence on the upper side of Chipawansic (see *ante.*, p. 53, and his land grants, 1707-10, *N. N.*, 3: 170, 198; 4: 8) from which he took his designation during the remainder of a long and active life. He had succeeded his father as a justice of Stafford, and in 1731, when he was included in the new county of Prince William and in its commission, was, according to the testimony of his family Bible,

66 years of age. For this consideration of age it has been argued (*Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 215) that it must have been his son of the same name (*post*, p. 345) who was the active office holder during the decade following the organization of Prince William. The evidence is, however, to the contrary. 'Thomas Harrison' was first in the original commission of the peace for Prince William, while in 1733 'Thomas Harrison, jr.' was sheriff; and in the commissions of 1734 and 1742 both 'Thomas Harrison' and 'Thomas Harrison, jr.' are included. The senior had evidently been chosen by Gooch for the new responsibility, despite his age, by reason of the difficulty of finding a younger man of sufficient substance then resident in the new county. This hypothesis finds further support in the fact that in April, 1741, when William Fairfax moved into Prince William, he was at once substituted as County Lieutenant. After the organization of Fairfax it became necessary to reappoint Thomas Harrison, sr., and thenceforth he held the post until his death. Then at last he was succeeded by his son, as appears from a commission of the peace issued in 1752.

[20] The eighteenth century Clerks of Prince William were Catesby Cocke (for whom see *ante.*, p. 155), 1731-1742; Peter Wagener (for whom see *post.*, p. 433), 1742-1752; John Graham (the founder of Dumfries. See *post*, p. 394), 1752-1777; Robert Graham, 1777-1795; John Williams, 1795-1813.

[21] C. O., 5: 1420, pp. 47, 48.

[22] On November 4, 1731, a new commission added Charles Broadwater, William Godfrey, Benjamin Grayson and Richard Osborne. After Fairfax was created, in 1742, another commission was made up of 27 names in which were included only five of the original justices, viz: Harrison, Jones, Hudnal, Grayson and Wright, being those who resided below Occoquan and Bull Run.

[23] Prior to 1742 the succession of Sheriffs of Prince William was Robert Jones, 1731-32; Thomas Harrison, jr., 1733; Jeremiah Bronaugh, 1734-35; John Allen, 1736-38; Francis Awbrey, 1739-40; John Diskin, 1741.

[24] There is no surviving record of this survey, nor of who was the Surveyor who made it.

[25] Rowland, i, 50, quoting the Mercer Land Book, for which see *W. & M. Quar.*, xiii, 165.

[26] C. O., 5: 1423, pp. 198, 209, 224.

[27] This was the original Brent Town, not Brentsville. (See *ante.*, p. 193).

[28] The matter between square bracketts is from the draft minutes of a meeting of the Council on October 22 (printed in *Va. Mag.*, xv, 384, 389; xvi, 20), and was not included in the final record as sent to England. The sites mentioned were all on Cedar Run.

[29] *Manassas Journal*, 19, May, 1911. Not having access to the Council Journal, Mr. Round thought this the *first* Prince William court house. Philemon Waters was one of the Huguenots who seated the land below Cedar Run (see *ante.*, p. 190). His land grants were in 1712 and 1725 (*N. N.*, 4: 95; A: 194). Philemon's Branch, which drains the court house site (see *N. N.*, E: 268), took its name from him.

It is of interest to note in connection with the selection of this

site that a year previously, on June 12, 1741, Parson Charles Green of Truro took a land grant (*N. N.*, E: 268) for 600 acres 'on Philemon's Branch, being a branch of Cedar run, and on the branches of Quantico'; and on November 5th following (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 506) conveyed the land to William Fairfax. This was ridge land back of Waters' plantation and had been acquired with the purpose of exploiting the mineral deposits, which give the name 'Goldvein' to the modern settlement upon it. The possession of this tract may have had its influence in determining the court house site.

[30] C. O., 5: 1429, p. 61.

[31] See the testimony in the contested election case of *Peyton v. Lee* in *Journals H. B.*, 1761-65, p. 125.

[32] Writing in 1835, Joseph Martin says (*Gazetteer*, p. 274): 'The country around is thickly settled and the inhabitants are distinguished for their moral deportment. The land . . . was of universally good quality but has been much abused by a system of miserable cultivation.'

[33] See *ante.*, p. 194.

[34] Acts, 1819-20, ch. 87, p. 76; 1821-22, ch. 93, p. 69; Martin's *Gazetteer*, 1836, p. 273.

[35] *Manassas*: Acts, 1891-92, ch. 277, p. 459. In 1836 (Martin, *Gazetteer*) a post office called Liberia had recently been established at the cross roads called Newmarket (cf. the Nine Sheet Map), to which John Davis referred while he was living with Spencer Ball at 'Portici.' After the railroads were opened in 1852 there grew up about their nearby 'Manassas Jc.' a settlement which superseded Liberia as a post office. After a lurid experience as a federal depot during the war between the states, this new village was, in 1873, incorporated as the town of Manassas (Acts, 1872-73, ch. 362, p. 354).

[36] Hening, xii, 532.

[37] Acts, 1799, ch. 56, p. 29; Shepherd, ii, 242.

[38] Acts, 1804-05, ch. 50, p. 38; Shepherd, iii, 168.

[39] Revised Code, 1819, i, 226.

[40] Acts, 1811-12, ch. 90, p. 121.

[41] *Old Churches*, ii, 215.

[42] See *ante* p. 235.

[43] See the record in August, 1736, of Osborne's expulsion from the Assembly (*Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 264). In a land grant of March, 1741/2 (*N. N.*, E: 416), Thomas Osborne is recited dead.

[44] In May, 1740, Valentine Peyton (then a burgess), John Diskins, Anthony Seale, Thomas Stribling and Thomas Harrison, jr., Justices of Prince William, were cited before the Assembly and required to apologise for refusing at the March court preceding to certify certain propositions which had been submitted to them. *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 413, 414, 429.

[45] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 124, 284, 333, 405.

[46] *William Fairfax* (1691-1757) was born in Yorkshire, son of a younger brother of the fifth Lord Fairfax. After a subaltern's career in the navy during the war of the Spanish Succession, he resigned in 1712 to embark in the colonial service. His preliminary essay was

with 'John Company' in India. In 1718 he went to the Bahamas under Capt. Woodes Rogers, the first royal governor of those islands. There he served various offices, including that of Secretary of State and acting Governor. In 1729 [not 1725, as stated by Burnaby] his friends at home got him the more lucrative appointment as Collector of Customs at Salem in Massachusetts; from which he was transferred again, in 1733, to be Collector of Customs for the South Potomac in succession to Henry Moryson, deceased (*Cal. Treasury Books and Papers*, 1731-34, pp. 398. 524). The purpose of this last transfer was to enable him to act as agent for the Northern Neck proprietary in succession to Robert Carter under a power of attorney from Lord Fairfax dated February 21, 1733/4 (*Prince William D. B.*, B: 349). On his arrival in Virginia he established himself in Westmoreland, where he was added to the commission of the peace in September, 1734 (Council Journal, C. O., 5: 1420, p. 60). His inclusion also in the King George commission in March, 1736/7 (*King George O. B.*, 1735-51, pp. 97, 245) recorded the removal of his residence from Westmoreland to the vicinity of Falmouth, where he occupied Charles Carter's house, 'Stanstead.' In like manner, his inclusion in the Prince William commission in 1741 marked his definite establishment in the house he had meanwhile built for himself at Belvoir on the Potomac. After service as a burgess from 1741 to 1743, he was advanced to the Council as the successor to old Commissary Blair. By seniority he succeeded as President of the Council at the beginning of Governor Dinwiddie's proconsulship. He married three times: (1) in India, a lady whose name is lost; (2) in the Bahamas, Sarah Walker; and (3) at Salem, Deborah Clarke; and left children by his last two wives, one of whom ultimately succeeded as the eighth Lord Fairfax. There is a pleasant, if not altogether accurate, account of William Fairfax in Archdeacon Burnaby's *Travels Through the Middle Settlements* (1798), but his best monument consists of his surviving letters, some of which have been printed by Neill (*The Fairfaxes of England and America*), and others by Hamilton (*Letters to Washington*).

[47] See the poll list from Prince William records in Boogher, *Gleanings*. The other candidates were John Colvill, Valentine Peyton and Richard Blackburn.

[48] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 18.

[49] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 25, 27, 30, 36, 40, 70; *Legislative Journals of the Council*, ii, 912, 914, 916; Hening, v, 207. For the name see *post*, p. 655.

[50] *The Loudoun-Fauquier line*: Cf. Hening, iv, 367. The portion of this line which was arbitrary (i. e., from the source of Bull Run, in Cool Spring gap of the Bull Run Mountain, to Ashby gap) long remained locally unmarked. It is an evidence of the delay in the settlement of the country traversed that the uncertainty as to the boundary seems to have caused no serious trouble until 1786, when a road was built on the old trail leading from the ford of Little River to Ashby gap (Hening, xii, 294). Following closely the reputed county boundary, but weaving with the contour of the country, this highway opened old fence lines and ultimately made necessary a new word from the Assembly (Acts, 1823-24, ch. 77, p. 82). Loudoun and Fauquier then made (and recorded in their respective courts) the official survey which established as a corner a 'double bodied poplar tree standing in or near the middle of the thoroughfare of Ashby's gap on the top of the Blue Ridge.' This tree continued to stand as

a landmark until 1907. For a picture of it in its old age, and the legends which had collected around it, see A. Hunter, *Women of the Debatable Land,* (1912), ch. xiii.

[51] Cf. *Journals H. B.,* 1752-58, pp. 374, 377, 462 and *N. N.,* E: 519.

[52] The eighteenth century Clerks of Fairfax were Catesby Cocke, 1742-1746; John Graham, 1746-1752; Peter Wagener, 1752-1774; Peter Wagener, jr., 1774-1798; George DeNeale, 1798-1801. The first three served also as Clerks of Prince William (see *ante.,* note 20).

[53] Hall, *Fairfax County,* 1907. If the first meetings of the Fairfax court were not held in the original Prince William court house below the Occoquan ferry, they may have been held either at the Pohick church, which then stood on the stream of that name, or else at the house of Catesby Cocke, above the Occoquan ferry, where Colchester was subsequently to arise.

[54] It was not issued until November 4, 1742 (C. O., 5: 1423, p. 215)

[55] *Ibid.,* 5: 1423, p. 98; *Va. Mag.,* xv, 384.

[56] *The first Fairfax Court House*: On November 6, 1740, John Colvill took a land grant (*N. N.,* E: 182) for 1429 acres 'on the branches of Accotink, Wolf Trap, Pimmet's and Scott's runs,' and by deed dated December 2nd following (*Prince William D. B.,* E: 214) conveyed this property to William Fairfax, designating it as 'known as Springfield.' By deed dated September 20, 1745 (*Fairfax D. B.,* B: 493), William Fairfax conveyed six acres of this tract to the justices of Fairfax, described as 'where the court house is now erected and built,' limiting the estate to 'the time that the court shall continue to be held thereon, but no longer.' In his will, dated February 6, 1755, William Fairfax recited, 'I likewise give, bequeath and devise unto my son William Henry, and his heirs forever, all my tract of land containing about 1400 acres and called in my deed by the name of Springfield, together with the late Court House of this County, the ordinary and other houses erected and improvement thereon by lease or otherwise.'

[57] The 'Ox road,' mentioned in the Council order, followed the middle ridge all the way from the Occoquan to the Carter's 'Frying Pan' on the Horsepen of Broad, and so was generally parallel with the 'New Church [or eastern ridge] road.' Doubtless the crossroad which leads from the present day Fairfax Court House to 'Tyson's Cross Roads,' and thus connects the two ridge roads, was opened soon after 1742 to afford those who dwelt on the lower reaches of the Ox road a convenient access to the first court house.

[58] *Journals H. B.,* 1752-58, p. 27.

[59] C. O., 5: 1423, pp. 529, 539.

[60] 'His Honour the Governor has been pleased to issue a Proclamation adjourning the County Court of Henrico to the Town of Richmond at the Falls of James River, and the County Court of Fairfax to the Town of Alexandria on Potowmack.' (Quoted in *W. & M. Quar.,* xii, 215.)

[61] The court minutes of this period are missing, but, in a contemporary deed (*Fairfax D. B.,* C: 314), there is a recital of this date.

[62] *Records of the Meetings of the Trustees of Alexandria*, 1749-1768, MS.

[63] The quotation from the proceedings of Fairfax court which here follow are from the MS. minute books of that court.

[64] Mr. R. Walton Moore, of Fairfax, makes the pertinent comment, 'it is interesting to note that the author of the Bill of Rights imposed his construction of that instrument upon the court by but a narrow majority.'

[65] Hening, xiii, 43.

[66] *Ibid.*, xiii, 79.

[67] *Price's Ordinary*: These roads intersect the 'Braddock road' about half a mile apart. See Choate's map (1910) for the names. It has been assumed by Fairfax tradition that 'Price's Ordinary' was on the site of the present Fairfax Court House and it is so marked on the Choate map. But this cannot be reconciled with the reference to the vicinity of the Fitzhugh lands, Ravensworth. The Fairfax records have been searched in vain for a definition of Price's location.

[68] Apparently the decay of the court house of 1752 was such that Peter Wagener, the Clerk, had been compelled to remove the records to his residence. In February, 1791, his son, and successor as Clerk, was authorized 'to occupy the town school house as an office'; and in February, 1793, the court found the inconvenience of being separated from its records so great that the Clerk was ordered to remove them to 'the old town house' adjacent to the market, where the court was then sitting.

[69] Acts, 1797-98, ch. 37, printed in Shepherd, ii, 107. For the reason for this restoration, see *ante.*, p. 329.

[70] As shown by Yardley Taylor's *Memoir of Loudoun* and his accompanying map (1857), the line was run from the mouth of the 'old channel' of Sugar Land (Rowe's Island) which is some distance east of the present mouth of that stream. 'Carter's Mill' was above Sudley, where the Gum Spring road crosses Bull Run.

[71] *Fairfax D. B.*, BB: 373.

[72] *Fairfax Court House*: The village which grew up around the new court house was in 1805 (Shepherd, iii, 177), established 'a town by name of Providence', In 1842 (Acts, 1841-42, ch, 196, p. 126) this town became 'the corporation of Providence,' but in the Virginia practice it was still, as it always had been commonly, called 'Fairfax Court House.' When, after the war between the states, the Culpeper shire town abandoned the name Fairfax, which it had borne since 1759, and assumed that of the county (Hening, vii, 306; Acts, 1869-70, ch. 118, p. 154) the Fairfax shiretown went through the same process and was duly incorporated as 'the town of Fairfax' (Acts, 1874-75, ch. 47, p. 36; 1891-92, ch. 282, p. 464).

[73] The court minutes of this period are missing and there is no record of the first session held at the new court house; but that it was prior to January 1, 1800 appears from incidental recitals in other records. One of them was the probate here of the will of George Washington on January 20, 1800, recorded by George Deneale, then Clerk of Fairfax.

[74] The act of Congress extending jurisdiction over the District of Columbia was approved February 27, 1801.

[75] *Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, pp. 212, 243, 264, 265, 272; *Legislative Journals of the Council*, iii, 1138.

[76] *Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 352.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 425, 427, 432, 434, 446, 470, 492; Hening vii, 148.

[78] For the name see *post*, p. 655.

[79] C. O. 5: 1429.

[80] The early Clerks of Loudoun were Charles Binns, 1758-1796; Charles Binns, jr., 1796-1837; Charles G. Eskridge, 1837-1851 (Johnston, *Old Virginia Clerks*).

[81] *Francis Lightfoot Lee* (1734-1797) lived in Loudoun until 1769, when he married Rebecca Tayloe, of Mt. Airy, and removed to 'Menokin' on the Rappahannock in Richmond. There he maintained his residence for the remainder of his life, but was, by his brothers, always called 'Loudoun'. In addition to his other local dignities, he and James Hamilton were the first burgesses to represent Loudoun in the Assembly.

It was his nephew, *Ludwell Lee* (1760-1836), second son of Richard Henry Lee, who built Belmont on Goose Creek and ended his days there, after having lived most of his life on Shooters Hill above Alexandria (see *Lee of Virginia*).

[82] The minutes of July 12, 1757, recite simply that the court sat 'at the Court House,' which, considering the date, may mean anything.

[83] C. O. 5: 1429, pp. 12, 26.

[84] *Minor of the Northern Neck*: The pedigree of this interesting family remains to be worked out, for they do not appear to be related to the descendants of the naturalized Dutchman, Myndert Doodes, who in Virginia have borne the name Minor (see Hening, ii, 308; *Va. Mag.*, x, 97, xi, 444). The following tentative notes are recorded in aid of such a study.

In 1684 there was a Nicholas Minor who was a justice in Westmoreland and is mentioned in one of Fitzhugh's letters (*Va. Mag.*, i, 272). In 1698 there is a Westmoreland will (Crozier) of one John Minor, naming, among other sons, Nicholas and John. The former seems to have remained on his father's lands (see the land grant of 1715, *N. N.*, 5: 144), but the latter migrated above Occoquan, and was the Capt. John Minor who, as a justice of Prince William, was included in the first commission for Fairfax, and was a vestryman of Truro in 1744. He married a McCarty and seems, from the county records to have lived on Pohick. In 1745 he purchased a parcel of property at the head of Hunting Creek on which (as we shall see, *post*, p. 414) he proposed to lay out a town to be called 'Cameron', but accomplished no more than the establishment of an ordinary.

This Captain John Minor of Fairfax died in 1752, leaving a will (*Fairfax W. B.*, B: 31) in which were named seven children, including an eldest son, the Nicholas of the text, who inherited a tradition of town promotion. After his father's death he acquired by purchase (not, as has been assumed, by inheritance of his father's land grant of 1741, *N. N.*, E: 396; for that was on the south fork of Catoctin and passed in 1743 to Amos Janney, *Fairfax D. B.*, A: 116) a plantation 'above Goose Creek', on the Alexandria-Key's gap road. It was here that he maintained in 1755 the ordinary (marked 'Miner' on the Fry and Jefferson map, and recited in Sir Peter Halket's marching

orders, as well as in Mrs. Browne's *Diary*), which was the nucleus of Leesburg. After Braddock's defeat he saw active service in the field as captain of Fairfax militia (Hening, vii, 217, 222) and thereafter lived out his life as one of the leading men of Loudoun.

[85] *Leesburg*: *Journals, H. B.,* 1758-61, pp. 20, 45; Hening, vii, 235. The town was incorporated in 1813 (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 72, p. 100).

[86] Nicholas Minor's deed to the justices of Loudoun of that date (*Loudoun D. B.,* B: 149) recites the lots as those 'whereon the court house and prison now stand.'

[87] The present court house of Loudoun dates from 1894.

[88] The MS. petition is on file in the State Library at Richmond. With it is a rough map of Loudoun, showing Cameron and Shelburne parishes, and the proposed division of them into two counties.

[89] Acts, 1797-98, ch. 37, printed in Shepherd, ii, 107.

[90] See Sears' (*United States,* 1848, p. 388) description of Fairfax County: 'Large tracts have that aspect of desolation which is peculiar to worn out tobacco lands . . . . The result generally is a spontaneous growth of cedars and low pines, a sterile and forbidding appearance and a general abandonment of the land by the inhabitants. The soil, however, has proven valuable in the hands of farmers accustomed to a different system of agriculture. Tracts have been rendered productive . . . where bodies of settlers from New York, principally of German extraction, purchased land at very low prices a few years ago, and are already in flourishing circumstances.'

[91] *Journals H. B.,* 1752-58, pp. 247, 249, 253, 255, 263; *Legislative Journals of the Council,* iii, 1136. Unfortunately, the petition from Hamilton is not quoted in full and there is no record of the precise proposal. That it was broader than the subsequent legislation appears likely from the fact that the bill was amended substantially while on its passage. Doubtless the first proposal was to include all of Hamilton, as it then stood, in the new county; which would have included the upper end of the present day Prince William.

[92] *Journals H. B.,* 1752-58, pp. 430, 436, 444, 445, 448.

[93] *Journals H. B.,* 1758-61, pp. 22, 62, 77, 82, 100, 102, 113.

[94] *Ibid.,* 1758-61, pp. 98, 108, 115, 119, 128; Hening, vii, 311.

[95] For the name see *post,* p. 656.

[96] As the line did not conform to the boundaries of Hamilton parish, it was obviously a compromise of the contending claims which have been noted.

[97] *Chapman's Mill*: This evidence of the antiquity of a familiar landmark which appears on John Henry's map and is now a railway station in Thoroughfare Gap, is confirmed by a tablet set into the front of the mill, which still stands. This tablet, erected in 1858, to commemorate a century of service by the mill, records the names of six Chapmans who had then operated it, beginning with the Jonathan who had the land grant in 1742 (see *ante.,* p. 262). The mill was later acquired by the Beverleys and now bears their name.

[98] See Groome, *Fauquier County Historical Notes* (1914) quoting the earliest minutes of the Fauquier court. The record is missing from the Council Journal which was sent to England and is now among the C. O. papers.

[99] *Thomas Harrison, the younger,* was a son of Thomas Har-

rison of Chipawansic (*ante.*, p. 338) and a grandson of the ambassador to the Piscataways. He makes his appearance as 'Thomas Harrison, jr.' in 1733, when he served the office of Sheriff of Prince William, and thereafter is so designated with his father in several commissions for Prince William until, after his father's death in 1746, he succeeded him as 'first' in the County Court and probably also as County Lieutenant. His residence (indicated on John Henry's map, 1770, and with precision on a plat of the Prince William-Fauquier boundary, made in 1759, which remains among the Prince William records) was below Dorrell's run, immediately west of the county line. He was thus included in Fauquier when that county was erected, but remained in Dettingen parish.

He qualified as the first presiding justice of Fauquier, and in 1761, after the death of Henry Churchill, as County Lieutenant (Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin* No. 2, p. 75). He sat also as one of the burgesses for Fauquier from 1760 to 1769, when he subscribed that roster of the most enlightened men in the colony who were then seeking to encourage manufactures (Hening, vii, 568).

This Thomas Harrison died in January, 1774 (*Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 332). It was apparently his son, third of the name, who, living in 1750 (*N. N.*, F: 359) on his grandfather's Hunting Creek patent of 1706, survived the Revolution and migrated to Kentucky.

[100] *Armistead Churchill* (1704-1763) of Bushy Park on the Rappahannock in Middlesex, held most of his property under his father's entail (Hening, vii, 157), but when he made his will, in August, 1758 (*W. & M. Quar.*, viii, 49), he declared his ownership of a 'tract of land in Prince William' containing more than 6,400 acres. *Fauquier D. B.*, 1: 304, shows this to have been a purchase from Mann Page of the tract of 10,610 acres on the branches of Cedar run (Licking, Owl, and Turkey) which had been granted August 28, 1724 (*N. N.*, A: 65). His will shows that Churchill contemplated that this tract should be the portion of his younger sons and, on the organization of Fauquier, we find three of them, John, Henry and Armistead, jr., duly established as residents of the new county. These young men had every opportunity to put Fauquier on the political map of Virginia from the day of its organization, for they belonged by birth to that inner circle of what was in 1759 still the governing class of the colony—that closely inter-married group of large holders of entailed lands who filled the seats of the Colonial Council and were ultimately the butt of Thomas Jefferson's revolutionary arrows. Both their grandfathers (William Churchill and Nathaniel Harrison) and two great grandfathers (John Armistead and Benjamin Harrison) had been of the Council. They were, too, first cousins of 'Councillor' Robert Carter of Nomini.

Henry Churchill (1732-1760) was one of the select company of eighteenth century Virginians who had been called to the English bar (Bedwell, *American Middle Templars*, Am. Hist. Rev., xxv, 682). He was only 27 when he was appointed County Lieutenant, and died soon after. His brother, Armistead, emigrated from Fauquier to Kentucky in 1787 and has there left many descendants (See *W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 187; viii, 47; ix, 246; Hayden, p. 253; Hening, vii, 157; *Parish Register of Christ Church*, Middlesex, *passim*).

[101] The early Clerks of Fauquier were Humphrey Brooke, 1750-1793; Francis Brooke, 1793-1805; Hugh R. Campbell, 1805-1813; Daniel Withers, 1813-1821 (Johnston, *Old Virginia Clerks*).

[102] *The early Fauquier court houses*: Lacking definite record evidence (See the court minutes in Groome, *Fauquier County Historical Notes,* 1914) the local tradition as to the places at which the Fauquier court held its earliest sessions has been conflicting. The most persuasive statement, made by Mr. Henry I. Hutton of Warrenton, is as follows: 'Old residents of Morrisville point to a site about one mile north of that village as the location of the house at which the First Court was held. It was then removed to Fayettesville and thence to the location on which the first Court House was eventually built.'

It would be altogether likely that the court should organize in the vicinity of Elk Run Church, for the parish church was already a familiar place of community gatherings, and this probability gives colour to the Morrisville tradition. It would be likely, too, that the court recognized the necessity of a permanent court house site more nearly in the geographical centre of the new county. The site described by the tradition as Fayettesville is that of the town of that name established in 1798 (Shepherd, ii, 120) at the junction of the Carolina and Marsh roads on the upper waters of Marsh Run. On the footing of convenience of the existing population this would have been a likely site in 1759 and, indeed, during the many subesquent years in which the Elk Marsh settlement preponderated in Fauquier; but the evidence of the land records is that the tradition as to this site is a confusion of the house of John Duncan, named in the court minutes, with that of this John Duncan's son and grandson (Joseph and Howson Duncan) which was at Fayettesville (See *Fauquier D. B.,* 6: 34; 14: 312; 15: 190. Howson Duncan is named as one of the proprietors of Fayettesville in the act of 1798). The plantation of John Duncan which was recommended by the court at its organization meeting (May 24, 1759) and where the court met on June 28, 1759, was several miles north of the site of Fayettesville. Its convenience lay in the fact that it included the junction of the Marsh Road and the Dumfries-Rappahannock road near Turkey Run Church. The evidence for such a location is that William Russell (*N. N.,* A: 130) had a land grant in February, 1724/5, on Turkey Run adjoining Mann Page; which it appears (*Fauquier D. B.,* 1: 329) he sold to John Holtzclaw, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married John Duncan; and that in June, 1762, Duncan in turn sold the Russell-Holtzclaw tract to Samuel Porter. From this it would follow that the negation by Governor Fauquier of the court's recommendation of the Duncan plantation did not involve a material change of location, but meant only that Richard Henry Lee's political influence prevailed in securing the selection of his own land. The site on which the court house was established was only about a mile north of the house in which John Duncan lived in 1759.

[103] C. O., 5: 1429, p. 61.

[104] The precedent in the choice of a court house site was to find a convenient cross roads. The Fauquier court house of 1760 did not observe this rule, with the result that after the Winchester road had been definitely diverted over Warrenton hill the court house built in 1790 was located east of the 1760 site, at what had become the junction of the Winchester and Dumfries-Rappahannock roads.

[105] See the Warrenton map and the discussion of it in Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 1 (1921).

[106] Hening, xii, 685. Martin Picket was the prime mover in the

establishment of this school. See the reference to it in John Davis' *Diary*.

[107] Acts, 1809-10, ch. 41, p. 37. Warrenton was incorporated in 1816 (Acts, 1815-16, ch. 84, p. 203).

[108] *Journals H. D.*, 1792-95, pp. 21,89. The MS. petition is in the archives in the State Library at Richmond, and with it is a map of Fauquier, showing the proposed division as drawn by John James, November, 1795. The surnames of the signers include many which appear in the land grants Robert Carter had made on the waters of Cedar run from 1724 to 1731; but the petitioners were now seated on the lands in the upper end where their descendants can be found today.

[109] William Herndon appears to have lived in Prince William, but in 1783 he took title to a small tract in Fauquier (*D. B.*, 8: 25) in this vicinity.

[110] 'These transmigrations are generally removals from an old to a new country. The attachment to local property is yet but little known among the Americans. The soil on which they were born, nay that which they have themselves rendered fit for cultivation, is valued by them little more than any other,' Duc de la Rochefoucault, *Travels through the United States . . . . in* 1795, London, 1799, p. 107.

[111] *The migration to the Southwest*: One who has travelled in the states which make up the 'old Southwest,' Alabama, Mississippi, west Tennessee and Kentucky, is constantly meeting men and women who say with pride, 'my grandfather was born in Fauquier,' or 'my great grandmother came from Fauquier.' The county has been a fruitful nursery of other communities, but herself has remained in equilibrium.

There remains an opportunity for an interesting study of the details of these migrations, for which the contemporary tax books of Fauquier, now deposited in the State Library at Richmond, will furnish the raw material. A preliminary examination of those books bears out the statements in the text.

[112] *Cf.* Capt. Gordon McCabe's comment on Warrenton as late as 1869 (*Va. Mag.*, xxiv, p. xxix) 'nearly the whole adult population of Warrenton consisted of lawyers and there was but a limited number of clients.'

[113] *Constitution of* 1902, Section 61.

[114] Hening, xiii, 43.

[115] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 1: 214.

[116] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, i, 100, 102.

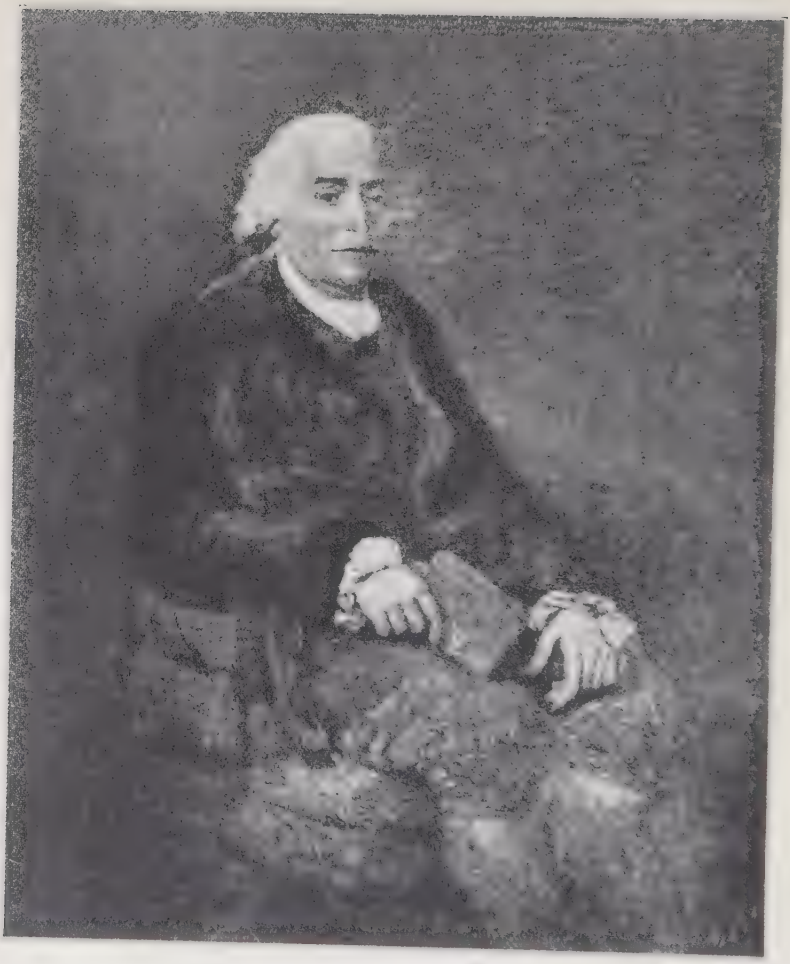
[117] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 2: 103.

[118] *Acts of Va.*, 1845-46, ch. 64, p. 50; 9 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 35.

[119] *Acts of Va.*, 1846-47, ch. 53 and 54, pp. 41, 48. It was after this retrocession that the town of Alexandria was promoted to be a city. See *Acts*, 1852, ch. 358, p. 234.

[120] *City Council of Alexandria v. Alexandria and Fairfax Counties*, 84 *S. E. Rep.*, 630.

[121] *Acts of Va.*, 1920, ch. 241, p. 343. For the name see *post*, p. 657.



THOMAS FAIRFAX (1693-1781)
sixth Lord Fairfax of Cameron.

Landmarks
of
Old Prince William

A study of origins in Northern Virginia
in Two Volumes

VOLUME II

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PART FIVE

The Commercial Development

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The Paper Towns

WRITING his *Notes on Virginia* in 1781, Thomas Jefferson said:

'Our country being much intersected with navigable rivers, and trade brought generally to our doors, instead of our being obliged to go in quest of it, has probably been one of the causes why we have no towns of any consequence. . . . There are places at which . . . the *laws* have said there shall be towns but *Nature* has said there shall not, and they remain unworthy of enumeration.'

This statement by a convinced opponent of urban civilization is rather argument than history. It is successful rhetoric but only half truth. By providing Virginia with an abundance of deep water harbours, nature may fairly be charged with preventing the early development there of such a predominant port as Boston, New York, Philadelphia or Charleston: the controlling influences which long delayed Virginia's realization of true boroughs were, however, human.

The *Orders and Constitutions* adopted by the Virginia Company in 1618 are convincing evidence that the Founders, being largely 'citizens' at home, planned the colony to be one of towns. Specifically was it there declared that,

'our interest is to establish four equal Plantations to be reduced into four cities or Boroughs, namely the chief citty called James Town, Charles City, Henrico and the Borough of Kiccotan.'

That this meant what it said is borne out by the elaborate provisions for,

'any artizan or tradesman [who] shall be desirous rather to follow his particular art or Trade than to be employed in Husbandry or other rural business.'

These tradesmen were to be seated in houses to be built for them on four acre lots, which were to be held upon a condition fundamentally nugatory of the principles of the future colonial system, viz:

'that the said Tradesman, his heirs and assigns do continue and exercise his Trade in the said House.'

But in making these provisions, as the Founders did not anticipate tobacco, neither did they anticipate the individualistic development of tidewater plantations. On the other hand, the second and ensuing generations of Virginia merchants in London found the 'wild and rambling mode of living,' which the planters had adopted in direct violation of another specific inhibition of the *Orders and Constitutions,* was so much to their own selfish advantage that thenceforth steadfastly, and long successfully, they vetoed all reversion to type.[1]

And yet from the middle of the seventeenth century there were enlightened spirits in the colony who saw through this opposition to its motive; and who saw also that Virginia must have towns, whatever might be their size, if she was sanely to regulate her own domestic trade, to foster adequate educational facilities or to develop such an artizan class as was necessary for even the most modest economic self-reliance. To such ends six times in seventy years these seers planted the seed of urban civilization and six times was it ruthlessly plucked up. The laws at which Mr. Jefferson sneered included two which were well devised, but they never had a chance to show what judicious stimulus could do in changing the habits of a people. Virginia remained, certainly throughout the seventeenth century, a 'plantation' in English mercantile eyes; and the government, intellectually sympathetic with colonial problems but steadily keeping in view the tradition of Francis Bacon's 'considerations of power' of the nation as a whole, consistently backed the merchants up.

To appreciate what this movement was, we cannot do better than turn to the most convincing of the arguments it produced, that *Large and true account of the present state of Virginia,* so illuminating of the contemporary civilization of the colony, which was addressed in 1697 to the Secretary of the Board of Trade by three enlightened Virginians, Messrs. Henry Hartwell, James Blair and Edward Chilton:[2]

'It is a common saying among themselves, that if any other nation had had Virginia but the English, they would have made it an happy country. But it is easier to see their misery, than to find out the causes of it. No doubt it is chiefly to be imputed to the first wrong measures that were taken in not seating themselves in towns, and to the narrow, selfish ends of most of their governors, who go easily into any projects, whereby they may make a present gain, but very difficultly into the expensive and generous undertakings of doing good amongst them, which seldom turn to a present or to a quick account. But after all, perhaps as much is to be imputed to the obstinacy of the people as to any other mismanagements; as will be seen in the sequel of this narrative, which will discover a sad truth, viz. that the bringing the people of that country to the improvements of cohabitation, must be against their will, by virtue of the king's prerogative; and not by expecting the concurrence of their general assemblies, the major part of the members whereof having never seen a town, nor a well improved country, in their lives, cannot therefore imagine the benefit of it, and are afraid of every innovation, that will put them to a present charge, whatever may be the future benefit. . . .

'For want of towns, markets, and money, there is but little encouragement for tradesmen and artificers, and therefore little choice of them, and their labour very dear in the country. A tradesman having no opportunity of a market, where he can buy meat, milk, corn, and all other things, must either make corn, keep cows, and raise stocks himself, or must ride about the country to buy meat and corn where he can find it; and then is puzzled to find carriers, drovers, butchers, salting (for he cannot buy one joint or two) and a great many other things, which there would be no occasion for if there were towns and markets. Then a great deal of the tradesmen's time being necessarily spent in going and coming to and from his work, in dispersed country plantations, and his pay being generally in straggling parcels of tobacco, the collection whereof costs about 10 per cent., and the best of this pay coming but once a year,

so that he cannot turn his hand frequently with a small stock, as tradesmen do in England and elsewhere; all this occasions the dearth of all tradesmen's labours, and likewise the discouragement, scarcity and insufficiency of tradesmen.

'The merchants live the best of any in that country; but yet are subject to great inconveniencies in the way of their trade, which might be avoided if they had towns, markets, and money: For, first, they are obliged to sell upon trust all the year long, except just a little while when tobacco is ready.

'2. They likewise drive a pitiful retail trade to serve every man's little occasions, being all, in effect, but country chapmen, for want of towns to be a center of trade and business.

'3. Besides the charge of it they are necessitated to trust all their concerns to their receivers, who go about among the planters that owe them tobacco, and receive and mark it for them; which receivers, if they want either skill or honesty, it proves very fatal to the merchant.

'4. They are at the charge of carting this tobacco, so marked and received, to convenient landings; or if it lies not far from these landing, they must trust to the seamen for their careful rolling it on board of their sloops and shallops: and if the seamen roll it in bad weather, or in dirty ways, it is exposed to a great deal of damage. 5. It is a great while before the ships can be loaded, their freight lying at such a distance, and being to be brought together in this scrambling manner. By reason of this, it is an usual thing with ships to lie three or four months in the country, which might be dispatched in a fortnight's time, if the tobacco were ready at certain ports; and this inflames the freight to almost double the price of what it needed to be, if the ships had a quick dispatch.[3]

'In New England, they were obliged at their first settlement to settle in towns, and would not permit a single man to take up land, till a certain number of men agreed together, as many as might make a township; then they laid them out a town, with home lots for gardens and orchards, out lots for corn fields, and meadows and country lots for plantations, with overseers and gangs of hands; which would have proved an excellent way in such a country as Virginia is. But this opportunity being lost, they seated themselves, without any rule or order, in country plantations; and being often sensible of the inconveniencies of that dispersed way of living, their General Assemblies have made several attempts to bring the people into towns, which have proved all ineffectual.

'One error has generally run through all these undertakings, viz. that they always appointed too many towns, which

will be still the fault of them, if they are contrived by a General Assembly: For every man desiring the town to be as near as is possible to his own door, and the burgesses setting up every one of them for his own county, they have commonly contrived a town for every county; which might be reasonable enough hereafter, when the country comes to be well peopled, but at present it is utterly impracticable, for want of people to inhabit them, and money to build them. And therefore we cannot but think the Governor and Assembly of Maryland have taken a much wiser course, who, in their law for towns, have ordered only two towns, in that whole province, viz. one on the eastern and another on the western shore. So perhaps two or three towns in Virginia would be enough at first. The country might add more afterwards, as they increase in wealth and people.

'Another error they ran into, in their last law for towns, was, that they made it utterly unlawful to buy or sell any goods exported or imported but at these towns, under no less a penalty than the forfeiture of ship and goods; which was a great force upon trade, and would have made all people very uneasy at present; though on the other hand there is this to be said for it, that their merchants, being already seated with their stores in country plantations and having their customers all round about them, without some considerable force could not be induced to leave all these, and to come and live in towns.

'Some are of opinion, that the King's constituting ports for exportation and importation would do the business, i. e. would bring the trade to these ports; and perhaps it would at the long run; for all that set up for merchants, after such a constitution of ports, would probably set up at these places; but it would be a long time before the old merchants, who are in the present possession of the trade, would be persuaded to leave their country houses, and stores, to come and live at towns. Perhaps if there were great care taken to encourage these port towns with privileges and immunities, and likewise to discourage the country stores, the thing would quickly be more effectual. However, it is, hoc opus hic labor est, if towns and ports can be brought to bear, the chief obstruction to the improvement of that country will be removed. It is certain that little help towards it is to be expected from the General Assembly; except they should come to have a Governor, in whom they have a most mighty confidence that he acts for the public good; which was the case in Governor Nicholson's time, when we see they were not only willing to have towns, but to force them with many visible inconveniencies. But for their own temper, they showed it as soon as he was gone, i. e. they are daily more and more averse

to cohabitation; the major part of the house of burgesses consisting of Virginians that never saw a town, nor have no notion of the conveniency of any other but a country life. As a proof whereof, perhaps it may not be unfit to give an account of an argument which was brought against towns, by an ingenious Virginian, who had never been out of the country. His argument was this: 'That they might observe already, wherever they were thick seated, they could hardly raise any stocks, or live by one another; much more, concluded he, would it be impossible for us to live when a matter of an hundred families are cooped up within the compass of half a mile of ground.'

This lucid statement reveals the common vice of the successive laws which vainly attempted the promotion of towns in Virginia, namely, the subordination of the town itself to the regulation of the tobacco trade. That principle may indeed be traced back to the consideration of the tobacco trade by the first legislature which met in America. At the Assembly of 1619 it appeared that even so early Virginia had begun her long fight against trash tobacco and that already she had statesmen who realized that the market for her staple could be limited only by the commercial reputation of the colony. 'To the ends,' said this primitive Assembly with an unamerican avoidance of a split infinitive, 'we may not onely persuade and incite men, but inforce them also, thoroughly and loyally to cure their Tobacco;' and it was provided that whatever did not pass inspection at 'the Magazine' at James City, 'shall there immediately be burnt before the owner's face."[4]

As the colony grew and it became increasingly difficult to bring all the tobacco into Jamestown, the machinery of inspection was enlarged, but that was all. Thus, at the session of February, 1632/3, there were 'appoynted five stores . . . unto which the planters shall be obliged to bringe in all their tobacco before the last day of December . . . to be repacked, viewed and tryed by sworne men."[5] But while it was thus contemplated that tobacco might be inspected at several places, the local government still sought to keep a tight hand on the actual trading. To prevent ingrossing and forestalling of the English merchandise imported by the tobacco ships, it was ordered that

such goods might be 'only sould and bartered [for tobacco] at James Citty."[6] The ship masters might perhaps have agreed to limit the places at which they took on their ladings but they were humanly unwilling to bind themselves to do all their trading under the Governor's eye. They accordingly took advantage of the fact that the law was open to the very practical objection that there were at James City no warehouses in which merchandise might be exposed for sale. The 'stores' were still on paper. This failure proved fatal to the law. On complaint to the Crown, the Privy Council ordered a suspension of the regulations until the colony might provide facilities to make them work.[7] And so Virginia resumed her comfortable but expensive practice of direct trade between plantation and ship; and neither at James City nor at the other 'stores' (if, indeed, any of them were ever actually built) did there grow up such a trading centre as might have developed into a town.

Those who still believed in the principle of their earliest regulation of trade, now saw that a mistake had been made in not permitting both trading and inspection at the same places. During the Commonwealth when the colonial influence of the English merchants was at its lowest ebb, and when in consequence Virginia had the largest opportunity of commercial self-expression she was to know until the American Revolution, these men amended and revived the trading acts of 1633. Edward Diggs, of Belfield on York River, who began the culture of the famous 'E. D.' sweet scented tobacco, is credited with having inaugurated the new legislation during his term as Governor. By his act of 1655,[8] 'for regulateing a Trade and establishing Ports and Places for Markets,' it was provided that 'there be one or two places and no more' in each County 'where the marketts and trade of the County shall be and not elsewhere.' But, like its original, this measure fell still born. It was damned by the planters themselves as adding an unnecessary inconvenience to a life of least resistence. 'Are we not accustomed,' said the Virginian over his bumbo, 'to having everything we buy brought to our doors and our tobacco 'rolled' away by the crew of the ship we deal with?' He little realized

what that service cost him,[9] but the argument was urged in 1655 just as it was to be urged against Spotswood's and Gooch's tobacco laws, with the difference only that at its earliest appearance it prevailed. It does not appear that any serious effort was made to enforce the Diggs law. The record is that it was repealed within the year,[10] leaving only, to save Governor Diggs' face, an innocuous declaration that 'if any countrey or perticular persons shall settle any such place whither the merchants shall willingly come for the sale or bringing of goods, such men shall be lookt upon as benefactors to the Publique.'

After the Restoration a parson who had lived in Virginia during the Commonwealth to avoid 'the tyrannical usurpations of his native country,' signing himself 'R. G.'[11] rehearsed to the Bishop of London the reasons for Governor Diggs' law, with one eye on the economic development of the colony and the other on the welfare of the clergy, and urged that if that law was renewed the church would benefit. His able report was published in London early in 1662 as a tract entitled *Virginia's cure*.[12] Perhaps it persuaded Clarendon, and so may have been influential in the formation of the instruction Berkeley brought back from England in 1662, whereby the Governor was enjoined to encourage the building of towns. He was told that Virginia could not have a better example than that of the experience of their neighbours in New England who had, said the home government, 'in a few years raised that colony to breed wealth, reputation and security.'[13] On this fiat, immediately after Berkeley reached Virginia, the Assembly passed, in December, 1662, an 'Act for building a towne.'[14]

It does not appear that Berkeley himself was impressed by the example of New England. He carried out his instructions literally, but hardly in the spirit in which they were issued: on the contrary, he shaped the act partly in the interest of military defense and partly for the protection of the revenue to be derived from the new tobacco export tax, which had proved difficult of collection. The Assembly itself was loath but loyal. They recited, without enthusiasm, that 'though our own conveniences of profit and securitie might urge us' to such action,

yet the 'towne to be built at James Citty' was undertaken 'by his majesties royall commands.' The earlier laws were followed in the prescription of Jamestown as the compulsory market for all the James River plantations, but no scope was given for free play of economic forces; the 'encouragement' contemplated by the Governor's instructions was altogether lacking. Reciting that 'works of soe publique concernement can hardly be effectually managed but with great damage of the private undertakers without some contribution from the publique to assist them,' it was decreed, as heroically as Kubla Khan provided for his 'lordly pleasure dome' at Xanadu, that each of the seventeen counties should build a house at Jamestown, and to that end that artizans should be 'impressed' and that 'a levye of thirty pounds of tobacco per pole be raised through the whole countrey.' The only coating of this pill was a promise that when Jamestown had been built up with thirty-two houses, similar towns should be built in 'the same manner' on York River, next on the Rappahannock, then on the Potomac,[15] and finally in Accomack, with the same injunction of bringing the tobacco of the several districts to the respective towns 'for the advancement of the markett.'

Berkeley's act was, like Diggs', a dismal failure. Beverley says that nobody pretended to obey it, but made excuse of the risk that the London ships carried the plague. Instead of breaking bulk at the designated port, ships 'were no sooner enter'd with the Officer at James Town but they dispers'd themselves to unload and trade all over the River. By this means the Design of Towns was totally baulk'd and this Order provid'd only an Ease to the Officer of James River.' Even in the matter of building houses there was disappointment. More than that the onerous tax and the demand for compulsory labor had the unexpected effect of starting a flow of emigration from Virginia to Maryland, and Lord Baltimore made the most of the opportunity. Francis Moryson, reporting what happened, wrote[16] the epitaph of the act of 1662:

'Our poore Assay of building ffower or ffive houses lost

us hundreds of people wch I hope will wipe off that odium that is throwne upon the Governm't, that wee use our people worse than Maryland and therefore they leave us and flye to them.'

Berkeley had, therefore, to content himself with a compromise expressed in a resolution of the Assembly, adopted in October, 1665,[17] which fairly illustrates how far Virginia succeeded in achieving 'cohabitation' during the seventeenth century, viz:

'*Whereas* for the better convenience, more ease and better trade, It is thought fitt that one or two places in every Countie bee sett out, where the whole trade of the Countie shall bee, and that the Church and minister's house, the Court house Records, and Clerk's residence, the Sheriffs & offices and Bayliffs, the prison and ordinaries and what else shall be thought fitting, shall be established there; and that all goods yearly imported be first sold there dureing that Space at least eight moneths or more; and that present care be taken for the merchants present accomodacon of victualls and Store house roome upon Reasonable rates; for the effecting. whereof

'*It is Ordered* that this order be published in every County Court yearely in the moneths of October and November, and all people be summoned in everie County to Consult, at a time and place appointed, whether such places shall be established for those uses or not, and the Majr voate to conclude it affirmatively or negatively according to the conveniencie or inconveniencie of each Countie.'

The next revival of the hopes of those who dreamed of towns in Virginia was during Lord Culpeper's first brief visit to his government in 1680. Whatever else he was, that gentleman certainly was not under any influence of the London merchants. His purpose was, however, similar—to promote a special interest; in this case his own, rather than theirs. And so he applied the same intelligence to the development of Virginia his ancestors had devoted to their iron works at Salehurst or he, himself, had applied to the agriculture of his inherited English manors of Leeds and Thoresway. He was as conscious of his proprietary rights in Virginia as was Lord Baltimore of Maryland; and he did not scruple to propose, on

his own responsibility, several pieces of legislation which were more to the advantage of the colony than they were in strict accord with the current policy of the Crown. One of these was his 'act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture,'[18] which recited the 'present and continued lowness of the price of tobacco' and the remedy for it in 'building of storehouses for the reception of all merchandizes imported, and receiving securing and laying ready all tobaccos for exportation;' and provided that each county should lay out fifty acres for a town[19] which was to be a compulsory tobacco market as well as a port of export and import. So far the statute was no more than a fourth enactment of the plan of 1633, but in terms it went further and made provisions looking to the creation of true towns. Certain exemptions were authorized from public service and taxes 'for encouragement of carpenters, sawyers, brickmakers, bricklayers, laborers and all other tradesmen whatsoever that will cohabitt, dwell and exercise their trades within the said appointed places or any of them.' When this was followed by Culpeper's 'act for the encouragement of manufactures,'[20] which contained an authority for the payment of debts in commodities other than tobacco, it seemed for a moment that an urban civilization might, indeed, be realized in Virginia. Thomas Matthew (the 'T. M.' of Bacon's Rebellion) started a linen manufacture at Coan, the proposed town site in Northumberland;[21] and William Fitzhugh wrote to a correspondent in London, 'we are going to make Towns. If you can meet with any tradesmen that will come in and live at the Town, they may have large privileges and immunities.'[22]

At this the merchants took alarm. Such things were rank heresy to the entire mercantile system. As Culpeper's influence was then strong at Court, the merchants, determined to nullify his legislation, resorted to what was practically an embargo of Virginia tobacco. No storehouse being built, their ships failed to come to the paper towns and some merchants refused to buy tobacco at all. As a result, both the customs and the interests of the planters suffered, while opportunity was afforded to the politicians of the 'Country party' to agitate opposition to the

government. The ensuing plant cutting riots were thus a direct consequence of Culpeper's cohabitation law, as the Council later reported.

'The traders were obstructed in their traffic,' they said,[23] 'under colour of an act of assembly, made in June, 1680, which enjoined them to bring their merchandizes to certain places and from those places to lade all their tobacco; but several masters and traders, not finding any reception or shelter for themselves or merchandize, did absolutely refuse to comply with the act and traded as they used to do; for which they suffered much inconvenience and trouble, the prosecution being chiefly managed by such persons and their instruments who had a particular regard to their own interests, whereby trade was greatly discouraged and the best part of the country dissatisfied: afterwards the same persons insinuated with the easiest sort of people how advantageous [would be] an act for a cessation of planting for one year.'

In this juncture the Commissioners of the Customs delivered a ponderous opinion adverse to the act for cohabitation, based on the wise saw, 'Trade is to be courted, not forced.' The act was accordingly suspended by the Crown as impracticable, with advice that it be recast.[24] A really statesmanlike proposal has thus, as Beverley[25] remarked, sententiously enough, been 'kindly brought to nothing by the Opposition of the Merchants of London.' Culpeper was defeated, but the soul of his act went marching on through Virginia history. In the interval between enactment and suspension several towns were actually laid out; Norfolk, Hampton and Yorktown all trace their pedigrees to Culpeper's act, while the form of that legislation was followed by the Assembly in 'establishing' all towns until well into the nineteenth century when it became the custom to 'incorporate.'

The project now slept until Nicholson's first administration, when interloping in the Virginia trade, particularly on the Potomac, had become of enough importance to make it apparent to all, even to the merchants, that it would be beneficial at once to the customs revenue and to the navigation laws to appoint 'certaine limited ports, Wharfes, Keyes and places,' for export

and import. The advocates of towns in Virginia saw in this an opportunity to shape new legislation which, by adroitly omitting all reference to towns and manufactures, might covertly recognize the existence of such towns as had been laid out under Culpeper's act. Nicholson, being then in the honeymoon of his relations with Virginia, fell in with the plan and the Assembly passed, in April, 1691, the 'Act for ports, etc.;'[26] which designated a public port in each county[27] and provided that no tobacco should be exported, nor any goods landed, except at such ports, under the extreme penalty of forfeiture of the offending vessel. The Assembly appended, however, a revival of Culpeper's act for advancing manufactures and a provision extending to the skin trade, for the benefit of the church, the principle of the long established tobacco export tax. This nexus of legislation excited heated criticism and discussion in London. The merchants, now more influential in Council even than they were in Charles II's day, began with a significant admission: 'We agree,' they said, 'Townes [to be] usefull to the Inhabitants & Trade, but then that they be Ports to import & Land & to export & ship: which only acts would create Towns without trouble or force'; but they wound up with a definite objection to the whole scheme. A committee of Virginians, William Sherwood, James Blair and Patrick Smith, retorted with an elaborate brief on behalf of the Assembly, which convinced no one.[28] Even the Commissioners of the Customs had lost interest. Nicholson's port act, like its predecessors, was suspended and died.[29]

The establishment of Williamsburg in 1699[30] as a purely political capital was the next stimulus to the will for towns. Even though for some years Williamsburg remained an 'imaginary city,' it was not long before people went to live there, and in Yorktown and Hampton as well.[31] The consequent realization of the amenities of urban society gave for the first time some really popular support to the next and final effort to promote a comprehensive system of towns. Like that which it succeeded, this effort was, however, born of the navigation laws. The merchants now themselves took the initiative. They fully

realized what Hartwell, Blair and Chilton had urged and what Makemie now cogently reiterated, that the delays to their ships in Virginia while peddling merchandise and collecting tobacco were a handicap which pinched in proportion as profits narrowed, and they hoped to secure ports on their own terms. Accordingly, in March, 1704/5, they submitted to the Commissioners of the Customs a memorial setting forth the advantages to the customs, as well as to traders, of establishing a limited number of ports for lading and unlading. As a result, the Crown instructed Governor Nott to recommend such a law to the Assembly, and that body, at its session in October, 1705, duly included in the Revisal of that year an 'act for establishing ports and towns.'[32] But here again the old wound was opened. Not content with the simple provision for ports which the merchants had contemplated, the Assembly again went further. Varying the programme of 1691, they enacted that the designated port towns[33] should become incorporated boroughs with markets and 'a merchant Guild and Community and all Customes and Liberties belonging to a Free Burgh.' As further inducement to settle in these towns the inhabitants were, as in Culpeper's act, acquitted of certain taxes and were allowed certain trade monopolies. The merchants' fears at once revived. Again they argued that such immunities would induce Virginia to leave off planting tobacco and take to manufacturing in earnest. Good people in England still thought of Virginia, even after 1705, in the terms of the famous retort attributed to a Crown law officer, 'Damn your souls, make tobacco.'[34] The Lords of Trade accordingly recommended that the act of 1705 be disallowed, and this was done in 1709.[35]

And so came to an end the fifty years of effort to bring home to the Virginia planter and the Virginia merchant the lesson of the modern world—co-operation. It might almost be said that the travail of such various characters as Edward Diggs and 'R. G.,' Berkeley and Culpeper, Nicholson, Nott and the arch priest, James Blair, had produced a *ridiculus mus,* for,

apparently, their actual achievement was nominal. Towns had indeed been created but not yet towns of commercial significance. Several of these had every advantage of nature and yet withered; but the one among them which is still growing may have been worth all the effort, for Norfolk seems destined to be a world mart.

Francis Makemie[36] illustrated his argument in 1705 by citing the advantages Virginia then already enjoyed in towns, and so sums up the actual accomplishment:

'Norfolk Town at Elizabeth River . . . carry on a small Trade with the whole Bay: which Benefit would be more universal if Towns were effectively promoted and encouraged. . . . You may frequently buy at the three beginnings of Towns, at Williamsburg, Hampton and Norfolk, many things which strangers have no opportunity of having elsewhere at any rate: and at more modest Prices than are exacted at Private Plantations.'

Twenty years later the testimony was still much the same. In 1724 Hugh Jones[37] said:

'Neither the Interest nor Inclinations of the Virginians induce them to cohabit in Towns: so that they are not forward in contributing their assistance towards the making of particular Places, every Plantation affording the owner the Provision of a little Market: wherefore they most commonly build upon some convenient Spot or Neck of Land in their own Plantation, though Towns are laid out and established in each County: the best of which, (next Williamsburgh) are York, Gloucester, Hampton, Elizabeth Town [i. e. Norfolk] and Urbanna.'

On the Potomac only Marlborough, the proposed shire town of Stafford, survived from the designation of Nicholson's act of 1691. Although duly laid out in lots which passed into the hands of several owners, and for some time the site of a tobacco inspection, as a town Marlborough remained the shadow of a name, a type of the failure of a generous hope.[38]

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

[1] The *Orders and Constitution* of 1618 may be conveniently studied in Yeardley's instructions in *Va. Mag.*, ii, 154. In addition to the positive provisions looking to urban civilization which have been quoted, they ordained 'that no particular plantation be or shall be placed stragglingly in the divers places, to the weakening of them, but be united together in one seat and Territory, that so also they may be incorporated by us into one body corporate.' The description of the development of life in Virginia as 'wild and rambling' is that of Nicholas Spencer to Secretary Coventy in 1680 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1677-80, No. 1434). For the progressive selfishness of the influence of the merchants in colonial affairs, once the Crown had deprived them of responsibility for the welfare of the colony by the dissolution of the Virginia Company, see Flippen, *Royal Government in Virginia* (Columbia University Studies, 1919), pp. 46 ff.

[2] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1696-97, No. 1396, p. 641; printed also in *Mass. Hist. Collection,* 1st Series, v, 124. Mr. Fortescue, the editor of the Colonial State Papers, says that 'this one is on the whole the most interesting document that has passed through the hands of the present editor: and it possesses the further peculiarity of being so admirably written that it has hardly been possible for him to abridge a single word of it.'

The authors were a merchant, a parson, and a lawyer, who, educated in the old world, had lived their several lives long enough in Virginia to see its civilization in the round, without the prejudice of provincialism. Hartwell, associated in business with Micajah Perry, the leading Virginia merchant of his day in London, and a planter on the south shore of the James, accumulated a fortune, sat in the Virginia Council and returned to England to die, in 1699, leaving nephews in Virginia. (See his will, P. C. C. *Pett*, 134, in Waters' *Genealogical Gleanings*, 313, and *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 34; vii, 62.) Blair was the Scots clergyman who, as Commissary for the Bishop of London, played so large a part in Virginia history. (See D. E. Motley, *Life of Commissary James Blair*, Johns Hopkins University studies, 1901.) Chilton was a barrister of the Middle Temple, who emigrated to Virginia before 1682 and served for some time as Clerk of the Council and of the General Court. In 1692 he became Attorney General of Virgniia, and, in 1699, of Barbadoes (*W. & M. Quar.*, x, 33).

[3] William Fitzhugh had made the point with his correspondents several times, in 1683 and again in 1686 (*Va. Mag.*, i, 109, 117, 401), and with his usual fertility of suggestion had devised a plan for his own correspondents to take advantage of the disability of the other merchants.

[4] *Journals H. B.*, 1619-1659, p. 11.

[5] Hening, i, 204. The original 'five stores' were to be at 'James City, Shirley hundred Island, Denbigh, Southampton river in Elizabeth City and Kiskyake.' Hampton and Yorktown might include the two last in their municipal pedigrees, but the others have disappeared from all but the antiquarian's map. It seems likely, however, that this act of 1633 is the source of that persistent 'Americanism,' the word 'stores.'

[6] Hening, i, 210.

[7] *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, i, 236.

[8] Hening, i, 412.

[9] It remained for Francis Makemie (*Perswasive to Towns and Cohabitation*, 1705, in *Va. Mag.*, iv, 253) to expose the economic fallacy of this argument from convenience: 'All commodities brought to a Market and especially Tobacco pays its own charge, and more, in the advanced Price which the Merchant will freely pay.'

[10] Hening, i, 397, 476.

[11] Mr. Neill conjectures that he was 'Roger Green who had been . . . a respected minister in the Colony' (*Virginia Carolorum*, 290). If so, his Virginia residence was in Nansemond, and in 1653 he planned to lead a colony south of the Chowan River into what is now North Carolina (Hening, i, 380).

[12] Force's Tracts, iii, No. 15.

[13] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1661-68, No. 308, p. 110; *Virginia Carolorum*, 292; *Va. Mag.*, iii, 16. It is worth while to quote these instructions at length:

'That care be taken to dispose the planters to be willing to build towns upon every River which must tend very much to their security and in time to their profit, of which they cannot have a better evidence and example than from their neighbours of New England, who obliging themselves to that order have in a few years raised that Colony to great wealth and Reputation and security. We wish that there may be at least one Town upon every River and that you begin at James River, which being first seated we desire to give all countenance and to settle the Government there, and therefore as we do expect that you give good example yourself by building some houses, those which will in a short time turn to your profit, so you shall in our name let the Councillors of that colony know that we will take it very well at their hands if they will each of them build one or more houses there, and you shall give a particular account by a letter to ourself of the success of this our design, what orders are made by our assembly for the advancement thereof and what particular persons do engage themselves to build upon this our Recommendation.'

[14] Hening, ii, 172.

[15] A tobacco market on the Potomac was especially desirable in the interest of the revenue, because of the practice then to avoid the export tax by sending Virginia tobacco across the Potomac in 'Sloops and boats' to be loaded on ships in Maryland. See Hening, ii, 132, 443. Edward Randolph pointed out that the practice still prevailed at the end of the century.

[16] *Virginia Carolorum*, 310.

[17] *Journals H. B.*, 1659-93, p. 30.

[18] Hening, ii, 471.

[19] Those on the Potomac were to be

'In Stafford County att Peace Point att the mouth of Aquia on the north side. In Westmoreland County att Nomenie on the land of Mr. Hardricke. In Northumberland County, Chickaconey.'

'Mr. Hardricke' was William Hardick, as he, himself, spelled the name (see his will, P. C. C. *Coke*, 6, in *Va. Mag.*, xv, 429) or 'Capt. William Hardidge' as it is spelled in Nicholson's act of 1691.

He was a refugee from Maryland, having been involved in Ingle's rebellion.

[20] Hening, ii, 503. In 1691, after the Revolution of 1688, and indeed, after Culpeper's death, when certainly it was no longer necessary to be polite to him, the Assembly recited (*ibid.*, iii, 50) that this law 'is a good and wholesome law and very beneficial to the people of this dominion.' While in England, after his first visit to Virginia, Culpeper used all his great influence at Court to protect it against official disapproval (*Va. Mag.*, i, 114). In this, as in other respects, he showed himself much more than the avaricious pleasure loving tyrant some historians have made him out to be. Fitzhugh, for instance (*Va. Mag.*, i, 275) had the acumen to appreciate his 'great judgment and strong abilities.'

[21] *Va. Mag.*, i, 43.

[22] *Ibid.*, i, 30.

[23] Hening, ii, 561; iii, 541.

[24] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1681-85, No. 318; Hening, ii, 508.

[25] *History and Present State* (1705), i, 81.

[26] Hening, iii, 53.

[27] The ports on the Potomac were to be:

'ffor Stafford County on the land where Capt. Mallachy Peale now liveth, called Potomac Neck.

'ffor Northumberland County on Chacacone river, being the land of Mr. Spencer Mottrom, formerly laid out for a towne according to a former act.'

While a secondary market was authorized

'ffor Westmoreland County on the land of Capt. William Hardidge where he now liveth on the mouth of Nominy, a place formerly appointed by law.'

[28] *Westover MSS.* (ed. Wynne), ii, 159. Beverley (i, 94) charges explicitly that the port act might have been sustained even then if Nicholson had stood firm for it and had recommended that only the manufacturing act and the skin tax be jettisoned. He suggests that the merchants found their own way to make their influence felt with the Governor. The prejudice which dictated everything Beverley wrote about Nicholson deprives this covert implication of corruption of the gravamen it might otherwise have as an explanation of an undoubted inconsistency. On the record, too, the charge seems unfair. Nicholson was, throughout his career, a consistent supporter of the principle of the navigation acts. He won not only official promotion by his zeal in that respect but, what was a unique distinction among contemporary colonial administrators, the commendation of Edward Randolph. Some other explanation of the Governor's position at this time must be found to substitute for Beverley's. As reasonable a one as any would be that, like the Virginia merchants themselves, he had become infected with the current fear of the Scottish interlopers and saw ghosts.

[29] Hening, iii, 108.

[30] *Ibid.*, iii, 197. Williamsburg was laid out by trustees, on the precedent of Culpeper's act of 1680, but in 1722 became the first true city in Virginia, by royal charter. See Hening, iv, 138.

[31] Hening, iii, 432. The Assembly here recited that 'divers tracts of land have been purchased and laid out for ports and towns in the respective places appointed by the said act [of 1691] and vested in

trustees, many of which have conveyed lots or half acres therein to several persons who have built thereon and have made considerable improvements.

[32] *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, ii, 485; Hening, iii, 404.

[33] The Potomac towns were to be:

'On Wicocomico River upon Col. Cooper's land in Potomack district,' to be called *New-Castle;* 'Yohocomico upon the land of Richard Tidwell in Westmoreland,' to be called *Kingsale;* 'Potomack Creek at the town land in Stafford,' to be called *Marlborough.*

[34] This spicy and oft quoted anecdote, to which Charles Campbell gave currency, seems to have had its origin in Benjamin Franklin's letter to Parson Weems, July 18, 1784 (*Writings of Franklin,* ed. Smyth, ix, 238). The retort is there attributed to 'King William's Attorney General, Seymour.' Sir Edward Seymour (1633-1708), to whom reference is obviously made, was never Attorney General, but, at the time Commissary Blair was soliciting the Charter of William and Mary College, he was one of the lords of the treasury to whom Dr. Blair's petition was referred (Perry, *Virginia Church Papers,* 6), and in that capacity he may have made the remark. The Attorney General at the time was Sir John Somers (1651-1716), afterwards Lord Chancellor, and, as the charter passed also through his hands, it may be that Franklin confused the names.

[35] *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 137.

[36] *Perswasive* in *Va. Mag.,* iv, 253.

[37] *Present State,* p. 35.

[38] There is a sufficient history of Marlboroughtown from 1691 to in Rowland, *George Mason,* i, 54; *W. & M. Quar.,* xiii, 165; *Va. Mag.,* v, 278, showing how it relapsed into a plantation.

John Mercer (1704-1768) emigrated to Virginia from Ireland, bringing with him not only strong native parts but some education in the law. In his youth he had, however, the defects of the Celtic temperament, the qualities of which produced among his descendants some excellent soldiers. He settled at Marboroughtown in 1726 as a practising attorney and at once allowed a facile pen to get him into trouble with the government (*Journals H. B.,* 1727-40, pp. 66, 71). Again, in 1734, the Prince William justices complained of his insolence in their court and that he 'excited the People to contemn them and their authority.' For this the Council suspended Mercer from practising law. In 1738 he was reinstated but in 1739, on a new complaint was 'forever disabled to practice as an attorney.' Ten years later, however, after he had published his convenient *Abridgment* of the Virginia laws, he was named first in a new commission for Stafford (See the executive journals of the Virginia Council, C. O. 5: 1420, pp. 151, 163; 1423, pp. 75, 96, 347). Unable to practice law, he had turned to land speculation and appears in the Northern Neck grant books from 1730 onward, taking up lands all over the newer parts of Prince William, from Catoctin Creek to the Coblers. With his profits from this speculation he bought up all the Marlboroughtown lots and became the owner of that entire neck.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The Scots Merchants at Dumfries

AMONG the chapters of Virginia history still to be written will be an interesting one on the eighteenth century invasion and commercial domination of the colony by the Scots. A text for it and a measure of the practical importance which that influence had attained in the years immediately before the American revolution may be found in the table talk of President Madison in his old age. 'Scotch merchants in Virginia,' he said in November, 1827,[1] 'used to have a meeting twice a year to decide on the rate of exchange, the price of tobacco and the advances on the prices of their goods. This was the substantial legislation of the colony.'

Until the union of the crown of Scotland with that of England, in Queen Anne's time, the Scotsman was an interloper in American trade. Charles II's navigation law of 1660,[2] which inaugurated colonial resistence to the mother country, stirred the resentment of the Scots also. Directed against the Dutch carrying trade, it was on its face a provision in the interest of 'the Wealth, Safety and Strength of this Kingdom,' meaning England alone. Wales and Ireland were incidentally included in its protection, but Scotland, insisting jealously on her national individuality, was omitted.

The Scottish Parliament was persuaded in this situation also to pass a navigation law. It was modeled on that of England, and bears on its face the appearance of expectation of opportunity to trade with America.[3] The North Britons soon found, however, that they had, for the benefit of England, shut off their profitable relations with the Dutch, without any reciprocal compensation. Their commercial position being thus precisely that of the American colonists, it was perhaps inevitable that, resenting with spirit what they both deemed England's

selfishness, they should join hands to nullify the English law. That was, indeed, their only recourse, and we can imagine them justifying the degrading methods they employed, as Scottish manufacturers and American buyers of their wares justify similar methods used to nullify another prohibition law today.

Doubtless, the English merchants were for the moment contemptuous of any danger of effective Scottish competition in American trade; for, as their own act of 1661 recited, the Scots were then commercially negligible, being in the stage of pedestrian 'merchant travellers,' as John McUre, the first historian of Glasgow,[4] euphemistically calls the pedlars whom we meet, in the pages of *The Fortunes of Nigel,* swarming into England after James I. They did not have their first real taste of foreign trade until after the Dutch war. Always able seamen, as their ballads will testify, they had then fitted out privateers which performed service profitable both to the adventurers and the crown. Once afloat, they went on to commerce, beginning with a certain Walter Gibson of Glasgow who, in 1668, exported herrings to France and brought home brandywine.[5] It is significant, however, that even before that first recorded barter overseas a Scot had been nibbling at the tobacco trade. In 1666 one Thomas Barlow, describing himself as a Scottish man who had rendered service in the Dutch war, petitioned King Charles for leave to trade to Virginia, and was recommended by Governor Berkeley.[6] It does not appear that this petition was granted. The English merchants who had succeeded in excluding the Dutch were in no mood to agree to share the profits of the American plantations with anyone, and so the Scots had to shift for themselves. Throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century they emigrated to America in increasing numbers, especially to the proprietary colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jersies,[7] where the laws were framed rather in the interest of increasing population than for the maintenance of a trade monopoly. Some of them soon attained to such positions of local authority as put them in a way to do their countrymen good turns. Glasgow saw in this

the opportunity, for which she had been waiting, and her merchants were not slow to cultivate it. Their legal position was, of course, precarious. The English navigation act of 1660 not only required the plantation trade to be carried on exclusively in English ships, but forbade all persons 'not born within the Allegiance of our Sovereign Lord the King,' to 'exercise the trade or occupation of a Merchant or Factor' in any of the American colonies; while the act of 1662[8] in effect defined this last prohibition by providing that 'his Majesty's subjects of England, Ireland and his Plantations are to be accounted English and no others.' Moreover, there was a strict embargo against unloading a cargo of any of the 'enumerated commodities' produced in the Plantations, e. g., tobacco,[9] elsewhere than at an English port, 'the dangers of the Seas only excepted.' The Glasgow men, whose descendants were to imbue Adam Smith with the principles of free trade, and to teach that teacher how galling was the annoyance of a government meddling with business, nothing daunted by the rules of the game, resorted to 'canny' interpretations. They hired English ships from their neighbours at Whitehaven in Cumberland and, taking on board stocks of Manchester goods, themselves embarked as supercargoes. In that capacity they traded direct with the American planters without assuming the technical function of either 'Merchant or Factor.' When they came home with a lading of tobacco they landed it wherever might be most convient in the Clyde or the Solway, speciously excusing themselves, if challenged, that through stress of weather they had been unable to reach an English port.[10] So long as this infant trade continued to be negligible in amount the Scots were apparently suffered to carry on, even though they paid no duties to the customs. The Bristol merchants who were largely concerned had, indeed, themselves immemorially been interlopers on the continent at the expense of the privileges of the port of London, and they watched the men of St. Mungo with a sympathetic condescension, if not with approval. On the other hand, Manchester and Whitehaven, sharing in the profits, approved cordially. But, after the Revolution of 1688, it is evi-

dent that the Scots' trade with America had grown to proportions which disturbed even the merchant princes of London. That stormy petrel of colonial history, Edward Randolph, the Surveyor General of Customs in America, made himself consistently disagreeable in his futile efforts to break it up in Maryland in 1692, and was denounced at once by the planters and the local government.[11] In 1697, summing up the story of his failure, he reported[12] that

'the Scots have a long time tasted the sweets of the trade to our Plantations, they paying no duties to his Majesty for the goods they import to the Plantations nor for the tobacco they carry from thence to Scotland directly, so that they can thereby sell their goods at far cheaper rates and give a better price to the inhabitants for their tobacco than the English merchants can do.'

From this it may be readily appreciated not only that the Scots had prospered, and in doing so had made themselves welcome wherever they went in America, but why.[13]

The 'general reader' of Macaulay's brilliant pages and Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, remembers that all Scotland experienced at the end of the seventeenth century a sudden national awakening to commercial enterprise under the stimulus of the creative imagination of William Paterson. 'Every school boy knows' that the 'Scottish Africa and Indian Company,' chartered by the parliament of Scotland in June, 1695,[14] was intended to divert and to intercept the commerce of the East India Companies of both Holland and England via the Isthmus of Panama. What is not so well known is that the fruit of the success of Glasgow's illicit trade with America was a strong factor in the astonishing fervor with which the entire nation now subscribed for shares in Paterson's company, and that a continuation of the tobacco trade on a larger scale was an essential part of its plans. It was, indeed, contemplated not only to plant a colony at Darien, which would control the commerce of the Indies, east and west, but to acquire the territory in America which has since become the State of Delaware; and there, where a Glasgow man was already in action, establish

the commercial emporium of North America. It was their misfortune that they failed. Among the 'might have beens' of history is a picture of New York in the twentieth century an out port, like Philadelphia or Boston, and of Newcastle the financial centre of the world.

Edward Randolph, acutely analysing the Scottish act of 1695, pointed out its danger to English trade.

'Although,' he said[15] 'they forbid all other Scots than those of their own Company to touch on any plantation which they shall acquire, on pain of confiscation, yet they allow all such Scots to trade in tobacco and sugar elsewhere (that is to say among the English) they paying for what they so bring home such duties as are established in Scotland; by all which it may be presumed how they project to let themselves into the trade of His Majesty's Plantations. And it is probable they meditate either the purchasing a settlement in West Jersey on the northward, or in one of the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent or Sussex on the southern shore of Delaware Bay, being no part or parcel of the land granted Mr. Penn in his patent of Pennsylvania, or in some one or more islands nigh the continent; by which expedient (if acquired) they might in a short time make a staple not only of all sorts of European manufactures, but also of the enumerated Plantation commodities, even as it is at this day practiced at the small Dutch island of Curacoa.'

It is significant of the panic into which this report threw the London and Bristol merchants, 'trading to Virginia and Maryland,' that they at once represented to the Lords of Trade that 'their trade is in a great measure ruined by many Scotch ships trading thence directly into Scotland without paying duty;' and that special instructions were forthwith sent out to all the colonial governors 'to awaken and excite' renewed effort to enforce the navigation laws on the ground that, unless the activities of the Scots in America were curbed, 'our commerce in tobacco, sugar, etc., will be utterly lost.'[16] There was, therefore, immediate activity in all branches of the colonial government. An entirely new staff of customs collectors was sent to America to replace those who had winked at the Scots trade, and the colonial governments were ordered to set up local vice admiralty

courts to deal with the interlopers as pirates. But the biggest gun of these somewhat hectic measures of defense was a new act of the English Parliament, passed in 1696, 'for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade."[17] Herein it was provided in effect, if not in specific terms, that no Governor or Proprietor in any of the American Plantations should grant any land to a Scot, and that no Scot should hold any place of trust or profit having to do with the law or customs in any of the colonies; while Charles II's navigation acts were reaffirmed and the machinery for their enforcement was tightened up.

The Scottish chartered company duly sent out its colony to Darien. They crossed the seas under the malevolent eyes of the whole commercial world. The merchants of Amsterdam joined their influence to that of the merchants of London and Bristol to bring the venture to disaster. Every agency of the English colonial government obstructed wherever it might. Spain, too, was stimulated to furbish up a title to the 'Golden Island' which the Scots had purchased from the natives. To all these difficulties the Darien colony soon added domestic woes which read like some poignant chapter of the earliest history of Jamestown. Finally, in 1699, the bubble burst. Darien was abandoned and the English mercantile world once more breathed freely.[18]

The disaster to the Scottish chartered company in which they were largely interested, did not cause the Glasgow men to give up the sweets of the tobacco trade then or thereafter. Under new difficulty they continued to poach until, in 1707, their political union with England put them within the letter of the navigation law. The ratification of that treaty was accomplished against bitter opposition in Scotland and was due largely to the awakened appetite for foreign trade. It was remarked at the time that Scotland had sold her independence for 'some hogsheads of sugar, indigo and stinking tobacco.' If this was indeed the consideration, there is no doubt that it was

collected. Thenceforth Scots merchants enjoyed an unbroken and ever increasing prosperity.

An historian of Glasgow[19] paints a pleasant picture of the American trade after the union:

'The infant commerce of the Clyde, however, had to pass through some fiery ordeals, not the least of which was that caused by the combination formed against it by the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Whitehaven, &c. Whether from superior intelligence and acuteness in buying and selling, or from prudence and economy in managing their business—(most probably the latter, for the virtue is national)—the Glasgow tobacco houses not only monopolised the lion's share of the foreign export trade, such as supplying the farmers-general of France, but they even undersold the English merchants in their own home markets. This was a state of things not easily to be borne by the merchants of South Britain, and accordingly they complained to the government that the Glasgow traders conducted their business upon, and reaped their advantages from, a system of fraud and spoliation of the public revenue. A searching investigation followed in 1721, which resulted in the Lords of the Treasury finding—'That the complaints of the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Whitehaven, &c., are groundless, and proceed from a spirit of envy, and not from a regard to the interests of trade, or to the king's revenue.' The English merchants, however, were far from being satisfied with this finding and reproof; and, in the following year, they made another formal complaint to parliament against Glasgow, in consequence of which commissioners were sent down to the Clyde, who imposed so many vexatious regulations on the trade, that it languished, and struggled for its very life. Expensive and harassing lawsuits followed, and it was not till 1735 that the Glasgow merchants were fairly enabled to beat off the annoyance of the Southerns. From this time the trade was conducted on more liberal principles; the old supercargo system was abandoned; partners or resident agents were established throughout Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina; the trade increased prodigiously, and princely fortunes were realised. The halcyon era of the tobacco trade is reckoned from 1750 till the declaration of American independence. During this period almost the entire disposable capital of the city was embarked in it; and, from the magnitude of the scale on which they operated, the Glasgow merchants earned for themselves something like a national monopoly. In Denholm's *History of Glas-*

gow, it is stated as a fact, that 'in the year 1777, out of 90,000 hhds. of tobacco imported into Great Britain, Glasgow alone imported 49,000 of these.' It is further stated that, in the French war which preceded that with America, one merchant alone, viz., John Glassford, Esq., possessed twenty-five ships, with their cargoes, and he is estimated to have traded to the amount of more than half-a-million sterling. The year before the American War of Independence, which was the last of this golden era, the imports into the Clyde were 57,143 hhds., the property of forty-two merchants; and of this not more than 1600 hhds. were retained for local consumption.'

During this last period the 'Virginia merchant' of Glasgow became an aristocrat. Men whose fathers had crowded their families into 'flat' houses, to lead a meagre domestic existence, now built 'mansions'[20] and showed themselves in their counting rooms resplendent in red cloaks and cocked hats. Dr. Philip Slaughter heard of them during his visit to Glasgow in 1849:[21]

'There was a short and narrow street on whose walls were inscribed, 'Virginia.' . . . We gazed at it as at the face of a familiar friend. . . . We listened with interest to an intelligent Scotchman who related anecdotes of the days when Virginia merchants thronged that street and were regarded with such respect that other men gave way that they might pass. He referred with pride to the beginning of the eighteenth century when our ports were thrown open to Scotch adventure and Glasgow, becoming the great entrepot whence the farmers general of France derived their supplies of tobacco from Virginia, received her first impulse towards that high state of prosperity she has since enjoyed: and we acknowledged with gratitude the compensation she had made us in the persons of those energetic sons, who formed so important an element in our population and had illustrated our revolutionary and commercial annals.'

A crown colony in which the navigation laws were always measurably enforced, Virginia did not experience the poaching of the Scots traders at the end of the seventeenth century to anything like the extent of her neighbours. But the contagion spread, nevertheless, out of Maryland across the Potomac into Stafford. Randolph's report on the Scots in 1692[22]

testified that at that time only London and Bristol ships loaded in the upper James River, and that there were no interlopers in York or Rappahannock Rivers. 'But the Potomac' he said, 'should be better looked to. . . . I suggest the despatch of three active able men from England to be collectors in the Potomac, Patuxent and Somerset County.' During the ensuing decade the Scots' influence increased even in Virginia. In 1699 Randolph reported again,[23] 'I never observed so many Scotch merchants as now are in Pennsylvania, and so I am informed in Virginia and Maryland.'

There are several confirmations of this. In 1700,[24] 'Ann Washington, widow of John Washington, late of Virginia,' petitioned the Privy Council for relief from the forfeiture of a bond her husband had given in February, 1693/4, conditioned on the delivery in England of 89 hogsheads of tobacco loaded on his own ship, 'which,' she says, 'was falsely carryed by the Master into Scotland.' The most illuminating and, at the same time, amusing illustration of how Virginia was now yielding to temptation is contained in a colloquy between Daniel Parke and Benjamin Harrison before the Board of Trade in July, 1698.[25] As a Collector of Customs Parke was defending his administration and pointed out his difficulties when those in high places ignored the law. Harrison had just been appointed Attorney General of Virginia.

'Last fall,' said Parke, 'I received a letter from my deputy collector that Mr. Benjamin Harrison was gone away with a vessel from James River laden with tobacco and that everyone supposed he was gone for Scotland since he went without clearing. . . . I suppose Mr. Harrison will not deny that he went with a vessel to Scotland and that he sold the vessel and the major part of the tobacco himself. . . . I will not say that Mr. Blair,[26] his brother-in-law, contrived or advised Mr. Harrison's voyage to Scotland, but I must confess it is admirable to me that Mr. Harrison, who is a native of Virginia, and one that has followed the law there, whom I do not remember to have traded until the year he went to Scotland, and who not only himself, but all his family, (Mr. Blair excepted), were utter strangers to Scotland, should so much as think of such a

voyage. I need not acquaint you with the sweetness of that trade.'

Harrison did not deny the charge and labored heavily in his endeavor to put the shoe back on Parke's foot. He argued that the exorbitant fees demanded by the Collectors,

'have brought Virginia trade to such a pass that it can hardly be carried on without loss. 'Hence all men,' he said, 'are obliged to fall into the same road, and if the inhabitants have been guilty of such practices (as has been insinuated), perhaps the mismanagement and abuses of the government and the officers have driven them to it, that they might make it manifest that so long as the evil was tolerable, duty and loyalty had kept them from doing these things. . . . But these things are all past.'

When Spotswood reached Virginia in June, 1710, the Union was an accomplished fact and the Scottish merchants, no longer interlopers, were beginning to establish residences in the colony. Althought there was some illegal trade carried on through the Dutch island of Curacoa, on the whole the Navigation laws were now enforced. The tobacco trade was, however, at a low ebb, largely, but not entirely, by reason of the loss of the European market during Queen Anne's wars; and it was the fear that the Virginia people would, in their consequent distress, turn to making their own clothes and many of the other things they had been accustomed to buy in England, which induced the government to send over with Spotswood the proclamation for repeal of Governor Nott's act for ports and towns. Spotswood himself studied the situation with acumen and concluded that the real difficulty lay in the quality of the tobacco then being exported. Adulteration with trash, which had begun in simple cozenage,[27] had, indeed, become a recognised, if not approved, plantation practice. The 'out port' merchants in England, who supplied the cheapest markets, had taken advantage of the leniency shown by the customs to damaged tobacco and encouraged the planter to let down his standard by buying from him the tobacco the London

ships rejected. The premium this market gave to sweepings tempted the planter to use them also to pay his taxes and other public dues, including the parsons' tithes. 'Trash,' thus become a commodity, poisoned the reputation of the Virginia staple. Spotswood realized that if he could restore that reputation he could at the same time enhance the planters' income; and that the only effective way to accomplish this was to recur to the traditional remedy of regulation of the staple. He saw, as others had seen before him, an opportunity by the same means to increase the purchasing power of those public dues which were paid in tobacco, viz: the Crown quit rents and the salaries of the public officers, including the clergy; and he saw also something new, an opportunity to provide as well a much needed medium of currency and exchange. Finally, by creating a number of new offices in the gift of the Governor, that worthy was not unconscious that he might strengthen his own political power against the obsteperous 'country party' which gave him so much trouble. It was with these comprehensive motives that he worked out the details of the new plan for the regulation of the tobacco trade which was finally to prevail and was to prove not only the corner-stone of Virginia's prosperity throughout the eighteenth century but at last the stimulus to the establishment of real towns.[28] Discussing his 'Act for preventing frauds in Tobacco payments and for the better improving the staple of Tobacco,'[29] which was passed December 12, 1713, Spotswood said to the Lords of Trade in his dispatch of December 29, 1713:[30]

'I gave y'r Lordships an account in my last of some preparatory steps towards the Act herewith sent, for preventing frauds in the tobacco paym'ts. After the many discouragements which that Trade labour'd under, both here and in G't Britain, It was necessary to enquire from what Root so many Evils did proceed. This has been judg'd to be owing to the ill-management of Tobacco here, many people making it for no other end than to pay off Debts and levies, for which purpose they think it good enough how mean soever it be, and others making such a sort as several of the Out Port Traders in G't Britain most eagerly seek after, (especially of late,) and seeing House

Sweepings and the worst of Trash in a sort, too, which they come hither to purchase and that they have been known to pour Salt Water upon such Tobacco so soon as they have gotten it on board, it may be reasonably suspected if what they carry home rather diminishes than increases the dutys at the Custom House and serves for no other Use than Vile practices, whereby the Staple Commodity of this Country has been brought into disesteem and the markets thereof entirely ruin'd in Europe.

'This Law, therefore, by obliging all Planters to have their Tobacco view'd by a Sworn Officer in the manner y'r Lord'ps may see more fully from the several parts of the Act, has made provision against the exportation of all such Trash as is said to be allow'd by the Cust. Ho. Officers in the Out Ports as damaged Tobacco and thereafter frequently re-exported without the benefit of the Draw-back, and thus it is hoped the reputation of Virginia tobacco may be retrieved when none but such as is found to be worth paying the duty at home shall be sent to foreign markets. It has likewise very justly provided against the passing bad Tobacco in any manner of payments within this Colony, so that her Maj't's Quit Rents, several Officers' Salarys and all the public credit will hereafter be rais'd by so much as is the difference between Trash and good Tobacco; for, as I have before remark'd, it is the general notion of the Country that the worst sort is good enough for these purposes. Besides the convenient method that this Act establishes for the making all P'ments by the Agent's notes, which are to pass like Bank-Bills, will give an opportunity to collect the q't rents at a cheaper Rate than hitherto they have been. The main design of the Port-Act, which was recommended to my Predecessor Govern'r Nott, to endeavour to get pass'd, is, I presume, compass'd by this Act, since that Ships will by means thereof be hereafter loaded in half the time they are now, and that the Collectors and Naval Officers may certainly know to a hogshead the Tobacco that is Shipt home to Great Brittain, and to a Pound that which is exported for the Plantations.'

Specifically, Spotswood's law provided for the establishment of public store houses 'in the most convenyent manner for the ease of the Inhabitants, without regard to the bounds of the Countys . . . on or near to some good landing upon a Navigable River or Creek.' At these store houses it was required that all tobacco intended either for payment of public dues or fees or for export should be delivered to sworn 'Agents'

appointed by the Governor; whence the store houses soon came to be known as 'Agents Houses.' The Agents were to inspect and classify (as sweet scented or Oronoko) all tobacco by them received and, if found 'good, sound, well conditioned and free from all manner of trash,' to stamp the hogsheads officially and issue against them their demand notes in a numbered series. These notes were thereafter to be accepted in payment of all public dues and fees and to be current not only in the county where issued, but in adjacent counties within the limits of the nearest great rivers.[31] Masters of ships were required to take oath not to load any unstamped tobacco.

Although, as we have seen, it had been the Virginia practice since the earliest settlement of the colony to load export tobacco from the tidewater plantations direct on board ships, the seating of the interior had created, as early as Culpeper's time, a need for *entrepots* on tidewater to which the inland tobacco might be 'rolled' in order to make it readily accessible to ships. Thus had grown up those private 'rolling houses' on tidewater which were first recognized by law in 1680, and in 1712, when they had come to be used also as warehouses for imported merchandise, were carefully regulated.[32] The principle of the store house was thus established when Spotswood's act of 1713 was passed. Its novelty consisted in compulsory use and inspection. Although Spotswood said that the advantages of his act were generally recognised, and could point to an immediate rise in the price of tobacco following the introduction of inspection, it could be, as it was, argued that that happy fact was due to the enlarged market made possible by the peace of Utrecht,[33] and that the law developed more local difficulties than advantages. This last reproach was unfortunately just, but it was not the fault of the law. The smaller planters, deprived of their market for trash and resenting regulation anyway, were vocal with complaints. The 'country party,' desiring to discredit Spotswood politically however they might, invited objection from the merchants at home, and in the colony industriously fanned the flame of discontent among the planters.

The result was that in June, 1717, Spotswood's tobacco act was disallowed by the Crown; and so, by much the same influences, suffered the fate of all the town acts to which it was so near of kin. But in the interval the Agents Houses had been established and put in operation. Whatever else they accomplished, they laid the foundation for most of the towns which were to arise during the remainder of the colonial period.

No list of the locations of Spotswood's Agents' Houses has come to light.[34] In Stafford we know with certainty only that there were three of them[35] and so must be content to conjecture that they were at Marlboroughtown, on Aquia and, what is here our interest, on Quantico.

The designation in earlier acts of the two places here first named as town sites is sufficient warrant for confidence in assigning to them two of the Stafford agents' houses of 1713; but as to the third, the deduction must be confessed to be on the principle *post hoc. propter hoc.* There is, however, evidence that as early as 1700 tobacco traders had pushed up the Potomac and were doing business above Aquia. Governor Nicholson left an important testimony for that year:

'Although there be few ships that ride there,' he said, referring to Stafford,[36] 'yet a great many sloops, etc., trade there from ships, who ride both on our Side and on Maryland side of Potomack, and Sometimes in our rivers. Potomack River is but narrow in the upper parts of Stafford so that there is an easy communication from Maryland, and with submission I think that there ought to be at least two Collectors and as many Naval Officers on each side of the river; for the upper parts now begin to be a place of great trade, and the river is navigable and inhabited for above 150 miles.'

That there were many Scots engaged in this up river trade we have the statements of Edward Randolph in 1692 and 1699 (already cited), and of Robert Carter in 1723;[37] and it is significant that the corporation of Glasgow voted in 1720 a complimentary burgess ticket to the third George Mason, then

county lieutenant of Stafford, in consideration of services previously rendered.[38] On this evidence, slender as it is,[39] it may at least be argued that, after the Union, Glasgow merchants established a 'factory' on the Quantico and that that market warranted an 'agents house' there as early as 1713. At all events, the fact is certain that the town of Dumfries, which grew up on the Quantico, was, throughout its brief history, a colony of Glasgow merchants.

The first unequivocal record of the community now available is the provision in Gooch's tobacco act of 1730 for a 'public store house,' later known as a 'ware house' on Quantico.[40] This is followed after another decade by the testimony of a surviving tombstone[41] bearing the date 1739, erected in the vicinity of the warehouse to the memory of 'William Dunlop, merchant, son of Alexander Dunlop, Greek Professor in the University of Glasgow.' He was the resident representative of one of the leading mercantile families of Glasgow, who, throughout the eighteenth century, did business in Virginia tobacco under two firm names, 'Colin Dunlop & Son' and 'Dunlop Crosse & Co.'[42] Other such firms who also had representatives on the Potomac, certainly after 1750, were John Glassford & Co., William Cunningham & Co., Henderson M'Caul & Co. and George and Andrew Buchanan & Co., the last named being those who, as we have seen, laid off 'Virginia Street' in the Scottish commercial capital.

But, meanwhile, Scots from other communities than Glasgow were here seeking their fortunes. John Carlyle, later a notable figure at Alexandria, though born at the town of Carlisle in England, came to Virginia as an employee of a Scottish house and settled on Quantico in 1740;[43] and in 1741 and following years we find 'John Graham, merchant,' taking out land grants.[44]

This John Graham was a native of Perthshire but came to Virginia from the ancient burgh of Dumfries, the shire town of Dumfrieshire, which stands on an estuary (the Nith) of

the Solway Firth some eighty miles south of Glasgow, and is known to general fame as the residence of Robert Burns. Dumfries merchants had been subscribers to the Darien Company and, as early as 1712, we find John Crosbie, then Provost, recorded as the owner of two ships engaged in the Virginia trade.[45] John Graham established himself on Quantico as a representative of another such house (perhaps of kinsmen, for another John Graham was Provost of old Dumfries in 1750); but while maintaining that residence to the end of a long life, he soon abandoned commerce; probably by reason of a disaster suffered by his Scottish principals.[46] In any event, Graham himself had the good fortune to marry two Virginia women and under that influence embarked on a new career as a local officeholder. In doing so he kept, however, a footing in the councils of the merchants, and so was in a position to be of service to both the potent forces in the community life. Thus it befell to John Graham to take the lead in the 'establishment' of the first town of old Prince William.

In the act of 1732[47] it is recited that the original 'Public Store house,' built on Quantico 'upon Robert Brent's land,' was burned and another was substituted on the land of Richard Brit. These were both at the head of navigation of the creek where it was crossed by the original Potomac Path (as it still is by the state highway) and where John Graham subsequently acquired his lands. As early as May, 1740, the Scots had begun to agitate for a town here. They met determined opposition from Valentine Peyton, who insisted that if any town was to be established in Prince William, it must be at the Court House on the lower side of Occoquan where he, himself, had interests. Although the confident Scots adroitly amended their petition, in the light of this opposition, to provide for towns on both Quantico and Occoquan, Peyton was irreconcilable, and was able to persuade the county court to refuse to certify the proposal to the Assembly. This was a breach of privilege, and resulted in discipline by the Assembly of the Prince William justices who had been guilty of it; but in the end Peyton succeeded in having the petition rejected, not

only in 1740 but again in 1742 and 1744.[48] The Scots would not, however, be denied. They now joined hands with those who proposed to establish a similar town on Hunting Creek and at last, in May 1749, secured the passage of 'An act for erecting a Town in the County of Prince William.'[49] Herein it was recited that

'the Inhabitants of the County of Prince William have made humble Application to this General Assembly that a Town may be laid out upon the Land of John Graham, Gentleman, near the Public Warehouses on the upper side of Quantico Creek in the said County for the Cohabitation of such as are minded to settle there, Whereby Trade and Navigation may be greatly increased to the Advantage of the Inhabitants of that part of the County;' and it was enacted that 'sixty acres of Land belonging to the said John Graham situate, lying and being upon the Head of Quantico Creek' might be vested in 'John Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Joseph Blackwell, Richard Blackburn and Thomas Harrison, Gentlemen . . . as Directors and Trustees for designing, Building, carrying on and maintaining a town . . . to be called by the name of Dumfries.'[50]

The new town grew from the start. It was established at the moment when the Virginia merchants in Glasgow began to realize the largest measure of their astonishing prosperity, and the new Dumfries was a mirror of that trade. Their factors, resident in Virginia to distribute their merchandise and buy their tobacco, were enterprising men. In order to meet the competition of itinerant peddlers from Maryland and Pennsylvania[51] they promoted the building and improvements of roads into the back county and at strategic points thereon established stores, such as that 'Red Store' which was the nucleus of Warrenton.[52] The Assembly was advised in 1753, and again in 1759, that the trade of Dumfries had greatly increased, making necessary enlarged warehouses.[53] In the latter year, and again in 1761, the area of the town itself was expanded with the recital by the Assembly that it 'daily increased.[54]

There is other and even more convincing, evidence that the Dumfries traders were now absorbing the commerce of a large territory. Although a public warehouse was established

at Hunting Creek contemporaneously with that at Quantico, and Alexandria was laid off at the same time as Dumfries, the greater part of the tobacco trade in Northern Virginia was drawn to the latter. During the first thirty years of the life of the two towns, Dumfries was undoubtedly the more important place. Thus in 1776, as evidenced by the definition of the territory in which the tobacco notes of the several warehouses were authorized to circulate,[55] the two warehouses then on the Quantico drew not only on Fairfax, Loudoun and the Valley, to which the Fairfax warehouses were confined, but also upon Fauquier and Culpeper in competition with Falmouth, maintaining meanwhile a monopoly of Prince William. A further evidence of this preponderance of trade is that the aggregate salaries then paid the public warehouse keepers at Dumfries (£130) exceeded the aggregate of those paid at the three disparate warehouses contemporaneously operating in Fairfax (£110).[56]

It was only natural that these commercial activities should draw in the public business of Prince William also. In 1752 a new parish church of Dettingen was built at Dumfries, and after Fauquier had been carved out of Prince William in 1759 the town became also a county seat. The surviving ruins of the buildings at Dumfries also testify to the whilom importance of the town. During this period Richard Graham built three large warehouses for his individual use.[57] The amenities of urban civilization were cultivated. In 1771 Dumfries maintained a play house where George Washington, attending court, as he records in his diary, saw *The Recruiting Officer* performed. Lees, Turbervilles, McCartys, Brents, and Fitzhughs drove thither in their chariots and their 'chairs' for balls and 'tea drinkings.'[58]

These were the great days of the Scottish merchants in Virginia, the days when, as President Madison said, their commercial edicts were the 'substantial legislation of the colony,' when they began to serve in the local magistracy, the days when their youngsters received, at the hands of a Scots governor, commissions in the Virginia regiment.[59]

Those of them resident at Dumfries who had built that town were almost all Glasgow men, bearing names well known in that city. In addition to the two Grahams, there are mentioned in the acts relating to the town, as property owners there prior to 1761, Allen Macrae, Robert Scott, John Murry and James Douglas. We have already noted Benjamin Grayson.[60] Of a later date were William Carr, John Riddle, William Cunningham, James Dunlop, John Gordon, Andrew Leigh, Henry Glassford and Alexander Gamble.[61]

Dumfries contained within itself the worm of decay. A specialty town, it never looked beyond the tobacco trade. When the Scottish merchants at home were diverted by the American Revolution from that trade to a commerce in West India sugar, most of those who had been their factors at Dumfries abandoned the town. There was no one with the imagination or the driving power to make the adjustment which Alexandria had already made from tobacco to flour. Less fortunate than William Ramsay at Alexandria, John Graham, now an old man, saw the town he had founded dry up.

Nature gave the *coup de grace*. Quantico Creek had been, for some time, silting up the approach to the wharves at Dumfries and this process went on until, after the Revolution, whatever trade was left could no longer reach those wharves. A vain effort was then made by Bertram Ewell and a few other Virginians, who owned property in the vicinity, to revive the port by establishing, in 1787, a 'Newport' at the mouth of the creek, followed in 1788 by a 'Carrborough' on the opposite shore where the Marine Corps barracks are now maintained.[62] In 1793 one of the two public warehouses at Dumfries was officially discontinued;[63] but there were those at interest who were not yet ready to give up the fight. They now proposed to 'improve' the navigation on the precedent of the Patowmack and James River companies and to that end a 'Quantico Company' was chartered in 1795. Although the statute books show

that this organization was kept alive until 1834, its inadequate resources made its fight futile against the accumulation of silted sand.[64]

Dumfries had meanwhile become a memory. As early as 1783, when Gen. Nathanael Greene, journeying north, had his gig break down near Dumfries and spent a night there, all he could find to say of the town was that it 'stands upon a creek that empties into the Potomac.'[65] Other post-revolutionary travellers passing through merely record its name. Although Quantico was recognised by law as a tobacco inspection as late as 1819,[66] Bishop Meade could already say of it in his day,[67] 'once the mart, the scene of gayety and fashion, the abode of wealthy merchants, all is now in ruins . . . the pines have covered the place where the church once stood . . . desolation reigns around.' Miss Ewell[68] records a melancholy statistic of the last days of Dumfries: 'At one time there were forty widows in the reduced number of inhabitants.' The county seat was removed in 1822.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

[1] *The Harrisons of Skimino* (1910), p. 92. The steady growth of the commercial power of the Scots in Virginia from the Union down to the Revolution naturally excited the jealousy of the Virginians. There are expressions of this sentiment in the correspondence of Robert Carter as early as 1723 and 1724 (*Carter Letter Book* MS, Va. Hist. Soc.) and of Parson James Maury in Dinwiddie's day (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*). Arthur Lee voiced it in his conversations with Dr. Johnson (see Boswell). In 1773 Philip Fithian noted in his *Diary* 'I observe that all the merchants and shop keepers in the sphere of my acquaintance, and I am told it is the case through the Province, are young Scotchmen' and adds that in Westmoreland 'Scotchman' was used as a term of odium, justifying a fight. In 1774 Landon Carter entered in his Diary (*W. & M. Quar.*, xiv, 246) some animadversions which illuminate the feeling. 'In my conversation I took notice of the Part the Gent. of the Scotch nation were acting. They are become a part of us by coming to trade among us, and except a very few who seem to intend this colony their Chief residence, all the rest seem active in endeavoring to persuade a submission to this arbitrary taxation. I told them that bred up under strange feudal tenets, they were strangers to liberty themselves and wanted the rest of mankind to live under the same notions that they had ever done

. . . Tho' they never before paid any compliment to our King's birthday, they were remarkable in their rejoicing on Saturday last. I observed that none of the merchants, tho' many in company, said anything in answer.'

[2] 12 Car. II, c. 18, Ruffhead, *Statutes at Large,* iii, 182. The pinch of this act in the colonies was the proviso with reference to the 'enumerated commodities,' which was not in the Commonwealth act of 1651. Navigation acts themselves were no novelties to Englishmen. They had experienced such restraints from the fourteenth century onward. See Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce,* i, 394; ii, 209.

[3] *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,* vii, 257. 'It is always heirby provydid that this act nor any clause therein contained extend not to or be meaned to restraine or prohibite the importation of any commodities of Asia, Africa or America . . . from such ports and places and in such ships and vessels as may be gotten most conveniently untill such time as the merchants of this Kingdome have actual trade to those respective places and that the same be prohibite by act of Parliament, Privy Council or Council of Trade.'

[4] *Glasghu Facies,* or a view of the City of Glasgow (1736), p. 205.

[5] McUre, *ibid.*

[6] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1661-68, p. 429.

[7] The Maryland proprietary was greatly benefited by Scots emigration at this time, welcoming Presbyterian colonies in Somerset County on the eastern shore and at Upper Marlborough at the head of Patuxent (Scharf, *History of Maryland,* i, 363.). It was to trade with and through them that Gustavus Hamilton established, on the lower Delaware River, in Penn's no man's land then known as 'the lower Counties,' that Scots factory which, under the protection of the Maryland government, absorbed enough of the tobacco trade to bring down upon it the fulminations of Edward Randolph in his reports of 1692 and 1697. (See *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1689-92, No. 2295, p. 656; *House of Lords MSS.,* N. S., ii, 441.)

[8] 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 11; Ruffhead, iii, 236.

[9] The 'enumerated commodities' were 'Sugars, Tobacco, Cotton-wool, Indicoes, Ginger, Fustick or other dying Wood, of the Growth, production or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia or Africa.' This list was later enlarged to include also rice and molasses.

[10] See the recitals of the act of 1696 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 22).

[11] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1689-92, pp. 656, 679, 750.

[12] *House of Lords MSS.,* N. S., ii, 489.

[13] William Fitzhugh illustrates how this worked, in a letter of May, 1685 (*Va. Mag.,* i, 273): 'I have shipped no Tobo. this year, it gave too good a market here to admit thereof; for I had this year near £5 a hhd. for 150 hhds., bought with ready money and clear of charge as custom, freight, package, etc. Our River this year produces little consignments of Tobo. and I suppose no great quantity will be carry'd from us to you thither, for our partners [meaning the Scots] have found an advantageous trade to themselves here and profitable to us p. the good prices they give for our Tobo.'

[14] *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,* ix, 377.

[15] *House of Lords MSS.*, N. S., ii, 488; *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1693-96, p. 625. The purpose of the rigid examination of William Penn in 1697 by a Committee of the House of Lords was to develop his title and intentions with respect to 'the lower counties', as a consequence of this report.

[16] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1693-96, pp. 638, 645; *House of Lords MSS.*, N. S., ii, 481.

[17] 7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 8, Ruffhead, iii, 609.

[18] The documents for Darien have been collected as *Darien Papers* in a publication of the Bannatyne Club. From the English side the tragedy can be followed, with the aid of Mr. Cecil Headlam's judicious preface, in *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1699. This volume has the additional romantic interest of containing the documents for the pirate, Capt. Kidd, and his buried treasure. It is significant that Lord Bellomont called attention at this time to the fact that Capt. Kidd himself was a 'Scotch.'

[19] James Pagan, *Sketch of the History of Glasgow*, 1847, p. 78. The Scots historians generally ignore the poaching and smuggling phases of the American trade. An honourable exception is the latest, W. L. Mathieson, *Scotland and the Union* (Glasgow, 1905), p. 343. Americans do not forget, however, that their revolutionary naval hero, Paul Jones, learned much of his seamanship while smuggling tobacco into the Solway.

[20] In 1753 Andrew Buchanan, a Virginia merchant of Glasgow, laid out 'Virginia Street' where his son George soon after built that 'Virginia Mansion' which was long a landmark of the city. Here he was succeeded by another Virginia merchant, Alexander Spiers, who had lived in the colony for some years and there married a sister of Col. Archibald Cary of Ampthill. In 1772 Alexander Spiers & Co. headed the list of Scots importers of Virginia tobacco, with 6035 hogsheads. (John Tweed, *The History of Glasgow*, by various hands, 1872; *The Virginia Carys*, 1919; Pagan, *Glasgow*, 1847.)

[21] See Dr. Slaughter's address to the Viriginia Historical Society, January, 1850, in *Va. Hist. Register*, iii, 29.

[22] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, p. 659.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1699, p. 247.

[24] *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, ii, p. 358.

[25] *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1697-98, Nos. 655, 656, p. 329.

[26] Commissary Blair as a Scot by birth was in a difficult position in Virginia at this time. Strongly supported by the Bishop of London, he had scarcely been reinstated in the Council after his quarrel with Nicholson before the act of 1696, directed against office holding by Scots, arrived in the colony. Blair himself suggested that he was disqualified and the Council promptly agreed with him. The Bishop was able, however, to secure an opinion from the crown law officers that the act did not apply to Blair. Parke remarked tartly, but with justice, 'I will not presume to say that that act was intended to exclude any Scotchmen . . . but this I affirm, that if that was not the design of the act, the act had no design at all.' (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1696-97, pp. 461, 465; 1697-98, pp. 322, 329.)

[27] The following complaint was filed in the Stafford Court in March, 1690/1: 'Nicholas Goodridge, Mariner and master of the good ship *Spencer of London* sheweth that he the said Nicholas Good-

ridge the plt. in or about the month of May last came with his said Ship the Spencer into this Country and brought a very considerable Cargoe of goods to Trade and merchandise with the Inhabitants of this County and for their Supply, which goods, on board of his said ship and on board of divers of his sloops, he exposed to sale to any fair and honest purchaser; of which many came, and amongst the rest one David Darnell of Freestone point within this County; who dealt with him the plt. for a Sum of Tobacco of his own particular crop at free stone point; where the Tobacco he dealt for was shewne to the plt's receiver Nathaniel Webster, who took the same and marked it for the plt. vizt. 2 hhds. No. 222 and the other 303, and soe the said Darnell had the goods he liked, for pay; but soe it is may it please your worships the Tobacco being left at the said Darnells house as the Custom here is for some time, and then being brought on board in order to be bulked, the plt. caused the Nailing and Lining to be broken and opening the Caskes instead of good tobacco found nothing but rotten Dungil Stuff, God knows how old, and that Commixt with great Quants. of Ashes dirt and sand, so that the plt. caused the said 2 hhds. to be thrown over board as being in no measure merchantable; so that he doth in fact say the said David Darnell either before or after the receipt of the Tobacco as a false Cheat hath cheated the plt. to his damage two thousand pounds of tobacco and cask.' Darnell was adjudged 'a notorious false cheat and knave,' was cast in damages and ordered to stand in the pillory for one hour; 'and that the Clerk shall then fix upon his breast the true accompt of his wicked and notorious act, in Capitol Letters.'

[28] When, in June, 1729, Governor Gooch published his 'Proposals for the more effectual improving the Staple of Tobacco in Virginia' (C. O. 5: 1322, p. 47) and a year later succeeded in getting his plan enacted into law (Hening, iv, 247), the Lords of Trade objected that this was a re-enactment of Spotswood's law of 1713 which had been repealed by the Crown. Gooch argued at length that his act was original, but he did not demonstrate that he had proposed anything new in principle. Spotswood's act failed in a welter of party politics while Gooch's act, with modification only in detail, which Spotswood had himself recognized to be necessary, persisted and was adapted to fit the wheat trade when that commodity became the staple. For these considerations Gooch was entitled to the gratitude of all honest traders for the energy, courage and persistence with which, in the face of powerful opposition, he revived and maintained a sound and necessary regulation of trade; but, after that is said, Spotswood should have the higher credit which is due to original and constructive economic thinking.

[29] C. O. 5: 1386, p. 55. The title only is given in Hening, iv, 37.

[30] *Spotswood Letters,* ii, 48.

[31] The 'great rivers' were defined as the James below Appomatox, the York below West Point, and the Rappahannock below Taliaferro's Mount.

[32] Hening, ii, 475; iv, 32.

[33] See the report of the Lords of Trade on *The State of the British plantations in America,* 1721, in *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* v, 591, 606.

[34] The Council *Journals,* of which a complete file for this period is preserved in the Colonial Office, London, did not record the agents'

houses appointed under the act of 1713 as it did later the warehouses appointed under Gooch's act of 1730.

[36] The paper entitled, *The Present State of Virginia,* 1714 (C. O. 5: 1317, No. 27, printed in *Va. Mag.,* ii, 13), shows that there were three Agents Houses in Stafford but does not define their location. The Agents for Stafford are there given as John Waugh and Henry Fitzhugh, sons of the Stafford antagonists of the earlier generation. As these gentlemen were then also the burgesses for the county, they were included in the practical politics which was part of Spotswood's hope for this act. In his dispatch of December 29, 1713 (*Spotswood Letters,* ii, 49), from which we have already quoted, the Governor said: 'Thereby I have in a great measure, I think, clear'd the way for a Gov'r towards carrying any reasonable point in the House of Burgesses; for he will have in his disposal about forty Agencys which one with another are likely to yield nigh 250 Pounds p. ann. each: these my intentions are to dispose of among the most considerable men of the Colony, and principally to gratifying with a Place all the members of the Assembly who were for the bill.'

[38] Nicholson to the Commissioners of the Customs, August 24, 1700 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1700, p. 499).

[37] Robert Carter to Thomas Evans, July 22, 1723 (*Carter Letter Book* MS., Va. Hist. Soc.),

[38] Rowland, i, 35.

[39] The minute book of the trustees of Dumfries is lost, there were no travellers here prior to the Revolution to record their impressions (except Burnaby, who notes no more than a name), and no diary or correspondence of an early resident has come to light. Material for the study may, however, some day be made available from the customs and other commercial records of Glasgow, now beyond the reach of any but the most determined student. Mr. David Murray, the author of *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland,* says, 'There is no real difficulty in resuscitating the history of the tobacco trade in Glasgow from public documents, newspapers and the pleadings in the numerous cases which came before the court relative to the tobacco trade. It would, however, be a matter of great labour and would occupy several years.'

[40] Hening, iv, 247.

[41] *W. & M. Quar.,* xv, 275. The Prince William records retain an inventory of the effects of this William Dunlop, including a considerable library.

[42] See the list of Virginia Merchants at Glasgow in Pagan, *Glasgow* (1847), p. 78.

[43] *W. & M. Quar.,* xviii, 209.

[44] *John Graham* (1711-1787) must have come to Virginia about the same time as John Carlyle, for the earliest record of him is his first land grant of 1741 (His grants are *N. N.,* E: 256, 487, 488; F: 195, 254. The first three are on Goose Creek, the last two, being regrants, on Quantico); while a year later he had married and buried his first wife, Christian, daughter of Dr. Gustavus Brown (See her MI. in Hayden, p. 162). He had thus become a brother-in-law of Parson James Scott of Dettingen and was already closely and hospitably involved in a knot of Virginia cousins, when, in 1746, he in-

creased that complication by marrying, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Catesby Cocke (See *ante.*, p. 155). Col. Cocke was still clerk of Fairfax, but of an age to retire after at least twenty-five years of public service since his initiation as a boy in the Secretary's office at Williamsburg. By a family arrangement, Graham now changed the course of his life and succeeded his new father-in-law as clerk of Fairfax. He continued nevertheless to reside on Quantico (See, in Conway, *Barons*, p. 208, the letter written from his house in September, 1747, by William Fitzhugh to Lawrence Washington). A significant evidence of this change of status is that in his land grants prior to 1745 and on his first wife's tombstone Graham was uniformly recited 'merchant,' but in the Dumfries act of 1749 this is altered to 'gentleman.' It was, therefore, during his tenure of the Fairfax clerkship that Dumfries was founded.

As Peter Wagener, who was then clerk of Prince William, was contemporaneously living in Fairfax, an exchange of posts was effected in 1752 and Graham thereafter officiated as clerk of Prince William until 1777. Following the provident eighteenth century Virginia custom, which made a clerkship hereditary in some families (See Johnston, *Old Virginia Clerks*), in that year Graham turned over his office to his eldest surviving son, Robert (1751-1821. He married a Peyton), and so constituted a grandson of Catesby Cocke the fourth generation of a traditional service, which began with Secretary William Cocke. Both Grahams lived to great ages, after having retired from office. Their wills are in *Prince William W. B.*, G: 369; L: 360. Their descendants are set out by Hayden, p. 163.

[45] W. McDowall, *History of the Burgh of Dumfries* (1873), p. 475.

[46] McDowall says that about 1750 the tobacco trade of old Dumfries became 'discouraged . . . and entirely failed . . . in consequence of some unhappy mistake.' This sounds like a euphemism for unsuccessful smuggling.

[47] Hening, iv, 331.

[48] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 413, 414, 429; 1742-49, pp. 10, 25, 28, 91. See *ante.*, p. .

[49] C. O., 5: 1395, No. 17. The title only appears in Hening, vi, 214. For the text see *post*, p. 670. Amendments of this charter, obtained in 1759, 1761, 1762 and 1786, are printed *in extenso* in Hening, vii, 316, 424, 472, 599; xii, 372, 630.

[50] By the act of 1761 (Hening, vii, 427) a new list of trustees was appointed, as follows: 'the honourable John Tayloe, Esq., Presley Thornton, John Champe, Richard Henry Lee, Richard Lee, Henry Lee, Henry Peyton, John Moncure, James Scott, Allan Macrae, John Baylis, James Douglas, Foushee Tebbs, Thomas Lawson and William Carr, gentlemen.'

[51] *Journals H. B.*, 1758-61, p. 219. See also Hening, vi, 244.

[52] Fauquier County Historical Society, *Bulletin No.* 1 (1921).

[53] *Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 112; 1758-61, p. 70.

[54] Hening, vii, 316, 424.

[55] Hening, ix, 154.

[56] These three were, in 1776, Colchester, Pohick and great Falls. Hunting Creek had disappeared after 1760 not to be revived until 1778,

when it appears as 'Alexandria, where the inspection called Hunting Creek was formerly established.'

[57] *Alexandria Gazette,* September, September 22, 1879; and *cf. W. & M. Quar.,* xi, 246, where No. 9 in the list of Dumfries merchants is a misprint for his name. For Richard Graham's will see Hayden, p. 163, and some of his descendants, Rowland, i, 103. It does not appear what relation, if any, he bore to John Graham, the founder.

[58] *Journal of a Young Lady of Virginia* (Miss Lucy Lee), ed. Miss Emily Mason, 1871.

[59] Speaking of the Virginia regiment in 1756, Parson James Maury, of Fredericksville parish, said (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family,* Putnam's reprint, p. 382): 'Such was the treatment which that unfortunate regiment received last campaiign from the commander in chief [Braddock] that no person of any property family or worth has since enlisted in it, and the Governor [Dinwiddie] has filled up the vacant commissions and the new companies with raw, burly and tyrannical Scots, several of them mere boys from behind the counters of the factors here.'

[60] *Ante,* p. 156.

[61] Councillor Carter's list of Dumfries merchants in 1775 in *W. & M. Quar.,* xi, 245. See also *Carr v. Chapman* (1834), 5 Leigh, 176, rehearsing commercial relations at Dumfries relating to 1765.

[62] Hening, xii, 603, 684.

[63] Shepherd, i, 264.

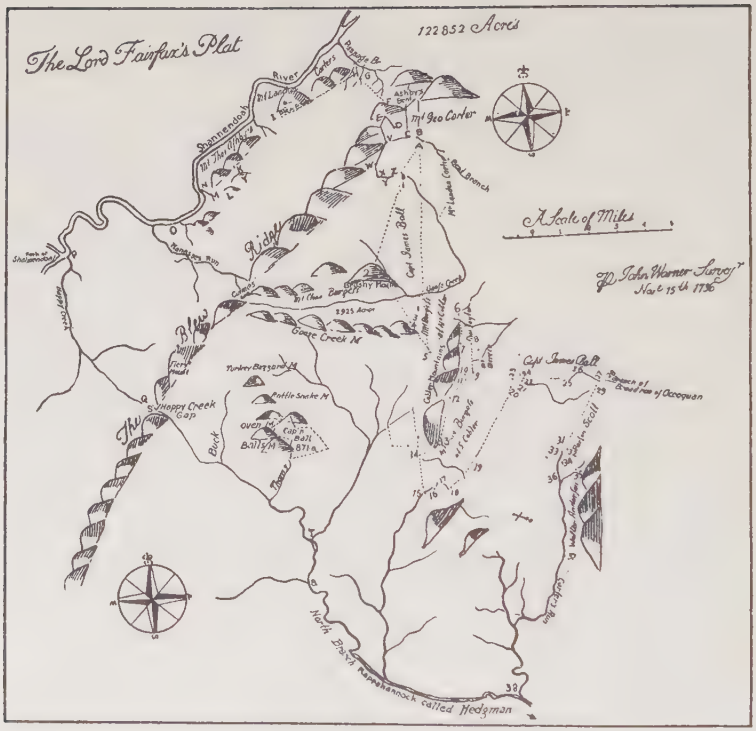
[64] *The Quantico Company.* Shepherd, i, 394; ii, 37, 98; iii, 174; Acts, 1822-23, ch. 50, p. 71; 1825-26, ch. 59, p. 51; 1826-27, ch. 72, p. 76; 1828-29, ch. 85, p. 72; 1834-35, ch. 93, p. 81. The original commissioners, appointed by the act of 1795, included Alexander Henderson, Jesse Ewell, Thomas Chapman, sr., and Martin Picket.

[65] Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene,* iii, 508. This comment reminds one of the anecdote of the orator who, warming to his invocation of a Southern city, intoned, 'There sits Chattanooga like a queen enthroned, her head crowned with the radiant clouds which veil the aeries of Lookout Mountain and her feet laved by the golden waters of the Tennessee,' and found himself reported by the press next morning to have said, 'in part,' 'Chattanooga is situated on the Tennessee River.'

[66] *Revised Code of* 1819, ii, 135, 160.

[67] *Old Churches,* ii, 209.

[68] *The Manassas Journal,* May 19, 1911.



JOHN WARNER, LEEDS MANOR, 1736.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Alexandria and the Flour Trade

THE outstanding economic phenomenon in eighteenth century Virginia was the change of staple in the piedmont counties from tobacco to wheat. It was this modification of the habits of the people which enabled Alexandria to survive when Dumfries died.

English grains, including wheat, were introduced with the earliest tidewater settlements, and experiments in growing them proved that the climate was suited to the culture. All the immigration tracts so testify. But as soon as it was found that there was a market for all the tobacco Virginia could produce and, as Capt. John Smith averred at a time when the price of tobacco was three shillings a pound, a man's labor in tobacco cultivation became worth six times its productive value in raising wheat, Virginia suspended her infant efforts to become a wheat producer. In 1631, indeed, Governor Harvey recorded the surprising fact that the colony did not even have on hand any seed wheat.

'We have thought good,' he said in a despatch to the Privy Council,[1] 'to p'mitt some to go to the Dutch plantation to furnish ourselves with horses, assinicoes, sheep, and, above all, English grayne, of which having seed, we hope it will appeare we shall abound in as full a proportion thereof, as now we doe of Indian Corne.'

It seems probable that it was Samuel Matthews of Blunt Point in Warwick who made this early excursion to Manhattan to do spring shopping, for it was he who before 1649 had re-established wheat growing in Virginia. The often quoted and always alluring description of his estate, published in that year, testified that 'worthy Capt. Matthews . . . yearly sowes abundance of wheat, Barley &c.,' of which 'the wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell.'[2] A generation

later Culpeper's act, authorizing the payment of debts in commodities other than tobacco, shows that the culture persisted and that the supply had increased at least enough to reduce the price. The illuminating table contained in that act, enumerating the commodities produced by Virginia in 1682, included an item of 'Wheat, English pease and Garavances' at an exchange value of '3s. 7¼d. per bus."[3] The continued prevalance of maize for food, and tobacco as the money crop, nevertheless kept the English grains in the class of luxuries. In the seventeenth century 'the Bread in Gentlemen's Houses is generally made of wheat,' but 'they don't make a trade of any of' the grains they grew.[4] 'They commonly provide only as much as they expect they themselves shall have occasion for, for the use of their families."[5]

In 1686 an intelligent Frenchman asked the explanation of this and got a definite answer:

'In Gloucester county,' he says,[6] 'the usual yield of wheat is ten for one, and of indian corn two hundred for one. The inhabitants make, however, only a few bushels of wheat on each plantation. They use it for pies, having an abundance of venison and apples. I asked them why they did not make more wheat, and they replied because the yield of indian corn was so much greater and they got along as well with corn bread as with wheat bread, except that corn bread cannot be rolled into pastry.'

The evidence is ample that, before the end of the seventeenth century, there had grown up a modest export trade in grain, but it may be questioned how much of it was then wheat. The acts of 1667 and 1676,[7] prohibiting temporarily the export of 'grain, pulse, meal or bread,' seems to have related chiefly to maize and its products; but it appears that at the time of Culpeper's act of 1682 New England traders were planning to send their schooners into the Virginia rivers to trade specifically for wheat;[8] and that by 1705, despite William Fitzhugh's doubts, this trade had developed sufficiently for Makemie to assert[9] that New York and New England 'carry away our wheat and return it again to us in Bread and Flower

and make us pay for transportation, grinding, boulting and baking.'

That both the production and the export of Virginia wheat steadily increased during Spotswood's consulship may be inferred from the records. A proclamation issued in February, 1714/15,[10] removing an embargo which had been in effect since the previous July, testifies not only that 'both Indian Corn and wheat are now as cheap as they used to be in the most plentiful years,' but that there was an export trade of sufficient influence to get a cautious policy reversed; for it was resolved by the Council that 'wheat, pease, beans and bread, or flower made of the same, be allowed immediately to be exported.' In 1718 the Huguenots of Manakintown made of wheat the medium in which they paid their parish levies;[11] and Robert Beverley, revising his *Present State* for the edition of 1722, felt it worth while to stimulate Virginia by inviting her particularly to contemplate the trade advantage 'the neighbouring plantations make of their grain and provisions.' To the same period belongs Landon Carter's memories of his father. In his diary he says:[12]

'I believe, tho' his family was large and of course his expense of food great, no man ever sold more wheat and corn. I have known him year after year load annually a large Bermudian, and many vessels from Norfolk came for his wheat. Who exceeded him? . . . As to wheat, each plantation aimed at 150 bushels.'

So it was that in 1730, when we reach the first statistic, the export of wheat was reported by Governor Gooch[13] to amount to 'from 10,000 to 20,000 bushels in a year, according as the crops have proved. . . . 'Tis difficult to ascertain the value,' continues the Governor, 'since the greatest part is exchanged for Rum, Sugar, Salt and Molassas brought hither by the People of New England and Bermuda; but taking one year with another the price of wheat is 2s. 6d. p. bushel.'

While the price of Virginia wheat had thus steadily fallen, it is now difficult to appreciate why the colony did not earlier sieze her opportunity in its culture. Grain was not one of the

'enumerated commodities' named in the navigation laws, so that Virginia was free to export it to all the world and at all times such export was profitable enough to keep the commerce alive. Well into the eighteenth century a year of poor harvest alarmed the authorities in the matter of food supply, not because there had been insufficient grain harvested, but because more than a safe quantity of what was produced was exported, a fact which testifies to a steady and attractive exterior market. Thus, commenting on his act of February, 1727/8, which in such an emergency was passed to enable the Governor to prohibit the export of grain, Gooch said:[14] 'this country has heretofore suffered greatly by avarice of Merchants who for private gain have exported Corn and Wheat when the necessity of the Inhabitants required rather supplies from abroad than to have their stores lessened at home.'

But before the end of his term, the Governor could begin to tell a different story. After tobacco, the chief export when Gooch came to Virginia was pork, as it had been for many years. Already, in 1734, the most agreeable of colonial Governors had learned to boast of the most agreeable Virginia dishes: he reported with an official reticence, which does not conceal his fervor, that Virginia hams 'be as good as any in America.'[15] Jealous of this reputation, the Assembly had made a beginning of regulation of the packing industry as early as 1696[16] and, in 1742, the principle of official inspection was extended to it, following the precedent of the tobacco inspection law which was then safely established and in successful operation.[17] When this last act came up for renewal at the end of three years, the Assembly found that Makemie's advice had been heeded, that Virginians were now engaged in grinding and distributing Virginia wheat commercially on a scale to demand the same kind of regulation as had been applied to the trade in tobacco, pork and naval stores. By a provision tucked into the middle of the packers' act while it was in Committee,[18] the county courts were now required to appoint 'fit persons to inspect and weigh all wheat flour made within their respective counties and intended for exportation.' Gooch supplies the clew. 'Some Flour mer-

chants,' he said,[19] 'put Meal made from Indian Corn, Pease and other Grains among their Wheat flour, to the hurt of the fair Trader and depricating the Commodity.'

We are thus introduced in 1745 to the cradle of an infant industry which was destined to wrest a long established primacy from the tobacco trade. Here was a commodity which was to support American troops in the field during the Revolution and on which thereafter Alexandria and Fredericksburg were to make a dramatic and nearly successful effort to become cities—Virginia flour.

The date of this legislation is significant and provides its own explanation. Grain and its products had been the staple in Pennsylvania from the settlement of that colony. The German and Scots-Irish immigrants to the Valley of Virginia who came in through Pennsylvania after 1730, as well as the Quakers of English stock who followed them from the Delaware Valley into that of the Catoctin, all came without prejudice in favor of tobacco planting, but with experience in a diversified agriculture, based on grain, and they established themselves in Virginia in that economy. On the other hand, the further the old Virginia settlements extended from tidewater, the more difficult did it become to 'roll' tobacco to market, while grain, especially when converted into flour, was a commodity much more readily adapted to inland transportation. For these considerations the Pennsylvania farming practice spread from one small farm to another across the Blue Ridge and into the piedmont. Loudoun and upper Fauquier, seated at the very time the new influence began to be felt, became grain producing communities from the first turning of their soil;[20] and through them, within a few years, the plough-lands of the north encroached upon the hoe-lands of the south until grain fields were to be found even in the tobacco country. A few scraps of evidence will illustrate the process:

Writing from Louisa in June, 1756, Parson James Maury, of Frederickville parish, observed[21] that 'much larger fields of wheat, barley and rye last fall, and of oats this spring, have been sown . . . than has ever heretofore been known.'

In George Washington's diary for 1760[22] we find him

trying out different makes of ploughs and experimenting in seed plots with wheat, oats and barley, as well as clover and lucerne: and every year thereafter the wheat crop at Mt. Vernon, as well as that of his Valley plantation, looms as of more and more importance in Washington's agricultural economy.

In January, 1762, John Ballendine and Benjamin Grayson entered into a partnership[23] for 'the manufacturing of wheat and baking of bread at or near the falls of Occoquan.'

In September, 1762, Charles Carter of Cleve testified in his will[24] that he had 'entered largely into the baking Business' and had adjusted the economy of several of his plantations in lower Fauquier so that their 'husbandry will furnish me with a large quantity of wheat besides the several quantities I have contracted for.'

By 1765 a French traveller in Virginia[25] heard that 'the Back settlements send down to Fredericksburg great quantities of Butter, cheese, flax, hemp, *flower and some tobacco.*'

In 1772 Roger Atkinson,[26] writing from the neighbourhood of Petersburg to his correspondent in London, said: 'it is with great Pleasure I acq't you that we have now got another staple of late years, as it were created, viz: Wheat, w'ch will I believe in a little time be equal if not superior to Tobo., is more certain, & of which we shall in a few years make more in Virg'a than all the Province of Pennsylvania put together, although it is their staple commodity.' This warm statement is confirmed and was doubtless inspired by the sober recitals of an act of that year, 1772,[27] that 'the manufacture of flour and bread is of late much increased in this colony and become a very advantageous article of commerce.'

In June, 1774, Landon Carter entered in his diary:[28] 'Mr. Beall comes from seeing my Park Quarter [in the Richland tract, at the head of Potomac Creek] . . . The people in that neighbourhood make great clearings for wheat, which throws them so late that the ground cannot be prepared for either corn or tobacco.'

Of course no such innovation could have been accomplished without a strong economic inducement. In the eighteenth century Virginians were no less conservative in their habits and customs than they are in the twentieth century. Having worshipped the god Tobo. for a century, with varying fortunes, Virginia at last waxed fat in the practice of that cult during the long, peaceful and prosperous years of

Gooch's administration. But in the war which Dinwiddie precipitated, French privateers preyed upon Virginia tobacco ships and for several years before the treaty of Paris in 1763 the planter felt their pinch. Contemporaneously, he experienced also new taxation and a succession of bad seasons. In the resulting check to a prosperity to which he had adjusted his standard of living, the planter began an unaccustomed analysis of his habits, in the course of which there came home to him a realization that his traditional agricultural practice was steadily exhausting the tidewater lands; that unless he restored his inherited soil by some new economy, the barons of the Potomac and the Rappahannock must follow their cadets to the frontier. Such men were going through exactly the mental process of the cotton planter in the far South in the twentieth century: they were painfully learning the doctrine of Diversification.

Dr. Schoepf,[29] traversing Loudoun, Fauquier and Prince William in 1783, was told how the tobacco planter solved this problem. He observed with interest, as he came south into what was then still tobacco country, 'now and again extensive fields seeded to wheat.' During the evening he spent in Brent Town with Benjamin Harrison of Fauquier, he learned that 'some years before the outbreak of the war the cultivation of this grain had already been undertaken with more enthusiasm in this region: that is after the profit from their tobacco had been greatly lessened by the heavy duties imposed in England; and besides, their lands, even then exhausted, not producing such large crops of tobacco, the profitable culture of wheat gave the land a new and greater value.'

If it might be expected that men like George Washington, Charles and Landon Carter, and John Tayloe, would have the vision to see and appreciate these conditions, the whole community would not have followed their example unless it had been into what Dr. Schoepf calls 'the *profitable* culture of wheat.' The economic temptation to continue growing tobacco was still strong in 1760. What then gave wheat the supremacy in northern Virginia was an increasing demand for American grain in England, which kept pace *pari passu* with the devel-

opment there of the factory system. The American wheat grower experienced the phenomenon, without precedent in the tobacco trade, that as his frontier widened and his production increased, his market price increased also.[30] In 1771 Thomas Johnson, arguing for the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac, illuminated these conditions:

'What Quantity of American wheat,' he said,[31] 'might be disposed of in the European markets it is impossible to say. The whole Export but a few Years ago was very inconsiderable, and yet [that] the Demand increases faster than the very rapid increase of Quantity is indubitably proved by the rising of the price, and it is likely to keep pace with any Increase of wheat raised in America. . . . England used to feed her Neighbours; her internal produce now of Flesh Meat, Bread Corn and Horsemeat is not equal to her consumption of those Articles, the Deficiency daily grows greater; the Humour and immediate Interest of the Landholders is to turn their arable into pasture Lands, by which the produce of Bread Corn is not only diminished, but by driving the Tenants and their Children into the Towns to look for Employment the Consumption of flesh meat and wheaten Bread is still increased.

The present supply from America is very inconsiderable when compared to the whole Consumpt[n] of Wheat in Europe; in London only the whole Consumpt[n] amounts yearly perhaps to 15 Millions of Bushels of Wheat. . . . If the Profits of Cultivation in America are greater than on manufacturing there, the Americans will continue to clear and cultivate the Lands rather than manufacture; every Increase of the People in America increases the Demand for British Manufactures and consequently affords means of Subsist[ce] for the greater number of people in Britain. . . . If the Security and Happiness of America is in the Strength of Britain we had better forego manufacturing for which we are not yet ripe and clear and cultivate our Lands, if we can dispose of the Produce to Advantage. If the American Supply of Wheat is inconsiderable when compared to the Consumption of Wheat in Europe, as it certainly is, and if the Demand is likely, from a decrease in the Quantity raised in Europe fully in proportion to the increase of Quantity raised in America, to keep up, we had best divert our people as far as we can from raising Tobacco to the raising of wheat. Too much Tobacco may certainly be and often has been, raised; but it is not only likely that America

cannot raise too much Wheat, but probably the price of her wheat will even rise with the Quantity; it has done so hitherto and may do so for 100 years to come; by which Time we shall be populous enough to enter on other Views.'

It was for this new trade that, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there were developed, at strategic points on the streams flowing out of the highlands of old Prince William, those merchant mills whose sites are commemorated for the archeologist in place names, as the names of English cities commemorate the sites of Roman camps.[32] The location of these mills determined the revised routes on which the turnpikes were constructed, just as the location of the tobacco rolling houses had determined the routes of the first roads in tidewater. The wheat of the piedmont and the Valley was hauled to the mills in great 'Conestoga' wagons, drawn by six-horse teams gay with bells and bunting. Converting their ladings into flour enroute, the teams then went on to a primary market at tidewater and so constituted those caravans of 'flour waggons' which, in 1777, were already the life of tidewater trade, and to George Mason[33] had become regularly recurring experiences.

The town of Alexandria, which was destined to share with Fredericksburg the benefits of this new commerce, had its origin in the establishment above Hunting Creek of one of the warehouses authorized by Governor Gooch's tobacco inspection act of 1730.[34] The site originally selected was defined as 'at great Hunting Creek, upon Broadwater's land in Prince William County,'[35] but in the act of 1732 it was recited that 'Broadwater's land being found very inconvenient no house was built there pursuant to the said act, but a warehouse in the room of it was built upon Simon Pearson's land upon the upper side of Great Hunting Creek.'[36] As at Dumfries, this new trading centre soon attracted a group of young factors for Scottish merchants. The names of three of them have survived: James Pagan, of the Glasgow family of that ilk; John Carlyle, whom we have already met at Dumfries; and William

Ramsay, born in the Galloway district of Kirkcudbrightshire and destined to be hailed the Romulus of the future town.[37] These men, by establishing residences adjacent to the Hunting Creek warehouse about 1740, made up a little community to which they promptly gave the name of the Scottish hero they had been taught at school to revere, the passionate orator who had worn out his soul in eloquent opposition to the Union with England, the author of the memorable phrase pronouncing that treaty to be 'the end of an old song'—Belhaven.[38] It was these three also, supported by Hugh West, the owner of the warehouse, who enlisted the backing of Lord Fairfax when he arrived in Virginia in 1747 after his final trans-atlantic voyage, and promoted that 'petition of the inhabitants of Fairfax, praying that a Town may be established at Hunting Creek warehouse on Patowmack River' which was submitted to the Assembly on November 1, 1748.

This petition, opening an old wound, precipitated a lively contest. Philip Alexander of Chotank, the owner of part of the land proposed to be taken for the town, forthwith filed objection, praying in lieu that a Town be erected 'at the head of Great Hunting Creek on the land of John Minor in the County of Fairfax.'[39] Both petitions were referred to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, of which Charles Carter of Cleve was then Chairman. The committee did not report until April 5, 1749, when, side-stepping a decision, it recommended that both petitions be rejected. The vote on this report showed a majority of the Assembly in favor of the Belhaven petition and the Fairfax burgesses, Lawrence Washington and Richard Osborne, were thereupon ordered to bring in a bill to give it effect. Governor Gooch assenting, this bill duly became law on May 11, 1749.[40] That it was a happy decision has been proved by the ultimate fate of Dumfries and the survival of Alexandria; for if the ambitions of the land-owners at the head of Hunting Creek had prevailed, the town would have lost her asset of an assured deep water harbour.

The bill was entitled, 'An Act for erecting a town at Hunting Creek warehouse in the County of Fairfax.'[41] Here it was recited that

'it hath been represented to this present General Assembly that a Town at Hunting Creek Warehouse on Potomack River would be commodious for trade and navigation and tend greatly to the ease and advantage of the frontier inhabitants,' wherefor provision was made that 'sixty acres of land, parcel of the lands of Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West, situate, lying and being on the south side of Potomeck River above the mouth of Great Hunting Creek and in the County of Fairfax' be vested in 'the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the Honourable William Fairfax, Esq., George Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Laurence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerard Alexander and Hugh West, of the County of Fairfax, gentlemen, and Philip Alexander, of the County of Stafford, gentlemen . . . as directors and trustees for designing, building, carrying on and maintaining,' a town to be, 'called by the name of Alexandria.'[42]

Like her twin sister, Dumfries, Alexandria was thus founded upon the traditional Scots and English tobacco trade, the export of Potomac grown tobacco and the importation of English merchandise. If, like Dumfries, Alexandria had stuck to that trade she, too, might not have survived the Revolution, but the town on Hunting Creek was not many years old before her most enterprising merchants saw the vision of Europe's need for American flour; and, eager to be free of the shackles of the navigation laws, adjusted themselves to new conditions and began to trade in Virginia wheat. At first accepting the role of jobbers, until then common to all grain dealers in Virginia, they sent their purchases to Baltimore and Philadelphia to be there converted into the flour which, in pursuance of a long established trade, went to the West Indies, where it was exchanged against rum, sugar, molasses and salt. This trade prospered and soon outgrew the original, and what might be called the local, sources of supply in Loudoun and upper Fauquier; so that as the demand of Europe supplemented that of the West Indies it was not long before Alexandria wheat buyers were to be found also on the limestone lands of the lower Shenandoah Valley, diverting to the Potomac tidewater wagons which had been accustomed to make the long journey to the Delaware over the 'Philadelphia wagon

road.' It was at this stage of the trade, say about 1760, when, as we have seen, the great expansion of wheat farming took place in northern Virginia, that Alexandria turned definitely from tobacco and devoted her energies to eliminating the Maryland and Pennsylvania miller from Virginia.[43]

With the new opportunity, then presented by the peace of Paris, to trade direct not only with the West Indies but with Europe, Alexandria entered upon the second, and what was to prove the most prosperous, period of her history. The stimulus of the flour trade was at once evident. In 1762 the Assembly recited,[44] 'that all the lots included within the bounds of the said town are already built upon . . . and that divers traders and others are desirous of settling here.' A shipyard had been established[45] and Alexandria began to send her own ships into the seven seas. Between 1760 and 1779, when the town was incorporated, she passed out of adolescence into youthful maturity. She developed true merchants, men who took their own risks.[46] Thus did Alexandria make that effective bid for commercial supremacy in the Virginia flour trade which placed her first on the list of Virginia flour inspections when, in 1781, the Assembly at last recognised that flour was entitled to all the old dignity of tobacco.[47]

The Revolutionary war left Alexandria abounding in vitality and intent on realizing fully her natural advantages of situation at the gateway to the Potomac Valley. When the Patowmack Company, under George Washington's management, undertook to make the upper river navigable, the merchants of Alexandria bet heavily on the success of a venture which meant so much to them. In preparation for a greater commerce as well as a greater population than they had ever known, they dauntlessly enlarged their town beyond immediate needs, despite the discouragement of a discriminatory burden of post war taxation.[48] For ten years Alexandria was alive with carpenters and bricklayers.[49] In the midst of this activity Brissot de Warville recorded a lively, if cynical, observation of a transition period:

'Alexandria,' he said,[50] writing in 1788, 'where thirty or

forty years ago there were only one or two houses, is now, indeed, smaller than Baltimore but plans to surpass her. She is already quite as irregular in construction and as muddy. But there is more luxury evident at Alexandria, if a miserable luxury: you see servants in silk stockings, and their masters in boots.

'At the end of the war the people of Alexandria imagined that the natural advantages of their situation, the salubrity of the air, the depth of the river channel, and the safety of the harbour, which can accommodate the largest ships and permit them to anchor close to the wharves, must unite with the richness of the back country to make their town the center of a large commerce. In consequence they are building on all sides, they have set up superb wharves and raised vast warehouses.

'At the moment the expected commerce languishes. This is attributed to the heavy taxes. Whatever may be the cause, many citizens are emigrating or planning to emigrate.'

The lassitude here remarked was no more than a reaction of disappointment at the delay in realizing the benefits of Potomac navigation. That the lamp of Alexandria's commerce was never extinguished, even at this darkest hour, is evident from Brissot's own subsequent admission that '*some* ships of Alexandria are now trading regularly in the West Indies and at New Orleans.' Seven years later the picture had assumed more cheerful colours. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld could record generally that 'Alexandria carries on a constant trade with the West India Islands and also some with Europe,' while Tobias Lear specified that in 1795 her merchants exported 150,000 bbls. of flour besides 1,500 hhds. of tobacco.[51]

Despite the fact that the French Revolution had enhanced the price of wheat in 1790 from 80 cents to $1.25 a bushel,[52] the close of the century was, however, evidently an anxious time for the flour trade generally, and for the Alexandria market in particular. In the latter respect the competition of Baltimore was now merciless, while Georgetown also was becoming a not inconsiderable rival. It was a situation which called for courage and energy, and Alexandria developed and exhibited both.

No one can read, say, the cold testimony of the acts of Assembly and the documents included in the Journals of the

House of Delegates during the fifty years following the Revolution without a thrill of admiration for the constructive imagination of the men who then represented Alexandria, and a pang of regret for the ultimate failure of their ambitions. There is even an element of Greek tragedy in the story, for if Baltimore absorbed Alexandria's trade and made the grass to grow green in her streets,[53] Alexandria had herself done as much for Dumfries and Colchester, who in turn had blanketed the crescent commerce of Pohick and Aquia. Alexandria was then

'The priest who slew the slayer and shall himself be slain.'

The legislative record of Alexandria at the end of the eighteenth century, which is the most concise check list of her activities, includes reference to such evidences of municipal vitality as a bank and a marine insurance company (both the first of their kind in Virginia), a newspaper (*The Alexandria Gazette* 'still going strong'), and an academy; but it was her roads which crowned her glory. We shall see how, beginning in 1782, Alexandria built up a system of improved highways leading to her gates from the lower Valley through Fauquier and Loudoun. This was the secret of her long sustained vitality during the grueling to which she eventually succumbed. An act of 1785[54] told of 'the great number of waggons which use the public roads leading from the northwestern parts of this state to the town of Alexandria.' A later one[55] testified to 'the great quantity of heavy articles of the growth and produce of the Country, and of foreign goods, which are daily transported between the town of Alexandria and the western counties.'

Having so learned the magic of transportation in competition for trade, it was the next step in the development of that facility, to which she was emboldened by the success of the first, which was the undoing of Alexandria. Included in the District of Columbia in 1801 and for nearly half a century looking to the federal Congress for her legislative inspiration during this period, the town felt more than any community south of the Potomac the afflatus of national interests and the

lure of large 'internal improvements.' So it befel that at the very end of the era of canals Alexandria wasted in the Potomac waterway the treasure and the credit she might have used, if withheld only a few years, effectively to meet the destructive competition of Baltimore following the construction of a railroad by that community. When some enterprising spirits in Winchester obtained the charter for the Winchester and Potomac railroad, and, in 1836, effected a rail connection with the B. & O. at Harpers Ferry, Alexandria's transmontane wagon traffic and with it her flour trade received the *coup de grace*.

Although, contemporaneously with her retrocession to Virginia in 1847, she chartered her own Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad once more to intercept the Valley trade, her vitality, depleted by the canals, was not sufficient to put the railroad through. But even then she was not discouraged. Gathering strength, she soon renewed the contest and turned her energies in a new direction. In 1849 by a liberal municipal subscription she gave vitality to the plans of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. Three years later she secured promotion to be a city and contemporaneously her railroad began to expand.[56]

It was now only a few years before the Manassas Gap railroad, built in connection with and further extending the influence of her own company, renewed Alexandria's footing in the Valley; but before this opportunity could be realized the war between the states swept over the young city and at last left her a charming, but prematurely old, lady—the object of more interest to sentimental tourists than to the captain of industry.

Today, happily, she seems once more to be awakening.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE.

[1] *Journals H. B.*, 1619-59, p. 125.
[2] *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, Force's Tracts, ii, No. 15.
[3] Hening, ii, 506. Garavances are pulse.
[4] Beverley, 1705, iv, 55, 70, 82.

[5] Hartwell Chilton & Blair, 1697. The legislation bears this out. The first appearance of 'English graine' in the statutes is a provision to fix the mill toll for grinding it (Hening, i, 301).

[6] *Voyages d'un Francois* (1687), p. 70.

[7] Hening, ii, 261, 338.

[8] In a letter of February 5, 1682/3 to some correspondents at 'Piscataway in New England' (*Va. Mag.*, i, 108), William Fitzhugh warns them that their schooners must not expect to find in Virginia a full lading of wheat in any one place 'so that the profit of the voyage, if you purchase very cheap, which is uncertain, is eaten up by the length of stay necessarily occasioned by going from place to place to fetch the several parcels of wheat.' This is not only testimony for the beginning of the export trade in wheat, but also as to how Virginia was starved economically in the seventeenth century by the failure to provide towns or at least *entrepots*.

[9] *A Perswasive to Townes*, 1705 (*Va. Mag.*, iv, 253).

[10] *Council Journal*, C. O. 5: 1416, p. 2.

[11] The Register of King William parish, *Va. Mag.*, xi, 289 ff. The price of wheat is here fixed at 3s. per bu.

[12] *W. & M. Quar.*, xvii, 17.

[13] C. O., 5: 1322, p. 119. Gooch reports also a small export of wheat to Madeira to trade for wine, but remarks, sententiously, that, in that trade, the balance of exchange was usually against Virginia and had to be settled by bills drawn on London.

[14] Hening, iv, 221; C. O., 5: 1321, p. 79. Proclamations against export of grain were made in 1727 and 1737, as they had been in 1667 and 1676.

[15] C. O., 5: 1323, p. 211. In 1730 Gooch had reported that Virginia exported 'communibus annis about 3,000 Barrels [of pork] worth in sterling money 25s. per barril; and of late the People have begun to raise Stocks and to Export Beef' (*ibid.*, 1322, p. 119). The handicap of this trade was the difficulty of securing good salt. The supply used was imported from the West Indies and was 'found to be of too corroding a Nature: besides the Interruption given by the Spaniards to the gathering of Salt at Tortuga, Truxillo and even the Bahama Islands' (*ibid.*, 1323, p. 291). Although Massachusetts was permitted to import Portugese salt for her fishing industry, Virginia was not, for fear that she, too, would go into that business. It was deemed that Virginia should be content with her tobacco without competing in Massachusetts' staple. See a representation by the colony on this subject as late as 1763, in *Va. Mag.*, xi, 139.

[16] Hening, iii, 148, 254.

[17] Hening, v, 164.

[18] Hening, v. 352.

[19] C. O., 5: 1326, p. 405.

[20] In 1759 (Hening, vii, 292), the Assembly recited that 'the inhabitants of the county of Loudoun make but little tobacco and many of them none,' wherefore they were specially authorized to pay their levies and officers' fees in money, in lieu of tobacco.

[21] *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 407.

[22] *Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ii, 140 ff.

[23] *Fairfax D. B.*, E, No. 1: 43.

[24] *Va. Mag.*, xxxi, 65.

[25] *American Hist. Rev.*, xxvi, 747.

[26] *Va. Mag.*, xv, 345.

[27] Hening, viii, 511.

[28] *W. & M. Quar.*, xiv, 184.

[29] *Travels in the Confederation* (tr. A. J. Morrison, 1911), ii, 44.

[30] To recapitulate the documents already cited, we have seen the Virginia price current on wheat steadily decrease for a century, viz: 1649, 4s.; 1682, 3s. 7¼d.; 1718, 3s.; 1730, 2s. 6d. In his paper quoted *infra*, Thomas Johnson gives the price in 1771 as 6s.

[31] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 508.

[32] There is little enough available evidence for the construction of the merchant mills. There had, of course, been water mills from the earliest settlement (*cf.* the legislation regulating them, Hening i, 301; ii, 127, 242, 260, 286; iii, 401; iv, 53; v, 34, 359), but they were equivalent to the water mills in use today, mere neighbourhood conveniences. How great was the multiplication of them at the end of the eighteenth century may only be appreciated by a study of the Nine Sheet Map of 1828, but most of them were small. Thus it appeared (*W. & M. Quar.*, xi, 245) that in 1771 there were 23 water mills operating in Westmoreland with a total annual capacity of no more than 30,000 bushels of grain. The oldest of the large merchant mills were probably developments from such small beginnings, for the evidence is that some of the best known of them were already in operation in 1760, e. g., Chapman's, in Thoroughfare Gap; Carter's, at Sudley, on Bull Run; and Ballendine's (later Ellicott's), on the Occoquan. Buckland, like Dover, Oatlands and Cameron, came later with the turnpike era.

[33] Rowland, i, 281.

[34] Fredericksburg has recently celebrated a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, dating its beginning from the earliest land grant of its site in 1671. On that principle Alexandria is the older community for, as we have seen (*ante.*, p. 59), it can look back to grants of 1657.

[35] Hening, iv, 268. *Charles Broadwater* here referred to was a merchant mariner and had been established in the Potomac freshes for a decade when he died in 1733. (See his land grants, *N. N.*, A: 40, 112, 113; B: 42. His will is lacking, but there is a record of the accounting for his estate by Hugh West, in *Prince William D. B.*, C: 8, 33, 189, from which it appears that he left sons, Guy and Charles, the latter, destined to be Washington's colleague in the Assembly in 1770.) The reference, in the act of 1732 cited below, to the site of the warehouse actually selected, as more convenient than Broadwater's because it was 'upon the upper side of Great Hunting Creek,' indicates that 'Broadwater's land' was on the lower side of the creek; probably near the head. There is, however, no surviving record to identify it. Broadwater's deed was in the lost Stafford records and the will of the second Charles (1806, *Fairfax W. B.*, I: 471) makes no reference to it. The Broadwater family has been seated in the branches of Difficult since the middle of the eighteenth century and has no tradition of landholding on Hunting Creek.

[36] Hening, iv, 331. The final site is indicated on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737, and in more detail on a plat of the Howsing grant,

made in 1746. It stood at the foot of what was afterwards Oronoko Street, below 'the Gut' and 'Point West' where was built the public wharf mentioned in Hening, viii, 615.

[37] *William Ramsay:* In November, 1761, the Trustees of Alexandria organized a municipal government and elected William Ramsay their first 'Lord Mayor.' They presented him with a gold chain to which was attached a medal, which the *Maryland Gazette* (See *W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 17) described at the time as follows: 'Upon one side was represented the 'infant state of Alexandria and its commodious harbour, with these words in the legend, *Alexandria Translate et Renate Auspice Deo,* and in the exergue, *Condita Rego Geo. II. An. Dom.* 1749. The reverse has this inscription: *Digmo Dmno Gulielmo Ramsay. Romulo Alexandriae Urbisque Patri, Consuli Primo. Bene Merenti. An. Dom.* 1761.' Like John Graham, Ramsay lived out his life in Virginia; Washington recorded in his diary on February 12, 1785, 'Went to the funeral of Willm Ramsay, Esq. of Alexandria, the oldest Inhabitant of the Town. Walked in a procession as a free mason.' He had married Ann, daughter of Dennis McCarty of Pohick, and was thus a brother-in-law of George Johnston. Unlike many of the Scots resident in Virginia, Ramsay ardently supported the Revolution. In 1774 he subscribed the Fairfax resolutions and served on the county committee of that year (Rowland, i, 427). For the genealogical facts, see Hayden, pp. 87, 88.

[38] *Belhaven:* The famous speech of John Hamilton (1656-1708), second Baron Belhaven, against the Union is the 'only specimen of Scotch parliamentary oratory which has found its way into English collections of rhetorical masterpieces.' As a warm supporter of the Darien Company, even in its extremity, Belhaven has always been a traditional hero of the Scottish merchants.

The Scots on Hunting Creek, confident of the advantages of their harbour, were not unwilling to honour this name and at the same time pun upon it; but the only surviving record of their attempt to fasten it upon the community is of their failure. In March, 1752, the Assembly adopted a resolution (*Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 34) 'that the proposition from the Town of Alexandria for altering the name of that town to Belhaven be rejected.'

[39] *Cameron*: For John Minor see *ante.*, p. 344. He acquired the lands here referred to, being 25 acres on the upper side of Hunting Creek, at its head and 'a little below the wading place,' by deed of Moses Ball dated August 20, 1745 (see the recital in Minor's will of 1752, *Fairfax W. B.*, B: 31); and when those lands were conveyed by his son, another John Minor, to Thomas Shaw in 1767 (*Fairfax D. B.*, G: 195), they were described as 'known by the name of Cameron.' This name remains on the map to testify for an attempt of John Colvill (see *ante.*, p. 276) and John Minor to capitalize to their own advantage the discontent of some of their neighbours in respect to the situation of the Hunting Creek warehouse; for the decision of 1732 to establish it on deep water had not convinced all concerned. As the only access to the warehouse, for many years after it was established, was by the Potomac Path and the Falls Church road, which met at the ford (or 'wading place') at the head of Hunting Creek, the argument was that the authorized location might be to the advantage of the masters of the tobacco ships, but imposed upon the planters the burden of rolling their tobacco two miles beyond the head of the creek, to which the ships' boats could conveniently come. The

plan of Colvill and Minor was, accordingly, to promote a commercial settlement at the head of Hunting Creek, such as was then growing up at the head of Quantico Creek, with the ultimate purpose of securing authority for a new warehouse and laying out a town. Bidding for the patronage of Lord Fairfax, they proposed to call this town 'Cameron.' The earliest evidence of all this is that soon after Minor acquired the Ball lands in 1745 he and Colvill petitioned the Assembly for leave to set up an ordinary at Cameron: that permission being necessary in view of the provision in the ferry law assuring all ferry keepers against the maintenance of a competitive ordinary within two miles of a ferry landing. Hugh West (see *ante.*, p. 138), the owner of the existing warehouse and the proprietor as well of the ferry leading thence to Frazier's and Addison's in Maryland (Hening, v, 104, 364) retaliated with a counter petition dated February 22, 1745/6 (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 159), 'in opposition to a petition for allowing an ordinary to be kept *at a place called Cameron*, being within two miles of a ferry kept by the said West.' The legislative record does not show that any action was taken upon either petition; but that the ordinary at Cameron was duly established appears from its indication on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map. It seems to have been kept at that time by Richard Moxley (*Mrs. Browne's Diary* MS. Library of Congress).

As the text shows, when West, Ramsay, Carlyle and Pagan promoted the petition for a town at the warehouse, Colvill and Minor enlisted the aid of Philip Alexander of Chotank (see *post*, note 42), who owned part of the land West proposed to expropriate and wanted to hold it, and countered with a petition that the town on Hunting Creek should be located on Minor's land. If the ambition of Colvill and Minor had been achieved, and the record in the Assembly shows that it barely failed, the town then established would have been named Cameron instead of Alexandria.

Although never more than the site of an ordinary, the 'place called Cameron' remained a familiar landmark because it identified a road junction which in 1754 became more important by the opening up thence of the road to Williams' (Snicker's) gap, since known as 'Braddock's.' Cameron is thereafter several times recited in the Truro vestry book as the point of departure of processionings. Washington mentions it frequently in his diaries, as a place where races and musters of the militia were held; and in 1786, when Charles Little was living at 'Cleesh,' he refers to that house as 'Mr. Little's at Cameron.' At the end of the century the 'Cameron Mills,' (which seem to have superseded a mill belonging to John Colvill), took the name and are so depicted on Thomas' 'Plan of Alexandria, 1798;' and, later, the waters which actuated those mills became known as 'Cameron Run.' Thus the name 'Cameron' is the fossil evidence of a disappointed ambition.

[40] *Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 265, 355, 405.

[41] C. O., 5: 1395, No. 20. The title only is in Hening, vi, 214. The full text is printed from the Trustees' minute book, *post*, p. 670.

[42] *The Alexanders*: When Alexandria was laid out the greater part of the Howsing patent was still vested in tail in two great grandsons of the original John Alexander (See *ante.*, p. 60; *W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 252; x, 63, 179) viz: John[4] of Chotank, and Gerard[4] of

Holmes Island, above Four Mile Creek. The objecting Philip was a son of this last named John. It is apparent that while the town bill was in the Assembly, the proposed name Belhaven was abandoned and Alexandria substituted to make weight in overcoming Philip Alexander's objection, by courting the interest of his uncle, Gerard, who was named one of the trustees.

[43] It is significant that when, in 1776 (Hening, ix, 154), the Assembly was reviving the currently important tobacco inspections, the warehouses at Dumfries, Colchester, Pohick and the Falls were all recognised, but Hunting Creek, which had once rivaled Quantico as a tobacco market, was passed over in silence. That this omission was not accidental appears two years later from a recital (Hening, ix, 488) of 'Alexandria where the inspection called Hunting Creek *was formerly established.*' By an act of 1795 (Shepherd, i, 404) it was recited that 'the warehouses for the reception and inspection of tobacco in the town of Alexandria are no longer necessary for that purpose,' and the inspection was formally declared to be discontinued. After the retrocession by the United States in 1847 a new tobacco inspection was established at Alexandria (Acts, 1846-47, ch. 53, sec. 28, p. 47), but this was a mere gesture, for the trade was then no longer of importance in Northern Virginia.

[44] Hening, vii, 604.

[45] The earliest traveller's description of Alexandria, that of Archdeacon Burnaby in October, 1759, testifies to the shipyard. 'In the evening,' he said (*Travels through the Middle Settlements*), 'we returned down the river about 16 miles to Alexandria or Belhaven, a small trading place in one of the finest situations imaginable. The Potomac above and below the town is not more than a mile broad, but it here opens into a large circular bay of at least twice that diameter. . . . The town is built upon an arc of this bay; at one extremity of which is a wharf; at the other a dock for building ships, with water sufficiently deep to launch a vessel of any rate or magnitude.'

[46] *Alexandria merchants:* In 1775 there was filed in evidence in Westmoreland court (*W. & M. Quar.*, xi, 245) lists of the wholesale merchants then doing business in Potomac River. Here it appeared that at Dumfries there were 11 houses, all tobacco factors; at Colchester, 5, of which two were tobacco factors and the other three, wheat buyers. The Alexandria list is the largest and the most diversified and is of sufficient interest to reproduce with Mr. Carter's comment on each firm, viz:

Merchants and Factors now [1775]
residing in Alexandria, Potomac River

1. Hooe & Harrison, wheat purchasers.
2. Steward & Hubard, wheat purchasers.
3. Fitzgerald & Reis, wheat purchasers.
4. Harper & Hartshorne, wheat purchasers.
5. John Allison, wheat purchaser.
6. Wm. Sadler, wheat purchaser.
7. Robert Adams & Co., wheat purchasers.
8. Henby & Calder, wheat purchasers.
9. Wm. Hayburne, wheat purchaser.

10. James Kirke, wheat purchaser.
11. George Gilpin, wheat purchaser, inspector of flour.
12. Thomas Kilpatrick, wheat purchaser, inspector of flour.
13. McCawley & Mayes, import British goods, which they sell wholesale.
14. Wm. Wilson, seller of British goods, who buys tobacco.
15. John Locke, seller of British goods, who buys tobacco.
16. John Muir, seller of British goods, who buys tobacco.
17. Brown & Finley, they import goods from Philadelphia and purchase tobo. and wheat.
18. Josiah Watson; he imprts. goods from Phila. and purchases tobo. & wheat.
19. Robert Dove & Co., distillers.
20. Carlyle & Dalton, import rum & sugar.

Thus it appears that of the 20 firms at Alexandria in 1775, twelve were wheat buyers exclusively; two bought both wheat and tobacco; three were factors for Scots tobacco houses; two were ship owners, one trading in England, the other in the West Indies; and one was a distiller. Nothing could illustrate better than this list the preponderance of the grain trade at Alexandria just before the Revolution.

[47] The flour inspection provision of the act of 1745 (Hening, v. 350) was renewed and in detail amended several times until 1781, when there was substituted for it (Hening, x, 496), a separate 'act to regulate the inspection of flour.' This took the inspection out of the hands of the county courts and vested it in officers of the Commonwealth, thereby giving flour the dignity of tobacco. Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and West Point (to which Warwick in Chesterfield was added the next year) were then designated the 'public inspections,' but it was provided that subsidiary certificates of inspection might be issued at a number of the old tobacco warehouses, including Dumfries and Colchester. From year to year thereafter the list of flour inspections was enlarged, (e. g., Louisville and Fort Wheeling in 1787. See the list in *Revised Code,* 1819, ii, 177). Alexandria, of course, dropped out of the Virginia acts after 1801 when she was included in the District of Columbia.

[48] See the progressive increases in the Virginia tariffs of 1781, 1782 and 1787 (Hening, x, 511: xi, 121; xii, 413). Maryland was quick to see a selfish advantage in lower rates (Scharf, *Maryland,* ii, 528); with the result, as John Randolph later asserted in the House of Representatives, 'to that policy may be attributed in a great degree the rapid growth and prosperity of the town of Baltimore.' This discrimination, as has often been pointed out, was one of the reasons for Virginia's interest in a Federal constitution.

[49] Even as late as 1795, when Thomas Twining passed through Alexandria, he could comment: 'What most struck me was the vast number of houses which I saw building. . . . The hammer and the trowel were at work every where, a cheering sight.' The effect of this was evident to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld in 1796: 'Alexandria,' he said, 'is beyond all comparison the handsomest town in Virginia and indeed is among the finest in the United States.' In that same year Isaac Weld testified: 'Alexandria is one of the neatest towns in the United States. The houses are mostly of brick.'

[50] *Nouveau Voyage dans les etats unis,* 1791.

[51] *Am. Hist. Rev.,* xxviii, 718. In view of the fact that Lear had

then recently established himself as a merchant at Georgetown in confidence of the commercial future of that community. Georgetown's export of 10,000 bbls. of flour in the same year, 1795, affords a measure of Alexandria's contemporary position in the trade.

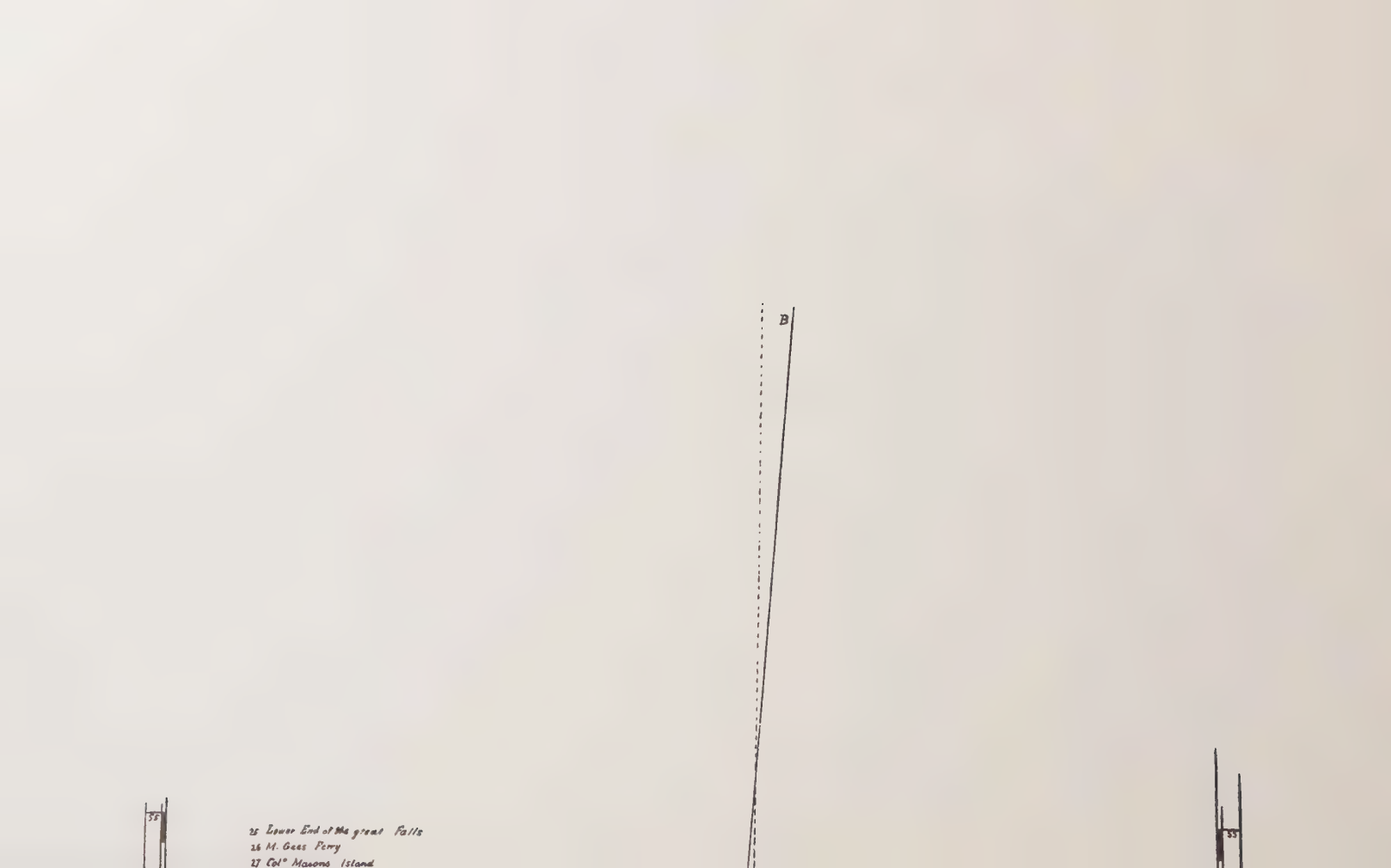
[52] *Cf.* Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore,* 1833, pp. 129, 132.

[53] In the memorial of Washington City to Congress in 1828, on the prospects of the C. & O. canal, it was prophesied that when that work was complete, 'Georgetown and Alexandria in whose streets the grass now grows green, will become once more the scenes of Commerce and wealth.'

[54] Hening, xii, 75.

[55] Acts 1795-96, ch. 31, p. 25; Shepherd, i, 378.

[56] Incorporated in 1779 (Hening, x, 172), the town of Alexandria was erected into a city by an act of May 7, 1852 (Acts, 1852, ch. 358, p. 234). The Orange and Alexandria railroad was organized in May, 1849, only after the town of Alexandria had subscribed to its stock, and it is significant of the intimacy and interaction of the association that, immediately after Alexandria became a city, the railroad also began to expand, and undertook its Lynchburg extension (Acts, 1852-53, ch. 177, p. 151).


B
55
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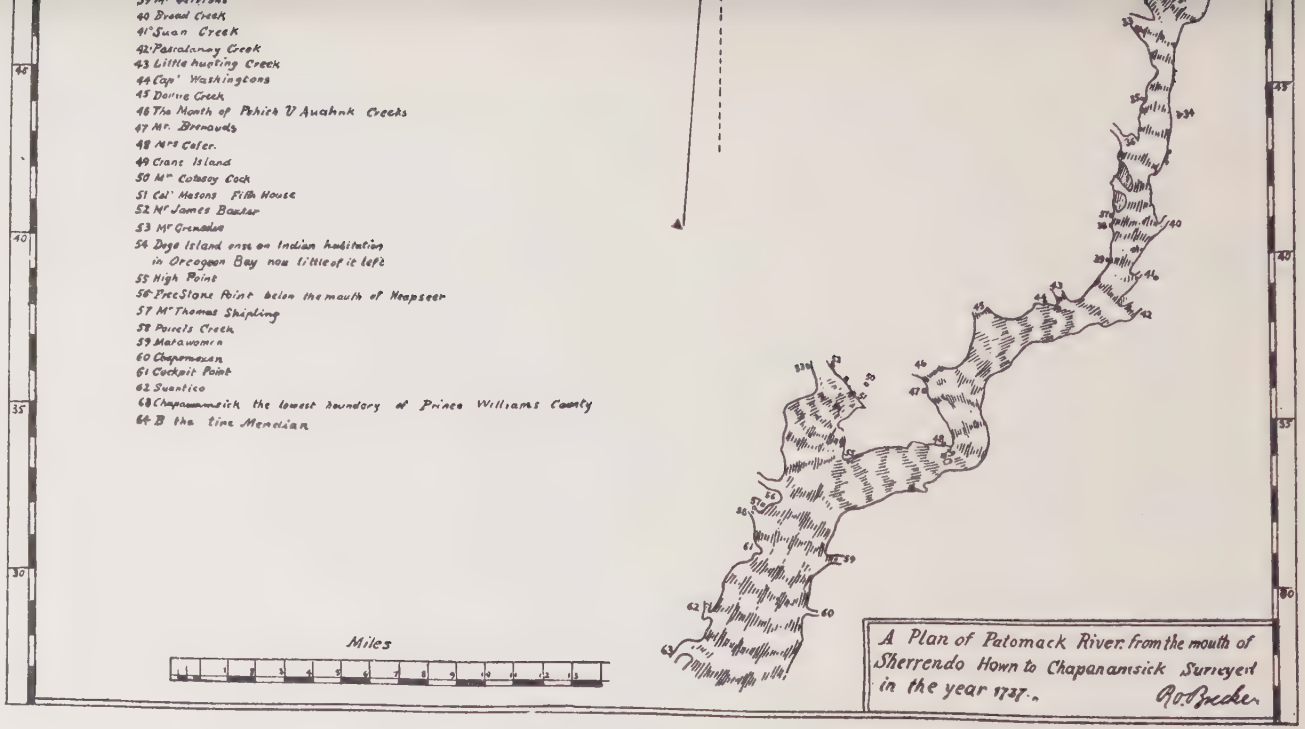
25 Lower End of the great Falls
26 M. Gees Ferry
27 Col° Masons Island


40 Bread Creek
41 Swan Creek
42 Pascalaney Creek
43 Little hunting Creek
44 Cap' Washingtons
45 Dorrie Creek
46 The Mouth of Pohick & Accotink Creeks
47 Mr. Brenaulds
48 Mrs Cofer.
49 Grant Island
50 Mr. Colsey Cock
51 Col' Masons Fifth House
52 Mr James Baxter
53 Mr Grenadier
54 Dogs Island once an Indian habitation in Oreogon Bay now little of it left
55 High Point
56 Pree Stone Point below the mouth of Neapseer
57 Mr Thomas Shipling
58 Powels Creek
59 Matawoman
60 Chapamosan
61 Cockpit Point
62 Quantico
63 Chapawansick the lowest boundory of Prince Williams County
64 B the line Meridian
Miles
A Plan of Patomack River from the mouth of Sherrendo Hown to Chapanamsick Surveyed in the year 1737.
Ro. Brooke

THE POTOMAC RIVER FROM GREAT FALLS TO CHIPAWANSIC.

ROBERT BROOKE, 1737.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

The Industries on the Occoquan

THE Bristol men who patented lands on the shores of the tidal estuary of the Occoquan in the middle of the seventeenth century must have experienced nostalgia when they first saw its situation. They may well have dreamed that it was their destiny to plant there such a seat of commerce and industry as their ancestors had built, six hundred years before, on the Mercia bank of Avon. At its mouth the Occoquan, like Avon, is five miles wide; at the head of tide, seven miles above, it has conveniently narrowed to seventy-five yards. The tide in the Potomac, like that of the Bristol Channel, provided, in the Occoquan as in the Avon, ample draught for the largest ships of the day. The Virginia river had, too, an additional advantage, for its inland drainage area, embracing the entire range of the Bull Run mountains, is so wide that, even today after the forests have disappeared, it supplies at all seasons sufficient water at the falls for the economical development of hydraulic power. To this use also the precipitation of seventy-two feet through a gorge a mile and a half in length is admirably adapted. The locality has, moreover, incidental qualities of the picturesque which bear out the two warm descriptions of it which have found their way into books of travel.

In June, 1760, Archdeacon Burnaby's guide erred from the direct road between Williams' gap and Colchester and

> 'brought me through as beautiful a scene as eye ever beheld. It was a delightful valley about two miles in length and a quarter in breadth, between high and craggy mountains covered with chamoedaphnes or wild ivy in full flower. Through the middle of the valley glided a rivulet about eight yards wide, extremely lucid, and breaking into innumerable cascades: and in different parts of it stood small clumps of evergreens, such as myrtles, cedars, pines and various other sorts. Upon the whole no Tempe itself could have displayed greater beauty or a more delightful scene.'

The local colour of these raptures appeared again to Joseph Martin[1] near a century later:

'The action of the water in the course of ages has washed the earth from the channel and the rocks lie in its bed in every rude variety of position. The banks of the river here present every where jutting rocks and some times great precipices. The pine finds sustenance among the crevices and gives relief and a grace to scenery that would otherwise be savage. . . . The traveller moving along the plains of lower Virginia, his eye accustomed to the tame prospect of the alluvial country, suddently finds himself in a ravine, descending a hill, the precipitious ridges of which inspire him with terror. . . . Should curiosity prompt him to tarry the rest of the day, the sacrifice will be amply repaid. The botany of this neighbourhood is very rich: here are in close proximity plants of the mountains and of the marshes. The mosses are numerous and beautiful. . . . On the river in this vicinity there is a quarry of valuable whetstones, a bank impregnated with alum, and a cave which has never been satisfactorily explored.'

We have seen that Capt. John Smith found the mouth of this estuary to be the site of the 'King's howse' of the Doeg tribes of the neighbourhood, and that here were surveyed the earliest English land patents in old Prince William. Thereafter until the American Revolution there never was a time when the Occoquan did not harbour a comparatively numerous and closely seated population. The land records reveal this in the steady process of subdivision of the original large patents into small holdings fronting on the two shores; and the earliest conspective view of the neighbourhood, that afforded by Robert Brooke's map of the Potomac in 1737, shows it graphically. On that last mentioned testimony is laid down at the mouth of the Occoquan a group of houses more numerous and more closely approximated than the surveyor found in any other neighbourhood of the 'freshes.' It surpassed Hunting Creek at a time when the Quantico was still negligible. The 'Mr. Brenaud,[2] Mrs. Cofer, Mr. Catesby Cock, Mr. James Baxter, Mr. Gregsby' who are thus shown to have constituted the Occoquan society of 1736 were the immediate predecessors of that pleasant group of the ante-Revolutionary generation,

well known by reason of their association with the households of Mt. Vernon and Gunston Hall; which included the families who dwelt in Martin Cockburn's 'Springfield,' in Parson Massey's 'Bradley,' in Edward Washington's 'Belmont,' in Thomas Blackburn's 'Rippon Hall,' and in the nearby abodes of Peter Wagener, Alexander Henderson, Edward Barry, Robert Boggess and Benjamin Grayson.

The situation of the original Pohick Church (long called Occoquan Church) and the first Prince William Court House, are early evidences that the English, like the Doegs, found reason for placing a political capital on the Occoquan in its accessibility from all the territory served by the Potomac Path; but as this advantage was soon lost, the history of the resident community remains largely the record of its individual economic effort, in trade with the back country and in the development of local industries.

The first English settlers on the Occoquan noted in their deeds the pre-existence of an indian trail leading up the ridge between the waters of Pohick and Bull Runs, but they needed more than that in the way of access to the interior before they could venture to clear the forest of the upper valleys and begin the cultivation of tobacco out of sight of the rigging of the tobacco ships. There was a beginning of this necessary facility before 1715 when what was later called the 'back road' from Colchester to Alexandria had its beginning, as 'Tillett's Rolling Road;' but it was not until 1728 that a company of speculators, seeking a quite different end, opened what was destined to be the trade artery of the future town of Colchester.

Throughout the years from 1715 to 1728 land hunters from the Northern Neck peninsula made their from the Rappahannock to the head waters of Bull Run up the Shenandoah Hunting Path (which became the Carolina Road); and turned thence east into the forest of what was to be northern Fairfax. George Eskridge, Henry Lee, Andrew Hutchinson, Francis Awbrey, and George Turberville were among those

who at this time surveyed, and took grants for, broad boundaries on the several branches of Cub Run.[3] After them followed 'King' Carter's sons Robin and Charles who, not content with what lands had been appropriated elsewhere for their families, pushed still further east to the Horsepen of Broad. Here their curiosity was gratified by what seemed to be an assurance of that mineral wealth for which, like all explorers of a new country, they and their contemporaries were ever on the lookout. On a small run emptying into Horsepen, known as the Frying Pan, the Carters came upon a generous show of the characteristic green sandstone of northern Virginia. Persuaded that this indicated an available deposit of copper,[4] Robin Carter at once preempted it under a grant of October 14, 1728.[5] A few months later, on March 17, 1728/9, a contract was entered into between 'King' Carter, his sons Robin and Charles, and his son-in-law Mann Page of Rosewell, reciting that there was 'supposed to be a mine of Copper or other rich oar' on this land and agreeing that it should be exploited for joint and equal account of the parties.[6] Other lands in the neighbourhood were accordingly taken up and plans were made to open the access to them. It was at first intended that a road should be built to the Little Falls of the Potomac, as the shortest route to tidewater; but, before the arrangements were made, Francis Awbrey revealed what was in the wind to Thomas Lee. Intent on protecting his own inchoate commercial plans, which contemplated a monopoly of the head of navigation of the Potomac, Lee forthwith lodged in the Proprietor's office a hasty survey which claimed all the available landing places at the Little Falls, and thus effectually forestalled the Carters. The correspondence which ensued is amusing. The 'King,' accustomed to have his way, was indignant at what he seems to have considered Lee's presumption. He alternately flattered and stormed, but at last was outdone.[7] The Carters were accordingly compelled to look elsewhere for a 'copper mine landing.' *Faute de mieux,* for the distance was great, they pitched upon a site on the north bank of the Occoquan, close below the falls. Here, under what proved to be an invalid grant, they took possession of, and built a wharf on, the

3,000 acre tract Miles Cary had originally patented in 1654;[8] and, pushing thence up the middle ridge, opened and extended a pre-existing indian trail, past the future sites of Payne's church and the present Fairfax Court House, all the way to the Frying Pan Run. Col. Carter's contemporaneous letters reveal this road in the making. On June 2, 1729, he wrote to Mann Page:

'My sons Robin and Charles took their departure yesterday, the latter full of resolution for carrying on the 'Frying Pan' business. Pray God continue his health to him. I expect my Gang of Sawyers sent for opening the Road will be there before him.'

Some months later he announced to Fortunatus Sydnor, the overseer at Frying Pan, his intention of going to the Occoquan by water and of riding over the new road himself. As he was then suffering from the gout, the 'King' was particular in his requirement of

'a cupple of good able horses for my occasions while I am there . . . large good trotting horses that have courage enough and yet not skittish. . . . I may take in both the Frying Pan and the Landing, for if I am able to bear it I propose to see all them places and Sandy tract too. . . . All the oar that is brought down to the landing while the sloop is at Occoquan she must bring.'

Thus came into existence and use the Ox road which is a familiar landmark in the Fairfax records.[9]

The Frying Pan Company, as it was now called, bodied up in all some 27,000 acres of land, including the tract at the Occoquan landing and a half-way station on the Ox road, at the springs of Pope's Head. Having opened their mine, they imported some Cornish miners to direct their own laborers, and for a time their hopes ran high. They had found, as Col. Carter testified,[10]

'a Person skilled in these things who before our faces hath extracted out of some of the best of the oar, a fourth, near a third, of good solid Copper, which whets up our humours to

be as Vigorous as we can in making Search into this Piece of Land;'

but the more conservative assayers of London and Bristol were unable to report so favorably on the samples of ore submitted to them; and what 'Councillor' Robert Carter of Nomini long afterwards described to his cousins as 'a favorite scheme of our Ancestors' was acknowledged to have come to naught before the 'King' himself died.

It was soon evident that, despite its own failure, the Frying Pan Company had provided the avenue by which the Occoquan community was to be put in touch with a profitable trade. When the public warehouses were built, under Governor Gooch's tobacco law of 1730, the influence of the Fitzhughs and the McCartys secured the designation of one of them to be located at the terminus of the Ravensworth rolling road on the McCarty lands at the mouth of Pohick; but that site did not command public approval and 'small quantities of tobacco passed at' it. As a consequence the authority was repealed in 1734 and in lieu of Pohick a warehouse was authorized 'for the ease of the inhabitants of Prince William County . . . at the copper mine landing upon Occoquan."[11] This last was built at the terminus of the Ox road and through that channel, under the management of Edward Washington and William Payne as inspectors, at once made a strong bid for the back country trade, in competition with Quantico and Hunting Creek. That the Occoquan men promptly proved the availability of their estuary for the trade is apparent in the fact that two years later Valentine Peyton was authorized to establish a second Occoquan warehouse on the south shore.[12]

At this time the Occoquan had a real opportunity to become the metropolis of all Prince William, and, indeed, nearly anticipated Dumfries and Belhaven in laying out a town. Petitions were submitted to the Assembly to that end as early as 1740 and again in 1742, but on each occasion a nascent local jealousy blocked the proposal.[13] Again and again then and thereafter

the Scots on the Quantico and Hunting Creek joined hands to thwart the ambition of the Occoquan men;[14] and as a consequence it was not until 1753 that anything was accomplished. Until then the fight had been to establish a town on the Mason land on the south shore, which was the site of the original Prince William court house. The Scots argued that this was too near Dumfries and their objection persuaded the Assembly, until Peter Wagener proposed as a compromise that the Occoquan town be laid out on his land on the north shore. The result was Colchester. The authorizing act[15] recited that a town there would be not only 'very convenient for trade and navigation,' which was now obvious; but, what was more important, 'greatly to the ease and advantage of the frontier inhabitants.'

This recognition came, however, too late. For five years Dumfries and Alexandria had already been launched on their respective careers, and were now vigorously seeking to demonstrate, upon the benevolent principle of 'Codlin's your friend not Short,' that their markets afforded the true and only 'ease and advantage' of the same frontier inhabitants to which Colchester looked. As it happened, each of these towns had more men and stronger influence to back up their challenge; and they succeeded in blanketing the town on the Occoquan. Although Colchester eventually became the headquarters of several Scots factors and down to the time of the Revolution continued to share in the exports of old Prince William, at first of tobacco and then of flour, it remained, *qua* town, little more than a station on the Potomac Path where a journey might conveniently be broken, a pleasant place of congregational residence for lawyers and doctors who practised in both the adjacent counties, a resort for the meetings of the neighbouring planters, which was the more attractive because the local ordinary keepers maintained the high reputation of their tables and their wine cellars.[16]

The separation of Fairfax from Prince William was, of course, a serious check to the Occoquan community. What

had been the social and political centre thenceforth became an outpost for both counties. Fortunately for the local landowners it was not long before there was a measurable compensation for this loss of prestige. While Colchester was struggling, with slackened energy, to hold a share of the inland commerce there was initiated on the south shore an industry which maintained the neighbourhood for another generation.

The Tubal Cain of Virginia, as Alexander Spotswood loved to hear himself called, was charged by some of his contemporaries with having procured the passage of the act of 1727 'for encouraging adventurers in iron works'[17] as a special privilege for his own activities south of the Rappahannock. If the ex-Governor was, as seems beyond doubt, the greatest beneficiary of this legislation, its exemptions stimulated competition. As early as 1730 Governor Gooch could report that 'mines of iron oar are found in many places of the country and five furnaces for melting of it are already sett up.'[18]

Under the terms of the standard Virginia land patent, the patentee and his assigns had the same title to minerals as the landowner in England, that is to say, only what were technically known as 'royal mines' of gold and silver were reserved to the Crown; but, beginning in 1690, Philip Ludwell had introduced into the form of the Northern Neck proprietary grants a reservation to the Proprietors, in addition to the quit rents and the royal mines, of 'a full third part of all Lead, copper, tin, coals, and iron mines that shall be found thereon.' As a consequence there was little inducement to open mines within the Northern Neck unless the landowner could make a special bargain with the representatives of the proprietary. The earliest iron mines in Virginia were thus, with two exceptions, all south of the Rappahannock.

In 1725 the Principio Company of Maryland determined to expand their already large and successful operations in iron by establishing a furnace in Virginia. They enlisted the co-operation of Augustine Washington (the 'grandfather' of his country) and he took a land grant of some ore bearing ridge lands at the head of Accokeek run of Potomac Creek. Here

John England built for the Principio Company the 'Accokeek furnace."[19] This plant began to melt Washington's ore in 1727.

Stimulated by the early success of this operation, the first John Tayloe, of Richmond County, opened also the ore beds on Neapsco and before 1738 had in operation his Neapsco furnace. He soon found, however, that his ore required a mixture in order to secure a satisfactory flux, and to that end procured from the Council a permit for the importation, duty free, of Maryland ore intended for fluxing purposes. Thus from the start the operations of the Accokeek and Neapsco furnaces were united in a common interest.[20]

Governor Gooch's reports throughout his administration show that all the early Virginia furnaces had built up a profitable intercolonial trade in 'fire backs, potts, boxes for cart wheels' and such small furniture, and in doing so had supplied also an expanding local market. Though their operations were modest, it was generally recognised that the maintenance of these furnaces was important to the entire colony. It came, then, as something of a shock to Virginia when, in 1753, the Principio Company decided to abandon the Accokeek furnace and confine their operations to Maryland. They gave as a reason that the local supply of ore had failed, and thus early defined the limitation of the iron industry in Virginia.[21] In this situation the Neapsco furnace was left in possession of a market in the Northern Neck which invited competition. As early as September, 1749, Charles Ewell had planned to establish another iron works in the vicinity of the Occoquan. Backed by Ralph Falkner, Edward Neale and John Triplett, he had bodied up 1,520 acres of ore lands on Hooe's Run, but apparently was unable to exploit them; for the property remained undeveloped until February, 1755, when it was acquired by Ewell's kinsman, John Ballendine.[22] This picturesque figure was of a Lancaster family which had been planted in Virginia by a Liverpool shipmaster. He, himself, started life operating, as a common carrier, a packet on the Potomac.[23] His contracts of 1755 with the Ewells and Peytons declared his purpose to erect and operate a forge and a grist mill on the Occoquan.[24] With shrewd appreciation of what this might mean as affecting their own in-

terest, the second John Tayloe and Presley Thornton, who were then operating Neabsco, immediately offered Ballendine what he most needed, namely financial backing; and duly entered into a partnership agreement with him 'to erect and carry on an Iron Work' on the Occoquan. In March, 1755, the new partnership added to Ballendine's previous holdings by acquiring Valentine Peyton's Occoquan warehouses;[25] whereupon Ballendine there established his residence, and proceeded to erect 'certain forges, water grist mills, bolting mills, bake houses, saw mills, store houses and dwellings,' and to provide the new plant with 'slaves, livestock and other equipment.'

By October, 1759, the 'Occoquan works' were in full operation. Archdeacon Burnaby then visited the plant and left a description of it:

'About two miles above Colchester,' he said,[26] 'there is an iron furnace, a forge, two saw mills and a bolting mill. At our return we had an opportunity of visiting them. They have every convenience of wood and water that can be wished for. The ore wrought here is brought from Maryland: not that there is any doubt of there being plenty enough in the adjacent hills, but the inhabitants are discouraged from trying for it by the proprietor's (viz: Lord Fairfax) having reserved to himself a third of all ore that may be discovered in the Northern Neck.'

The Ballendine-Tayloe-Thornton partnership expired by limitation in 1760, when the two last named withdrew. Ballendine was now hard pressed.[27] He borrowed money from John Semple of Charles County, Maryland, and by April, 1762, was compelled to transfer to him all his interest in the 'Occoquan works,' reserving only the superintendence and a share in the profits.[28] The contract then made contemplated that this arrangement should continue for twelve years; but by February, 1765, Ballendine was forced out, and removed his residence to Seneca Falls, where his restless imagination turned to plans for improving the navigation of the Potomac. Thenceforth the 'Occoquan works' were carried on by Semple alone; but it seems that he soon abandoned the forge and devoted himself

to the operation and development of the trade of the two merchant flouring mills which Ballendine had built.

The failure of Ballendine did not, however, end the manufacturing of iron in the Occoquan community. In 1764 Bertram Ewell renewed his family interest in the industry and reported to the Assembly that he was engaged in erecting iron works on Neapsco.[29] It does not appear from the record that he ever carried out his plans; but the Tayloe works were still in full operation after the Revolution, consistently using raw material from Maryland. Mr. Jefferson mentions 'Tayloe's forge on Neapsco' which he says was making, in 1781, 'bar iron from pigs imported from Maryland.'[30]

No record has come to light of the volume of the operations of any of these iron works, but there seems no doubt that for at least fifteen years before the Revolution they stimulated a vigorous industrial life on the Occoquan.

The development of wheat farming in the back country, which had induced Ballendine to harness the falls of the Occoquan for the power of his flouring mills and Semple to devote the 'Occoquan works' to that activity, was the basis of the trade which succeeded the iron industry on the Occoquan and ultimately gave rise to a new town. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the ownership of those mills had passed from Semple to Nathaniel Ellicott, the Quaker who brought the English novelist John Davis to the Occoquan, to serve the neighbourhood as a schoolmaster. This 'chiel amang ye takin' notes' recorded a doubtful but characteristically lyrical impression of his employer's ambitions and environment:

'The richness of the adjacent country and the healthfulness of the climate,' he said in 1801,[31] 'induced the Proprietor to project the plan of a city and invite strangers to build in it; but his visions were never realized and *Occoquan* consists only of a house built on a rock, three others on the river side and half a dozen log huts scattered at some distance. Yet no place can be more romantic than the view of *Occoquan* to a stranger, after crossing the rustic bridge which has been constructed by

the inhabitants across the stream. He contemplates the river urging its course along mountains that lose themselves among the clouds: he beholds vessels taking on board flour under the foam of the mills, and others, deeply laden, expanding their sails to the breeze; while every face wears contentment, every gale wafts health, and echo from the rocks multiplies the voices of the waggoners calling to their teams.'

Davis' judgment against the future of this new focus of industry was premature. Three years after he had departed, the village of the falls was, by the Assembly, formally 'established a town by the name of Occoquon [sic] . . . on the lands of Nathaniel Ellicott . . . at the Occoquan mills in the county of Prince William;'[32] and a generation later Joseph Martin could record a growth which, compared with Davis' description, was certainly the Quaker miller's justification:

'The town contains,' said Martin in 1836,[33] about 50 dwelling houses, several mercantile stores and various mechanics, a cotton manufactory in complete operation, and one of the first established in the State, now running 1,000 spindles,[34] an extensive manufacturing flour mill grinding in the ordinary season 150 barrels per day, with the necessary appendages of grist, saw and plaster mills. A handsome and permanent bridge is erected across the river at this place; over the bridge and through the town runs the great mail route from Washington to the South. The principal trade of the town is with the counties of Fairfax, and Fauquier. . . . This village is in a flourishing condition and with confidence looks forward to further improvement.'

Despite this confidence, the town of Occoquan was, in 1836, already handicapped by the same natural phenomenon, which had caused the decay of its older neighbours, Dumfries and Colchester. The estuary of the Occoquan, like that of the Quantico, was gradually silting up, and in time vessels could no longer reach the mills. This difficulty was superable in the case of the Occoquan. What was needed was a man with the will to overcome it. Plans to improve the navigation, and even to canalize Broad Run up to Thoroughfare gap, were, indeed, made; but they were never carried out.[35] While they were being

debated, a diversion of the back country trade followed the construction of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. The 'great Southern mail' disappeared also from the street of the town, and no more breakfasts of canvas back ducks were served to travellers there, like that John Melish described. The flour mills have, however, continued to operate to this day as a neighbourhood convenience, and the town has been a place of concentration for railroad cross ties and other forest products. A quarry also has been opened on the north shore; and nearby is established the District of Columbia penal workhouse; which unite to sustain the local trade of the town on the Prince William shore. For these considerations the population of Occoquan think their village still has a promising future, and are now urging that, in order that it may pass their doors, the new state highway between Washington and Richmond shall include the old 'back road to Alexandria' which once knew the 'great Southern mail,' in preference to the more direct route of the Potomac path, which crosses the Occoquan by a bridge at Colchester, where once was Mason's ferry.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

[1] *Gazetteer of Virginia,* 1836, p. 272.

[2] This was Jeremiah Bronaugh (1702-1749), for whom see *ante.*, p. .....

[3] George Turberville's grant of 1727 (*N. N.*, B: 54) 'on the west side of Flat Lick adjoining Capt. Henry Lee' may be identified on the modern map by the village of Chantilly, where the Little River Turnpike crosses Flat Lick. The name Chantilly was naturalized there at the beginning of the nineteenth centry when Cornelia Lee Turberville (1797-1883), wife of Charles Calvert Stuart, and a great granddaughter of George Turberville, gave it, in honour of the Westmoreland residence of her maternal grandfather Richard Henry Lee, to the house she built on her inheritance in Fairfax.

[4] In his annual reports to the Lords of Trade Governor Gooch recorded the contemporary lust for copper among all those who were then exploring the piedmont. In 1730 he announced that 'three copper mines are already discovered, two in the Northern Neck and one in the county of Spotsylvania; on one they are at work, and will very soon begin with the other two.' In 1742, after the territory had been thoroughly exploited, came the obituary of the earlier hopes: 'Attempts have been made to work upon some copper mines but not being attended

with success have been dropt.' Professor W. B. Rogers (*Geology of the Virginias,* 1884, p. 133) gives the clew to this in his report, for 1837, concerning the calcareous shales and sandstones which extend south from the Potomac through Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier, and Culpeper into Orange: 'A curious feature in the composition of some of these rocks is the presence of the green carbonate and the sulphuret of copper. This fact which appears to have been observed at a very early period after the settlement of the country has, unhappily, kept alive the hope of discovering in these shales veins of a workable copper ore and has lead to repeated enterprises in mining from which no really profitable result appears ever to have been derived. Most of the openings, either ancient or modern, have disclosed nothing more than a calcareous shale slightly *filmed* with the green carbonate and making in some cases a superficial show of richness when analysis discovers only an insignificant amount of the enticing mineral. The specimens of sulphuret of copper found in several places are frequently of a very favorable character, but no indication can be discovered of its being present in sufficient quantity to justify the erection of works for smelting.'

[5] *N. N.,* B: 145. Frying Pan Run, first recited in this grant, is that tributary of the Horsepen of Broad, laid down anonymously on the topographic survey map, on which stands the village now known as Floris but long called Frying Pan. John Davis (*Travels,* 1803, ed. Morrison, pp. 374, 388) described the neighbourhood as he found it in 1801, and gives the origin of the name: 'After walking a mile and a half I met a boy sauntering along and whistling, probably for want of thought. 'How far, my boy,' said I, 'is it to Frying Pan?' 'You be in the pan now,' replied the oaf. 'I be, be I,' said I,' 'Very well.' . . . Frying Pan is composed of four log huts and a Meeting house. It took its name from a curious circumstance. Some Indians having encamped on the Run, missed their frying pan in the morning, and hence the name was conferred on the place.'

[6] The Frying Pan contracts, and the letter of January 26, 1778, in which 'Councillor' Robert Carter of Nomini expounded them, are in the record of the suit of *Carter of Shirley* v. *Carter of Nomini,* 1795, in the files of the old chancery court at Fredericksburg. There are references to them also in the wills of Mann Page, 'King' Carter, Charles Carter of Cleve, and Charles Carter of Shirley (See *Va. Mag.,* vi, 18; xxii, 380; xxxi, 39; xxxii, 39).

[7] Col. Carter's letters to Lee, like the others we shall quote, are in the Carter Letter Book (MS. collections, Virginia Historical Society). Beginning with the bland suggestion that 'methinks a little good humour may bring you to what I ask,' the 'King' ended his correspondence with Lee by the statement that 'your after reasoning is soft and cool which, as Solomon says, breaks the bone in strict right.' It was found, however, that the Lee warrants left out a tract of 15 acres at the lower end of the Sugar Land Rolling road, and Col. Carter took satisfaction in withholding this from Lee and vesting it in his son Robin (*N. N.,* C: 60). So, in the end, Col. Lee did not secure his complete monopoly at the Little Falls; but he had, nevertheless, enough land to give him a share of the tobacco trade of the Sugar Lands region when the Falls warehouse was built on his land in 1742. See *post,* p. .....

[8] The Carter grant of March 2, 1729/30, is *N. N.,* C: 39. For the previous title see *ante.,* p. 45. In 1788 Edward Washington and others acquired possession of the tract and in 1802 successfully defended their right to it against Charles Carter of Shirley, to whom the Carter title

had been alloted by Chancellor Wythe in the partition of the Frying Pan lands. See the suit of *Carter* v. *Washington* in the records of the old chancery court at Fredericksburg.

[9] See *post*, p. 476.

[10] In a letter to James Bradley of Bristol, September 15, 1729.

[11] Hening, iv, 331, 381.

[12] *Ibid.*, iv, 479. In 1744 the authority for Peyton's warehouse was repealed and that for a Pohick warehouse reinstated (*ibid.*, v. 232); but in 1748 Peyton secured the re-establishment of his warehouse also (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 271; Hening, vi, 173). For this Valentine Peyton, who died 1751, see Hayden, p. 494.

[13] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 413, 414, 429; 1742-49, p. 28.

[14] In 1759 the trade at the Occoquan warehouse had declined under the competition of Dumfries and the Scots merchants there ruthlessly promoted a petition that it be discontinued (*Journals H. B.*, 1758-61, pp. 80, 98); but nothing was done until 1762 when Colchester came forward and saved the situation. It was then recited (Hening, vii, 531; viii, 508) that the original Occoquan warehouse was 'in ruinous condition and inconveniently situated' and a substitute was authorized to be built on Benjamin Grayson's lots in Colchester. There it was maintained until after 1819 (cf. *Code* 1819, ii, 135).

[15] Hening, vi, 396. Peter Wagener headed the list of trustees, the others being Daniel McCarty, John Barry, William Elzey and Edward Washington. The name was that of the shire town of Essex in England, of which Wagener cherished youthful memories.

The Wageners of Colchester: This interesting family was represented in Virginia throughout the eighteenth century by a succession of Peters, viz:

I. *Peter Wagener* (1681-1742) was admitted to Trin. Coll. Cantab. June 27, 1698, as 'son of Henry Wagener of Middlesex . . . age 17,' on an exhibition from Westminster School (Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*). Proceeding B. A. in 1701, he took orders and on January 14, 1702/3, had the Royal Bounty to go to Maryland as a parson (Fothergill). He went, however, to Virginia, where he had a parish from 1703 to 1707 (Perry, p. 142). Years afterwards, Governor Gooch testified (*Fulham MS.*, First Box, No. 142) that he was 'much better remembered here as a bad Painter than as a Divine.' He had, however, a strong interest in England, for on January 6, 1707/8, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented him to the rich living of Stisted, co. Essex (*Reg. Tenison*, ii, 215, 281). There he built a notable parsonage and at last died (Morant, *Essex*, ii, 394).

II. *Peter Wagener* (1717-1774), son of the parson of Stisted, appeared in Virginia in 1738 and told Governor Gooch that Col. Martin Bladen of the Board of Trade had promised his father the reversion of the post of Commissary of Virginia on the death of the then aged James Blair; in anticipation of which he (the son) 'came hither . . . to practice the law . . . if the climate agreed with him, and he mett with Encouragement to stay' (Gooch to Bishop Gibson, May 21, 1739, *Fulham MS., supra*). As it happened, Commissary Blair out-lived the parson of Stisted, but his son found the 'encouragement' he anticipated, and remained in Virginia. Soon after his conversation with Gooch, he married a daughter of President John Robinson of 'Piscataqua' on the Rappahannock (*Va. Mag.*, xvi, 217); and in 1742,

on the organization of Fairfax and the transfer thither of Catesby Cocke as clerk, was, by the interest of his wife's family, preferred to be clerk of Prince William. (The approximate date of his arrival on the Potomac is fixed by a speculative land grant dated April 27, 1742, *N. N.*, E: 460, in the 'back country' which became Loudoun.) Ten years later (1752) he exchanged posts with John Graham, son-in-law of Catesby Cocke (See *ante.*, p. 155) and became clerk of Fairfax. It was then that he established himself on the north shore of Occoquan, and a year later (1753) emulated the example of John Graham in founding a town. As 'Major Wagener' he appears in Washington's diaries, attending Truro vestry meetings and generally taking part in county business. His will, if any, is missing, but the Truro vestry book (Goodwin, p. 36) incidentally records his death in 1774.

III. *Peter Wagener* (1742-1798), son of the clerk of Prince William and Fairfax, grew up on the Occoquan and was bred in the clerk's office. He married a daughter of Daniel McCarty of Pohick (Hayden) and appears frequently in Washington's diaries in the group of fox-hunting McCarty kinsmen who frequented Mt. Vernon after 1760. On the death of his father he succeeded as clerk of Fairfax, serving that office from 1774 until his death in 1798. During the Revolution he was County Lieutenant of Fairfax. His will, proved October 15, 1798 (*Fairfax W. B.*, G: 404) names a son, the fourth successive Peter.

[16] John Davis boasted of Colchester in 1801: 'Beside the bridge stands a tavern where . . . ice cools the Madeira that has been thrice across the ocean.'

[17] Hening, iv, 298. This act exempted from all 'public, county and parish levies' for five years all persons employed in an iron works, provided that meanwhile they should not make any tobacco. It was the operation of this act in Stafford in relation to the Accokeek furnace which moved John Mercer and Peter Hedgman to perpetrate a libel on the Assembly in which they played upon all the old prejudices against Spotswood. See *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 66, 71.

[18] C. O., 5: 1322, p. 119. There were at this time in fact only four furnaces, Spotswood's at Massaponax and Germanna; Chiswell's at Frederickville; and Accokeek. See William Byrd, *A Progress to the Mines*, 1732. Governor Gooch corrected his enumeration in subsequent dispatches.

[19] H. Whiteley, *History of the Principio Company*, 1878. See also the reference to the Accokeek furnace, John England and Augustine Washington in Col. Byrd's *A Progress to the Mines*, 1732. Washington's grant of 1726 is *N. N.*, A: 219. England himself subsequently took several grants on Accokeek and Austin's runs in 1727 and 1728 (*ibid.*, B: 120, 122, 124; C: 52).

[20] Before Robert Carter's death, the first John Tayloe had sought to get him to join in an iron mining adventure, but the 'King' declined, averring with good humour that he already had 'too many irons in the fire' (*Carter Letter Book, MS.*). Tayloe accordingly purchased a broad area of ore lands on Neapsco and went ahead by himself. His petition to the Council in December, 1738, to import fluxing ore from Maryland (*Va. Mag.*, xiv, 236) shows that his furnace was then in operation; and we have seen that in November, 1742, the commissioners to select the site of the second Prince William Court

House described their meeting place as 'the iron mines at Niapsco.' By his will, dated January 3, 1744/5, and proved 1747 (*Richmond W. B.*, 5: 553) this John Tayloe devised to his son John 'also five thousand acres in Prince Wm. County upon which the Neabsco furnace stands.' The second John Tayloe seems to have abandoned his father's mining operations but, taking into partnership Presley Thornton, to have continued the furnace altogether on the basis of Maryland ore. To that end he enlisted the co-operation of John Augustine Washington after he had inherited his father's interest in the Principio Company; and thus it was that the brother of George Washington made the petition to the Council on November 5, 1757 (C. O., 5: 1429, p. 49) for a renewal of the import permit of 1738. Tayloe was still using Principio ore.

[21] *The Accokeek iron mines*: That the ore on Accokeek was not exhausted by the Principio Company appears from the proposal of James Hunter to renew mining operations there in 1777. Hunter was then carrying on Spotswood's furnaces near Fredericksburg; but when they became of prime importance to the revolutionary army he was compelled to advise the Assembly that he drew his 'Pig Iron, the basis of all his manufacture, from Maryland,' a practice which had become 'exceedingly expensive and precarious.' He called attention to the Accokeek iron mines and asked the aid of the government to secure the use of them. In response to Hunter's petition a committee of the Assembly reported that 'The Accokeek Iron Mines in Stafford County, belonging to a company in England whose property they still remain, were worked; but discontinued upwards of twenty years ago because they had larger and richer Banks of ore with greater Conveniencys of Wood & Water, in Maryland; where all their hands, stocks & utensils were removed. The Lands are said to have been offered for sale by the company's agent, and probably from their being very broken, without Timber, and the soil excessively poor, have not been sold.' Hunter was accordingly authorized to expropriate the Principio title, but it does not appear that he made a success of the venture (See the legislative papers in *W. & M. Quar.*, xxvii, 82, and the act in Hening, ix, 303).

The explanation of this record of consistent failure is that the Accokeek ore never was available in economic quantity, justifying profitable operation. In the *Manufacturers Record*, December 7, 1922, an expert in iron says as much of present day conditions. . . . No one would start up a great foundry based upon the Virginia iron because he feels that within 15 or 20 or 25 years the supply of Virginia ore would be so depleted that the cost of pig iron must necessarily greatly increase . . . the Virginia furnaces instead of expanding and developing will gradually dry up unless there is a well established movement of outside ores to supplement the Virginia supply.'

[22] For Charles Ewell's plans of 1749 see the recitals in *Prince William D. B.*, Q: 523.

[23] *John Ballendine.* In February, 1773, John Ballendine, being then engaged in promoting the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac above the falls, issued a prospectus in which he stated that he had had 'an experience of fifteen years in transporting merchandise up and down the river Potowmach.' (See *post*, p. 540). This may identify him with the John Ballentine (as the name is recorded) who contracted to transport troops by water to Alexandria at the time of Braddock's expedition (*Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, p. 6). He was of a

Lancaster family, intermarried with the Bertrands and the Ewells (Hayden, p. 334), and doubtless descended from that master of a Liverpool tobacco ship trading in the Rappahannock who appears in 'King' Carter's letter book between 1722 and 1730.

In the contracts relating to the 'Occoquan works' Ballendine recited his residence there prior to 1765, describing himself as 'of the County of Prince William, gentleman.' After 1765 he uniformly described himself as 'of the County of Fairfax.' In John Semple's 'Proposals for Clearing the Potomac,' 1769 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 499), it appears that after Semple forced him out of the Occoquan mills Ballendine established himself on the Potomac at Seneca falls and operated a sawmill. On his return from England in 1773 (*post*, p. 556, and Taggart, *Old Georgetown*) he resided at 'Amsterdam' near the Little Falls where his canal was under construction.

In 1775, after the failure of his plans for improving the Potomac, Ballendine removed to James River (see his advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, October 28, 1775, dated 'Falls of James River') and began to cut a canal there at his own expense, in which his rights were later recognised by the charter of the James River Company (Hening, xi, 462). In 1776 he was constructing an air furnace at Westham, to which was subsequently added the cannon foundry which performed valuable service during the Revolution and was eventually destroyed in Benedict Arnold's James River raid of 1781 (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, viii, 197; Bishop, *Hist. Am. Mfrs.*, 1860). He sometimes operated also the Buckingham furnace higher up the river (*Journals H. D.*, 1780, p. 87; Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, 1781), but here, too, came to grief and in 1784 his interest was sold out for non-payment of taxes (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, iii, 601). His will, dated June 3, 1781, was proved March 19, 1782 (*Fairfax W. B.*, D. No. 1: 247). It mentions his son and leaves mourning rings to his friends, Alexander Henderson, Hector Ross and Mr. Downman 'in memory of happy days spent at Occoquan.'

John Ballendine had a spinster sister, Frances, who acquired certain lots in Dumfries in 1768 and thenceforth resided there until her death in 1793 (*Prince William D. B.*, R: 41; T: 111, and her will in *W. B.*, H: 68). It was she who came to dine at Mt. Vernon with Col. Henry Lee and his wife in 1768 (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ii, 251).

This Frances Ballendine left her estate to 'my nephew, Thomas William Ballendine;' who, as 'son of John Ballendine of the county of Fairfax,' was a student at William and Mary College in 1779 (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 249). He died at Dumfries in 1797, leaving a will (*Prince William W. B.*, H; 204) which shows that he was the last of his family in Virginia.

[24] The contracts and deeds relating to the 'Occoquan works' are in *Prince William D. B.*, P: 201, 214, 299, 321; Q: 238, 262, 303, 523; U: 212, 249. In 1757 (*N. N.*, I: 8) John Ballendine had a land grant of 20 acres in Prince William 'on Occoquan river adjoining land of Charles Ewell's heirs and Valentine Peyton's heirs.' This was land which had been accidentally omitted from previous surveys. He used it as the site of the Occoquan flour mills, and it became the site also of the town of Occoquan.

[25] Thus it appears that by 1757 Dumfries had succeeded in ousting the south shore warehouse of its tobacco trade.

[26] *Travels through the Middle Settlements*, 1798.

[27] The records are crowded with his mortgages at this time. In January, 1760, George Washington had brought suit against him on an iron contract, alleging fraud (*Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, ii, 142).

[28] *John Semple* seems to have been an original immigrant from Scotland and no kin to his contemporary of the same name in King & Queen. He removed his residence from Charles County, Maryland, to the Occoquan and died there without issue, leaving a will dated September 16, 1773, and proved May 6, 1783 (*Prince William W. B.,* G: 469) in which he mentions 'the furnace.' It was he, who in 1770, succeeded in convincing George Washington of the practicability of improvement of the Potomac for commercial navigation. See *post,* p. 540, and his 'Proposals' in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* xxviii, 499.

[29] *Journals H. B.,* 1761-65, pp. 120, 131, 133, 137, 242, 244, 272, 290.

[30] *Notes on Virginia,* Query VI. 'Furnace' and 'Forge' are indicated below the Occoquan on John Henry's map (1770) and 'Neabsco furnace' on Colles' road map (1789). The will of the second John Tayloe, dated May 22, 1773, and proved in 1779 (*Richmond W. B., 7*: 354) shows that to the end of his life he was largely engaged in iron making. He provides that 'All my estate in the County of Prince William . . . also all my estate in Baltimore County in the Province of Maryland . . . and all my sloops, schooners, boats and vessels . . . be kept together as one entire estate to be worked as heretofore in making of Pig iron . . . my intention being that my iron works be carried on the their utmost extent . . . under the firm of the Neapsco Company.'

The ore deposits on Neapsco were for a time worked again at the beginning of the twentieth century by the 'Cabin Branch Mining Company' for their pyrites content, and are now owned by the American Agricultural Chemical Company.

[31] *Travels,* 1803, ed. Morrison, p. 254. Nathaniel Ellicott's charter for the toll bridge here described was obtained in 1795 (Shepherd, i, 429). See also Acts, 1810-11, ch. 27, p. 46, for Ellicott's later plans to make a turnpike on the 'back road' to Alexandria.

[32] See the act of January 5, 1804 (Shepherd, iii, 48).

[33] *Gazetteer of Virginia,* 1836, p. 275.

[34] The charter of the 'Occoquan Manufacturing Company . . . for the purpose of manufacturing cotton and woolen goods and machinery of various kinds' is in Acts, 1836-37, ch. 290, p. 244. The incorporators were James Irwin and John H. Janney.

[35] *Acts,* 1815-16, ch. 56, p. 106; 1825-26, ch. 58, p. 50. The proposal was revived for the last time in 1835 after the Warrenton and Occoquan Turnpike Company had been chartered (Acts, 1832-33, ch. 140, p. 104) and it was agreed that in lieu of such a road Broad Run should be canalized (See P. Scales' report in *Eighteenth Report Board of Public Works,* 1835).

PART SIX

The Highways

John Warner, Northern Neck [Second State] 1738.

A Scale of Miles 69½ in one Degree of Latitude.
MARYLAND
Falls of Potowm.k
Fairfax County
Occoquan
William
STAFFORD
GEORGE
West
mor
land
CAROLINE
ESSEX
Richmond
Northumberland
Potowmack River
Wicocomico R.
Bay of Chesapoyocke
LANCASTER
Rappahan
Middlesex
MACK,

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

The Old Roads and the Ordinaries

HE who takes his imagination with him over the roads of old Prince William will warm to a romantic story. Consider what those roads have known. Long before the white man came, there were frequented forest trails leading through the heart of the territory from those natural northern gateways which we call Noland's Ferry, Snicker's Gap and Ashby's Bent. We all remember that Confederate and Yankee generals once stood on the saddle of the Blue Ridge beneath the giant poplar tree which long marked the county boundary in the last mentioned of those gateways,[1] but we do not all perhaps realize that when that tree was a sapling the buffalo made his way thither seeking the pastures of 'the White Plains.' In mid-seventeenth century the Susquehannock indians, crossing the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy, came hither to establish 'a plain path' all the way across Virginia to the Yadkin villages, where they traded for skins on behalf of the Dutch at Manhattan. Later, and for half a century, the trails the buffalo and the Susquehannocks had opened were the familiar haunts of the far journeying Iroquois, ever intent to extend their Long House into the South.

As these indian trails gradually became roads, they felt the moccasin-shod foot of the earliest pioneer pushing north through the dark forest into the blue-grass lands of the hills; and they have seen him followed by three successive waves of motley immigrants, each greater than the last: those who settled the piedmont, those who came after 1730 to push over the Blue Ridge into the Valley and, last of all, those uprooted residents of the exhausted tidewater lands who, under economic pressure, unwillingly passed through the piedmont in the first quarter of the nineteenth century seeking fresh fields on the Ohio. They have seen the forests felled and the clearings turn green with to-

bacco and corn, and, eventually, golden with the most noble of all harvests, wheat. They have echoed to the rhythmic melody of extended ranks of cheerful negroes swinging their cradles and realizing the reward of Homer's ploughmen: 'Whensoever they reach the boundary of the field and turned a man would come and give into the hands of each a goblet of sweet wine;' and they have seen the cradle give place in the days of prohibition to that marvel, the self-binding reaper drawn by a tractor. They have seen, too, the fat of the land on its way to market in ways now almost forgotten. Where today we are conscious for a moment of a passing freight train which half conceals from the eye its lading of fat cattle, lambs and swine, once the roads of old Prince William were gay with beribboned bell teams lurching, through unspeakable ruts, their argosies of wheat to water mills which are now no more than names; and there loading again with the export flour which they were to carry on to Alexandria. These old roads have known droves of cattle from the Yadkin, and sheep from the mountain pastures of Augusta, and herded flocks of daintily marching turkeys from Fauquier and Loudoun farms. Again, they have known the founders of our nation: Washington as boy and man, and the homespun figures of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces in American life—Jefferson and Marshall. They have seen two dusty pedestrians whose names have since assumed a factitious importance: the French philosopher, Volney, meditating on the causes of our dry west winds, and Parson Weems peddling from a pack his immortal myth of the cherry tree and the hatchet. They have echoed to the horn of the stage coach bringing news of the campaigns of Henry Clay in the fortunate days when Virginia was divided by two political parties; they have seen generations of fox hunters ride forth at dawn on generations of home raised thoroughbreds.

Nor have they lacked acquaintance with the panoply and the agony of war. Virginia rangers have traversed them to spy upon the Iroquois. A regiment of Braddock's pipe clayed red coats marched on them to its destruction. Raw levies of buckskin-clad riflemen went forth on them to take post in the Valley against the French and indians; and, later, the hated

Hessian hireling, after Saratoga, was in turn to make his painful way over them as prisoner of war. They have seen 'Mad Anthony' Wayne leading a brigade of continentals to the support of Lafayette against Cornwallis; and they have echoed to the march of their native sons, clad in Confederate gray. They have felt the heavy foot of the invader and have revealed to him the sudden apparitions of Mosby; and, greatest moment of all, they made the route for Stonewall Jackson's thrilling anabasis to the second Manassas. All those adventures and more the roads of old Prince William could tell

> 'If whispering leaves were human tongues
> And rocks recalled their story.'

It is proposed here to collect such records as have survived of the more important of those roads. They are meagre enough, but, such as they are, they must suffice as material for the historian.

Before proceeding to that chronicle of one of the potent influences in shaping the civilization of old Prince William, it is pertinent to record a general word of warning against the facile modern tendency to a condescending contempt for the lack of material 'progress' by our ancestors; which is historically as unjustified as the corresponding exaltation of their social status. The descriptions of Virginia's eighteenth century roads, which we are to cite, provide ample evidence that in the modern sense they were sorry excuses for true highways. But it is equally true (what cannot be said in the twentieth century) that they were no worse than the contemporary roads in other parts of America or, indeed, in England.

After wide and painful travels in America, the Duc de la Rochefoucald said of Virginia in 1796 that, 'the roads are in general good throughout this State.' At first sight one may suspect this testimony to have been sarcasm; for one remembers that on main travelled roads of old Prince William, at an interval of a quarter of a century, Archdeacon Burnaby and

Dr. Schoepf both lost their way in broad daylight for lack of convincing evidence as to the whereabouts of the horse tracks they had set out to follow; that later still Bishop Meade and Chief Justice Marshall mired their horses and had a hair breadth scape in circumventing a notorious 'Black Jack' it was nobody's business to mend; while John Randolph of Roanoke compared the Potomac Path of his day with the great Serbonian bog. A study of contemporary English memoirs shows, however, that despite such conditions, in commending Virginia's roads the Frenchman was speaking comparatively. Macaulay describes a journey on horseback from London to Leeds in 1695 as beset by 'such a series of perils and disasters as might suffice for a journey to the Frozen Ocean or to the Desert of Saraha.' In 1745 Tom Jones and Partridge, like Burnaby and Schoepf, went astray on a main road, between Upton and Coventry. Arthur Young in 1770 and Henry Gunning in 1788, riding through prosperous English landscapes, had experiences which quite matched Bishop Meade's in Fauquier. The fact is that, bad as they were, the eighteenth century roads of Virginia were faithful colonial reproductions of English models; for the era of good roads in England began only with the nineteenth century and the labors of Telford and McAdam. Here is a witty historian's[2] description of an English road in the reign of George III:

'It was not a metalled surface of definite limits hedged off from the rest of the world and maintained by an army of special functionaries paid from the public purse. It was an open track through the fields or over the common; its borders were metaphysical for it was in law a right of way from one village to another; and if, as usually happened after bad weather, the customary track was foundrous, passengers had the right to take their beasts over the edge of the neighbouring fields, even if it were under corn.'

If such were the English conditions, Virginia was not altogether barbarous if she postponed until 1782 a frank recognition that the location of her main roads also, was 'metaphysical.'[3]

It should be remembered also that land travelling in Vir-

ginia until after the middle of the eighteenth century was uniformly what it had been in England *temp.* Elizabeth, a matter of riding a horse. In the prosperity of the 'high' period of Virginia's economic history, which began with the improved tobacco market in the consulship of Gooch, the Virginia gentry generally set up carriages. The chariots of the rich were vehicles of luxury and show, reserved for the use of the ladies of the family on neighbourhood visits or to go to church; but the men, including not only the prosperous planter but the professional classes, were already, before the middle of the century, beginning to use two wheeled 'chaises' as conveniences for long journeys. These were the characteristic passenger vehicles which the traveller met on the road until some years after the Revolution, and quite generally they were private vehicles. It does not seem to have been possible for the casual traveller to hire a 'post chaise' in Virginia, as it was in England. Unless he had his own vehicle he was compelled to ride a horse. The common-carrier 'Concord' coach, from which soon evolved the characteristic American 'stage,' was not introduced upon Virginia roads until the very end of the eighteenth century.[4]

1. *The Potomac Path*

The oldest white man's road in northern Virginia is, like his land, a conquest of a pre-existing indian trail. It is represented today by the familiar motor route of the State Highway between Fredericksburg and Alexandria.

For long after their first settlement on the Potomac, as elsewhere in tidewater Virginia, the planters were of an amphibious habit and felt no great need of roads: they found on the river and its creeks their most convenient means of communication and their channels of commerce; and they turned the backs of their houses to 'the forest.' Nevertheless, from the very beginning of the English occupation of the Northern Neck, an attempt, not always successful, was made to keep open the primitive trail which followed the ridge between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. These facts are implied in the require-

ment by the Assembly, so curious to the modern reader, that, under penalty, all planters should maintain gates in their land side fences and a bridle way leading into their houses;[5] and even more by the presenting of Stafford by the provincial grand jury for the failure of the County to keep its highways clear of vegetation.[6]

When this trail passed north of Potomac Creek the planters gave it the name, appearing in the early land grants, of 'the Potomac Path."[7] In the surviving records of the Stafford Court we can see it being gradually converted into a road, extending upward to the 'freshes.' In 1662 the Assembly had enacted a general road law for the colony, requiring every county court to appoint

'Surveyors of the highways who shall lay out the most convenient wayes to Church, to the Court, to James Towne and from County to County,'

and in 1664, in obedience to this mandate, Stafford duly appointed surveyors for the Potomac Path in three districts 'from Capt. Alexanders to Pasbytanzy,' 'from Pasbytanzy to Head of Potomac,' and 'from Head of Potomac to Capt. Brents.' This would bring us to Aquia, whereupon, in 1666, the cleared road was extended 'from Aquia to Chopawamsic.' Finally, in 1667, a further extension was ordered 'from the frontier inhabitants down to the head and ferry at Aquia.'

But it was not until the end of the century that the road was officially recognised beyond Occoquan. The original indian trail,[8] like the Telegraph Road into which it grew, was consistent in the engineering of the line of least resistance. The route of the Potomac Path normally lay close on the heads of tidewater of the great creeks, only high enough up stream to make use of the lowest fords. But when the English reached the Occoquan they found the first available ford too far up stream for the convenience of the plantations on Potomac, and in consequence carried the 'Path' over an Occoquan ferry, which became a public convenience in 1691.[9]

This departure from previous practice did not, however, entirely supersede the use of the Occoquan ford. As soon as

plantations were seated that far up stream a branch of the main 'path' is recognisable, leading from the head of Quantico to the Occoquan ford; and immediately after the beginning of the eighteenth century this road was pushed to the north, still generally parallel with the 'Path.' Ultimately it joined the 'Path' again at the ford of Hunting Creek and thus constituted that important, but throughout the colonial period anonymous, 'back road' on which were located the Truro glebe of 1734, later known as 'Newington,' and, in 1767, the last Pohick church.[10]

In pursuance of the principle of the road law of 1662, which we have quoted, the general route so selected determined the location of all the places of public resort of the community. The Stafford court house, at Potomac Creek, and the first Prince William court house, at Occoquan, were both built upon the Potomac Path; as were Potomac, Aquia and Quantico churches and the first chapels on Dogue and Pohick. Upon this Path also were built the public tobacco warehouses which developed into the towns of Dumfries, Alexandria and Colchester. The two pronged Potomac Path was thus the earliest artery of old Prince William, its most ancient and respectable landmark. But until after the American Revolution this highway, potentially important as it had now become, remained merely a facility of local or neighborhood communication: it had not yet experienced the stir and interest which comes with a stream of through traffic.

When Stafford was still a frontier, the traveller from the lower tidewater, bound for the northern colonies, made his way by water around southern Maryland to Bohemia manor at the head of Chesapeake Bay, as did Lord Howard in 1687 and Cuthbert Potter, in 1690.[11]

A generation later, incident to the establishment of a regular intercolonial postal service,[12] the current of through north and south traffic had been diverted across the Northern Neck to one or the other of the earliest regularly maintained Potomac ferries, Fitzhugh's and Hooe's.[13] By these river crossings a frequented way across southern Maryland was opened via Port

Tobacco, Piscataway and Marlboro, to Annapolis, and thence to the Susquehanna river.

Alternatively, as we shall see, the later eighteenth century traveller followed the inland route of the Carolina road and, coming down the Cumberland Valley to the Monocacy, crossed the Potomac far up stream at Noland's ferry.[14] The ferry above the mouth of Rock Creek, where General Braddock was to cross the Potomac, was, however, an established facility as early as 1737.[15] After Georgetown and Alexandria were founded and in the years following 1750, this route came more and more into use. If not yet frequented by the Muse of history, the Potomac Path now became truly a 'King's highway,' in the sense of a post route. It was then that Capt. Dalrymple laid it down on the revised (1755) edition of Fry & Jefferson's map, whence it was transferred to both Evans' and Mitchell's maps of the same year; and it was then that Andrew Burnaby passed over it on the occasion of his first visit to Mt. Vernon in 1759.

It was, however, not until the very end of the Revolution that the Potomac Path achieved 'a place in the Sun.' It may, indeed, claim to have been the route by which the first George Mason and the young Giles Brent chased the Doegs to their refuge among the Susquehannocks and so precipitated Bacon's rebellion; yet now it had a more honourable day when it bore Rochambeau and Washington on their way to Yorktown. But, as if Fate deemed that experience sufficient for the glory of the community, it was the physical characteristics of the Potomac Path which interposed at the same moment to deprive the militia of Fairfax and Prince William of the immortal fame of being present at the surrender of Cornwallis.

On September 9, 1781, on his way South, Washington reached Mt. Vernon and was joined there the next day by Rochambeau and Chastellux. On September 12, travelling without escort, they proceeded via Colchester and Dumfries to Fredericksburg and thence to Williamsburg, where they joined Lafayette on the 14th to await the arrival of the allied troops which were coming by water from Head of Elk. The militia of Fairfax and Prince William had been called to the colours for this campaign, to serve in the brigade of General George

Weedon, the Fredericksburg inn keeper who lives in the pages of J. F. D. Smyth. Henry Lee, of Leesylvania (Freestone Point), County Lieutenant of Prince William, certified of his regiment, 'I believe they will fight;' but he had no arms for them.[16] In this situation Washington wrote to Col. Lee from Mt. Vernon on September 10,[17] advising that 'the baggage waggons of the French and American armies, the Cavalry and Beef Cattle, will all march by this route and may be expected in the course of a few days.' He instructed Lee to call on his colleague, the younger Peter Wagener, then County Lieutenant of Fairfax, and to employ their two regiments to open a road, practicable for the baggage train, from Georgetown to Dumfries, via Wolf Trap Shoal of Occoquan; thus to save the distance of the regular road via Alexandria and, at the same time, avoid the Occoquan ferry. Washington held out that the prompt performance of this fatigue duty 'may probably exempt your Militia from further service and a march to York.' The orders of the Commander-in-Chief were carried out, and thus was opened the still existing interior road from Georgetown to Dumfries.[18]

After Yorktown, the builders of this road had the privilege of seeing on the Potomac Path such a sight as only their fathers had seen when Braddock paraded his red coats. To the sound of blaring trumpets and rolling drums the entire French expeditionary force, marching north, camped at Falmouth, at Dumfries and at Alexandria, veteran soldiers of European wars drilled in the perfection of discipline and stiff with pipe clay. These troops must have left a trail of gossip and of anecdote behind them, but it was fugitive. The only record of them which has survived is the charming sketches of their camp sites and the adjacent territory, which were made by the expert and artistic French engineers.[19]

During the years which immediately followed this march the Potomac Path felt again several times the footstep of the foreigner. Stirred by the spectacle of the establishment of a republic in the New World, old Europe despatched a procession of intelligent travellers to assay and study the phenomenon on the ground. The fame of Washington, of course, drew them

all to Mt. Vernon. Some pursued their explorations further South. Thus it was that, among many who left no record enroute to Richmond, the Potomac Path was traversed and annotated by Dr. Thomas Coke in 1785, by Count Castiglioni in 1786, by Brissot de Warville in 1788. The routes of these travellers supplement the postal records as evidence that, even before the establishment of the national Capitol upon the Potomac, this road had had turned in upon it the main current of North and South traffic. In 1782 the Continental Congress resolved[20] to maintain 'a continued communication of posts . . . to and from the State of New Hampshire and the State of Georgia, inclusive;' and in the Virginia internal improvement act of 1816[21] it was recited that such continued communication had been accomplished via a 'great post road which, passing through the territory of this Commonwealth, crosses the principal rivers thereof at or about the head of tidewater.' It was as a link in this first chain of interstate commerce that the Potomac Path had its crowded hour. Though only in part erected into a turnpike and never otherwise achieving the dignity of macadam, but consistently denounced for its physical failings,[22] the road was now laid down in the guide books of the day as one of the main American highways.[23]

During this period the mail had to leave Alexandria before daybreak in order to reach Fredericksburg at night, making 'fifty miles in sixteen hours.'[24] It was carried by a 'mail-stage,' which afforded accommodations also for a limited number of passengers. This, said Adam Hodgson,[25] was

> 'the only public conveyance to the southward. It is a covered wagon, open at the front, with four horses: and although it was intensely cold, I was obliged to take my seat by the driver in order to secure a view of the country during the remainder of the day.'

Of the many pictures of the life on the road under these conditions, we cite only a contrast of the impressions of two travellers of different stomach, typical of all roads in all ages.

In June, 1804, Tom Moore,[26] the poet, travelled from Norfolk to Baltimore by road, and wrote thence to his mother:

'I am now, dearest mother, more than three hundred miles from Norfolk. I have passed the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the Occoquan, the Potapsio and many other rivers with names as barbarous as the inhabitants. Such a road as I have come, and in such a conveyance! The mail takes twelve passengers, which generally consist of squalling children, stinking negroes and republicans smoking cigars! How often it has occurred to me that nothing can be more emblematic of the government of this country than its stages, filled with a motley mixture, all 'hail fellow well met,' driving through mud and filth, which bespatters them as they raise it, and risking an upset at every step.'

In October, 1806, John Melish[27] made the journey in the reverse direction:

'Monday, October 6th, 1806, at half past 4 o'clock, I took my place in the stage, and we left Alexandria a little before 5. We travelled by a pretty rough road, 17 miles, to Occoquhan creek, where we stopped for breakfast. Part of our journey being before day-light, I could only remark that the country appeared uneven, and the soil tolerably good.

'After breakfast, the company began to get a little acquainted with each other, and to exchange sentiments. I mentioned before that we were 11 in number, and it will show the nature of travelling in this country, to mention the places of destination. Three of the passengers were going to Richmond, in Virginia, 126 miles distant; two were going to Columbia, in South Carolina, distant 511 miles; one to Augusta, in Georgia, distant 596 miles; one to Fayetteville, North Carolina, 351 miles; three to different places in the interior of the country; and I was going to Savannah, in Georgia, distant 653 miles.

'As we constituted a little republic, and several of us were to be many days together, we proceeded to elect office-bearers. The gentleman from Fayetteville was chosen president; the company conferred on me the honour of being vice-president; and thus organized we proceeded to the 'order of the day.'

'Our president, who was called captain, by which title I shall hereafter denominate him, was an excellent travelling companion. He sung a good song; told a good story; and was, withal, very facetious, and abounded in mirth, humour, and jollity.

'He had not long taken the chair, when, with the permission of the company, he sung a humorous song, which put us

all in good spirits. He then proposed that each man in his turn should, when called on by the president, sing a song, tell a story, or pay five cents; which being unanimously agreed to, was immediately carried into execution, and called forth a wonderful degree of merriment and good humour. I found myself a little at a loss, as I did not wish to part with my cents, and I had nothing but Scots stories and Scots songs; but I soon found that these were highly satisfactory, and that the name of Robert Burns was as well known, and as highly esteemed in Virginia, as in Ayrshire.

'Our captain was both a son of Neptune and a son of Mars; and could adapt the technical language of these professions to the different movements of the stage, with remarkable facility. When the coach heeled to one side, he would call out 'To the right and left, and cover your flanks—whiz;' and when we passed a stream by a ford, he would sing out, 'by the deep nine,' accompanied with all the attitudes of heaving the lead. The day was clear, pleasant, and healthy; and in this strain of merriment and good humour, we prosecuted our journey much to our satisfaction.

'From where we breakfasted, we travelled through a hilly country, and but partially cultivated, to Dumfries, a small town containing about 300 inhabitants, court-house, jail, &c.; and from thence we passed on through a hilly country, but more improved, to Fredericksburg, 25 miles, where we stopped for the night.'

The Potomac Path was not long to enjoy the importance thus thrust upon it. Like many another such road, with all the stages, chariots and chairs which had toiled through its ruts, it disappeared for a season behind a mist of steam. The process began in 1815 with the introduction of steamboats on the Potomac.[28] In 1828 Capt. Basil Hall tells, with the gusto of novelty, of his voyage down the Potomac from Washington to Potomac Creek, where he took stage for Fredericksburg and Richmond. For some years, however, the stage route was still maintained all the way to Washington. In February, 1733, James Stuart[29] used it because of 'the suspension of steamboat travelling during the severe frost;' and in 1836 Joseph Martin[30] confirms this and reveals the terrors of Chipawansic swamp:

'During the freeze in the winter when the steamboat between the city of Washington and Potomac Creek is obstructed

by ice the great northern and southern mail from Washington City to New Orleans is carried through Dumfries. The road in its neighbourhood between Fredericksburg and Alexandria is in worse condition than perhaps any in the middle states, so utterly impassable at times that the mail cannot travel, this road being the principal source of the irregularity of the mail to the South.'

During the year after Martin wrote, the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad, chartered in 1834, opened its line from Richmond to Fredericksburg, whence, in 1842, it was extended to connect with the steamboat at Aquia.[31] Although the extension of the railroad to Washington was not effected until after the war between the states, it was this connection with the steamboat at Aquia which finally eliminated the stage traffic and relegated the Potomac Path to a long obscurity.

The introduction of the automobile and the consequent construction of hard surface roads has now again restored its prestige to this ancient highway. Since the art of the engineer has conquered the swamp at the head of Chipawansic, which the Potomac Path has traversed since the middle of the seventeenth century, the traveller by road can now follow in the wheel tracks of Washington and Rochambeau without constant expectation of disaster.

2. *The Carolina Road*

The topography of northern Virginia affords two natural routes for traffic between the North and the South, and from the beginning of history there has been an established through road on each of them. One, confined by immemorial hills to the geological trough through which the Shenandoah river flows north, remains in use substantially on the location upon which it was originally opened. But the other, having all the wide *terrain* of the Blue Ridge piedmont to wander over, has shifted its location from time to time with the changes of civilization and artificial stimulus. Thus it is that, while today in the Valley men drive motor cars and railroads haul their freight in the very tracks of the Conestoga wagons of the immigrant

Scotch Irish, the coeval highway of the piedmont has long been abandoned by the through traffic which once thronged it. This is not so because the route of the Carolina road was chosen without art, for of all the piedmont trails it remains the line of physical least resistance.

The aboriginal traveler from the north who sought to establish contact with the Carolina tribes and, in doing so, to avoid the English settlements on tidewater, must soon have discovered that his most convenient trail through the Virginia backwoods began on the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy. This was true whether he came through Maryland from the waters of the Susquehanna or from the shores of Lake Erie across the Alleghany divide by Nemacolin's Path and thence by canoe down Cohongarooton.[32] From this point of departure he would proceed under the afternoon shadow of the Catoctin Hills and the Bull Run Mountains until he reached the branches of Occoquan, whence, with a minimum of obstruction from hill or water course, he would be enabled to ford all the Virginia rivers above the fall line.

The recorded history of this trail begins with Col. Abraham Wood's report in 1662 of the trade the Susquehannocks had then established with the Carolina indians on behalf of the Dutch at Manhattan.[33] When, a few years later, the Iroquois drove out the Manahoac and established through Manahoac territory that trail to the South which for half a century before 1722 they were regularly to frequent, they took over the Susquehannock 'plain path.' The contemporary records of Virginia's relations with the Long House reveal their earliest route as crossing the Rappahannock above the falls, James River at the ford where Goochland Court House was eventually built, and thence through the south side into Carolina. It was thus not by accident that those frequented *entrepots* of indian trade, Conoy Island and Occaneechie Island, are found at either end of what became the Carolina road.

Brent Town was located to overlook this Iroquois trail, as William Fitzhugh testified.[34] Virginia then began to follow it from the Rappahannock as far north as that blockhouse in the forest, and, in so doing, learned to call it the 'Shenandoah

Hunting Path."[35] The Iroquois themselves forthwith adopted a detour which they hoped might secure them from further observation. They now left the original path after it had crossed Broad Run, and, turning Southwest, passed below the southernmost of the foothills of the Bull Run Mountains (Greenwich), to cross the upper waters of Cedar Run at the place where George Neavil was eventually to maintain his ordinary, and the village of Auburn now stands. Thence the new path swung on across Licking, above the future site of Germantown, down Marsh Run and across both branches of the Rappahannock through what was to be Culpeper and Orange and into Louisa until it again reached the same ford of James River. It was this detour which traced the route of the Carolina road as it appears in the later records,[36] and established the prestige of that landmark upon it which was to be known as Norman's Ford of Hedgman's River.[37] Finally, it determined also the site of Germanna, for Spotswood built that blockhouse at the Iroquois crossing of Rapidan (Germanna ford) as a coign of observation such as Brent Town had been upon the old route. Virginia's consistent indian policy was 'pitiless publicity.'

Under this pressure the Iroquois transferred their path to the Shenandoah Valley and soon agreed never to come east of the Blue Ridge. Both forks of their piedmont trail now became immigration routes of the white man. That via Germanna was the road which the Siegenians followed to find their lands which became Germantown; that via Brent Town was the road by which the lower end of Loudoun was seated.[38] But what is most significant is that from the beginning of the settlement of the territory it served, the Iroquois trail was more than a local convenience. The white man renewed its indian character as a through road, and at the lower end adopted for that purpose the route via Norman's Ford,[39] Apart from persistent tradition, this is implicit in the interesting testimony that in 1739 John Bartholomew Rieger, pastor of the German Reformed Church at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, began a practice of annual ministerial visits to Germantown.[40] He must have crossed the Potomac at the mouth of the Monocacy, and Goose Creek further on his way, as the Moravian missionaries did a

few years later; and that he did so regularly proves the Monocacy trail to have been an early intercolonial through route. Thus is the mind prepared for the claim that it was prior to 1740 that the thrifty trading Germans who established the community of Frederick, in Maryland, began over this road a long distance pack horse trade with their countrymen who had recently planted the far southern colony of Georgia. The fact of that trade is well established.

'The goods sent from Frederick [to Georgia],' says Mr. Scharf,[41] who vouches for the date 1740, 'were boots and shoes, saddles and harness, woolen goods, linen and woolen and flaxseed threads. They were carried on pack horses and were exchanged for cotton, indigo and money.'

It was probably at this time, and as a consequence of this German peddler's traffic, that the Monocacy trail took on the name Carolina Road; but it is possible more definitely to assign the date when it acquired its other traditional designation of 'Rogues Road.'[42] In an act of May, 1742, the Virginia Assembly learned that the Carolina Road had become a resort of horse and cattle thieves.

'Whereas,' it was recited,[43] 'divers vagrant people travel through this colony, from the northern provinces to the southern, peddling and selling horses; and either buy or steal great numbers of neat cattle which in their return back they drive through the frontier counties; and often take away with them the cattle of the inhabitants of the said counties under pretence that they cannot separate them from their own droves.'

It was accordingly provided that all cattle drovers should carry, and under heavy penalty should exhibit on demand of any justice of the peace, a manifest and bill of sale of all their cattle. A year later it was recited[44] that this act 'hath been found by experience to be of great advantage to the inhabitants of this colony;' but it was now added that 'the crime and offence of stealing horses is of late years much increased, especially in the frontier counties.'

This was precisely the reputation the Carolina Road had throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. Many

traditions have survived in Prince William and Fauquier households of adventures on the Rogues' Road during this period, and, as traditions invariably do, they have exaggerated the facts. They have gone on from horse thieves to more romantic criminals. Despite the specific testimony of contemporaries that there were never any highwaymen in Virginia, these nineteenth century traditions have decked out the Carolina Road with theatrical properties familiar to the older folk tales of the Great North Road of England. In this way we are introduced to a gentleman highwayman, a certain 'Captain Harper,' who made his headquarters under the Bull Run Mountains. Like Robin Hood, he is reputed to have befriended the poor, and, like Claude Duval, to have won the hearts of travelling ladies by his courteous manners and fine horsemanship.[45]

To the historian these tales will serve chiefly to bear out the impression derived from the few contemporary records that before the middle of the eighteenth century the Carolina Road had already become a frequented highway on which the traveller might experience all the characteristic phenomena of the frontier. But what is more convincing of its importance during the last half of that century is that (to speak only of the territory of old Prince William) there were then established upon it three towns, Leesburg, Fayettesville and Carolandville; and three ordinaries at places where other towns were later established, West's (Aldie), Redhouse (Haymarket), and Nevill's (Auburn).

The earliest full length picture of life on this road is a highly coloured one. It dates from the distracted months following Braddock's defeat. The first joint incursions by the French and their Shawnee allies out of Fort Duquesne caused the inhabitants on the Shenandoah to flee across the Blue Ridge into Fairfax and Prince William, and so scared the people of those counties that their militia could scarce be persuaded to leave home. 'Captain Waggoner informs me,' wrote Washington on October 11, 1755,[46] 'that it was with difficulty he passed the Ridge for crowds of people, who were flying as if every moment was death.' The second such incursion during the following spring caused him to say

'If such another torrent as this has been (or may be ere it is done) should press on our settlements there will not be a living creature left in Frederick County: and how soon Fairfax and Prince William may share its fate is easily conceived.'

No depredations were, however, perpetrated east of the Blue Ridge; but, once started, the popular movement continued under a new impetus. In the piedmont the tax collector finished the work of depopulation which the tomahawk had begun in the Valley. The Assembly, called together to meet the emergency in August, 1755, found it necessary to impose extraordinary burdens to meet Virginia's share of the expenses of Braddock's expedition, to reward the Virginia soldiers who had borne themselves so well, and to provide an immediate military defence.[47] The unexpected consequence, as in the case of Berkeley's town building, was to start a strong tide of emigration out of the colony, this time into western North Carolina. The rumour spread that on the Yadkin men might live on good lands practically tax free and be safely remote from the seat of war with France. In the autumn of 1755 families began to move, many by the road through the Valley, but more by the piedmont Carolina road. James Maury writing from his parsonage in Louisa describes them[48] in language which reminds one of the movement of the Helvetii on a page of Caesar:

'From the waters of Potomac, nay from every where under the Blue Ridge hundreds of families have within these few months past removed; deserting their habitations and conveying themselves and their most valuable moveables into other governments. . . . I have it from good authority that no later in Autumn than October five thousand had crossed James River, only at one ferry, that at Goochland Court House . . . and doubtless great numbers have passed that way since. . . . From all the upper counties, even those on this side the Blue Ridge, great numbers are daily following and others preparing to follow in the Spring. Scarce do I know a neighbourhood but has lost some families and expects quickly to lose more. What aggravates the misfortune is that many of these are not the idler and the vagrant, pests of society, but the honest and industrious, men of worth and property whom it is an evil at any time to a community to lose.'

In the American Revolution again Clio hovered over the Carolina road, for it was used several times for military purposes. The most interesting record is the march of the Saratoga Convention prisoners on their way to Charlottesville in January, 1779. Thomas Anburey, a lieutenant of Burgoyne's army, not only mapped the route with unmistakable references to the Carolina road, but described the march:

'After we left Fredericktown,' he says,[49] 'we crossed the Potowmack River with imminent danger as the current was very rapid, though the river was only half a mile wide. The scowe that I crossed over in had several narrow escapes: at one time it was quite fastened in the ice: but by great exertions of the men in breaking it we made good our landing on the opposite shore near a mile lower than the ferry. The difficulty of crossing was only a fore-runner of the hardships and fatigues we were to experience on our entering Virginia: for on our march to this place [Charlottesville] the men experienced such distresses as were severe in the extreme: the roads were exceedingly bad from the late fall of snow which was encrusted, but not sufficiently to bear the weight of a man, so we were continually sinking up to our knees and cutting our shins and ancles: and, perhaps, after a march of sixteen or eighteen miles in this manner, at night the privates had to sleep in the woods. After their arrival at the place of destination the officers [usually] had to ride five or six miles to find a hovel to rest in.'

The Baroness Riedesel,[50] who made this march, has left a confirmation of what Anburey said of the winter roads and adds an indictment of the inhumanity of the frontier Virginians to a conquered and helpless enemy, but she admits the beauty of the country:

'Before we passed the so-called Bull Mountains we were forced to make a still further halt of eight days that our troops might have time to collect together again. In the meantime such a great quantity of snow fell that four of our servants were obliged to go before my wagon on horseback in order to make a path for it. We passed through a picturesque portion of the country which, however, by reason of its wildness, inspired us with terror. Often we were in danger of our lives while going along these break-neck roads: and more than all this, we suffered from cold and, what was still worse, from a lack of pro-

visions. When we were only a day's journey from the place of our destination we had actually nothing more remaining but our tea, and none of us could obtain anything but bread and butter. A countryman whom we met on the way gave me only a hand full of acrid fruits. At noon we came to a dwelling where I begged for something to eat. They refused me with hard words, saying there was nothing for dogs of Royalists. Seeing some Turkish [i. e., corn] meal lying around, I begged for a couple of hands full that I might mix it with water and make bread. The woman answered me, 'No, that is for our negroes, who work for us, but you have wished to kill us.' Captain Edmonston offered her for me two guineas for it, as my children were so hungry, but she said, 'Not for a hundred would I give you any, and should you all die of hunger it will be so much the better.'[51]

Two years after the British prisoners had gone by, General Anthony Wayne marched his brigade of the Pennsylvania line over the same route. He had been sent by Washington to the support of Lafayette in the James river country, for the campaign which ended at Yorktown. Wayne began his march at York, in Pennsylvania, on May 26, 1781. The diary of one of his officers, Capt. John Davis,[52] tells the story of their progress from the mouth of Monocacy, on the Potomac, to Norman's ford of the Rappahannock:

1781, *May* 31. Took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through Frederick Town, Maryland, and reached Powtomack, which we crossed in Squaws. One unfortunately sunk loaded with artillery and Q. M. stores and men, in which our Serjeant and three men were drowned.[53] Encamped on the S. W. side of the river, Night being very wet our baggage not crossed, Officers of the Reg. took Quarters in Col. Clapam's[54] Negro Quarter, where we agreeably passed the night.

June 1*st*. Continued on our ground till four o'clock in the afternoon, when we mov'd five miles on the way to Leesburg.

2*nd*. Very wet day. Confined till evening.

3*d*. Took up the line of march at 10 o'clock, Passed through Leesburg, the appearance of which I was much disappointed in. Encamped at Goose Creek, 15 miles.

4*th*. Marched from Goose Creek at six o'clock, at which place left our baggage and sick and proceeded through low

country. Road bad in consequence of the rains. Encamped at the Red House, 18 miles.[55]

5*th*. A wet morning, cleared off at 10 o'clock. Marched at 1 o'clock: proceeded 12 miles on the road to Rappahannock. Lay out without any kind of shelter.

6*th*. Marched at 6 o'clock, 9 miles on the road.

7*th*. This day continued on our ground in consequence of a heavy rain preceeding night.[56]

8*th*. Took up the line of march at sun rise. Reached the North Branch Rappahannock at 10 o'clock. Troops waded the river and proceeded nine miles into the country.'

From Norman's Ford Wayne proceeded south across the Rapidan, joined Lafayette in Orange and thence marched on, still by the Carolina road, to the James river crossing in Goochland.

Meanwhile, another observant traveller had been over the road, noting the landmarks more definitely. In 1775 a synod of the Moravian church, held in Saxony, commissioned John Frederick Reichel to visit America and 'give comfort and counsel to the Bretheren' there. In May, 1780, he set out from Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, for Salem in Wachovia (now known as Winston-Salem) North Carolina. He, too, followed the Carolina road. The *Travel Diary* kept by a member of his party remains to testify to his adventures, both going and coming.[57] After leaving 'Friedrichtown,' in Maryland, and proceeding down the 'Manakosy,' Bishop Reichel

'made camp near Mr. Th. Noland's house close to the road which turns to the right from the Foart road towards Noland's Ferry,[58] which crosses the Patomoak two miles from here. So far our journey had been very pleasant. Now, however, the Virginia air brought storms.'

During the night the camp was robbed by some of Mr. Noland's negroes and the next morning a warning note was entered in the diary which epitomized the reputation of the Carolina road:

'*Note*. Mr. Th. Noland and his father and father in law have 200 negroes in this neighbourhood on both sides of the Potomoak and this neighbourhood is far-famed for robbery and theft.'[59]

After crossing the ferry 'we made our night camp two miles from Louisburg,' meaning Leesburg; where some of the horses strayed away and the camp was robbed again by 'negroes who had a free evening and were roaming every where.' The next day 'we made our noonday camp on the great Goes Creek eight miles beyond Louisburg. . . . The way here and beyond was very hilly and stony.' The next day 'at noon we had halted in the woods, one and a half miles from Redhouse,' and heard of horse thieves. 'Redhouse,' the diarist adds, 'is 25 miles from Louisburg. . . . We camped for the night eight miles beyond Redhouse. The ticks now began to be very troublesome.' On the next day 'we soon reached Nevill's Tavern,[60] which is ten miles from Redhouse and six miles further passed through Germantown.' In this region they found the road 'hilly, rough and marshy' and noted, 'Since we left the Patomoak it has thundred every day and especially this entire afternoon and in the evening it began to rain and rained all night so that tents and beds and clothes were all soaked.' On the next day (May 31) 'it was very muddy and wet but we made fair progress. About 8:30 we forded Rapihannik as there is neither bridge nor ferry.'[61]

From Norman's Ford Bishop Reichel's party went on by the Carolina road across the Rapidan and several days later crossed the James in Goochland. The diary gives the route with unmistakable detail. In Cumberland the travellers heard the news of the capture of Charles Town in South Carolina by the British; and thereafter found the road crowded partly by militiamen moving south and partly by Carolina people fleeing north, reversing the movement of 1755. They passed through Prince Edward Court House and Charlotte Court House (where they eat 'Journey Cakes'), forded Staunton River, and spent a night near 'Old Halifax,' crossed the 'high Bannister Bridge,' and then, turning up the valley of Dan River, followed it to their destination.[62] On their return, in October, 1780, they found that 'the road from Redhouse to Halifax (a distance of 200 miles) swarmed with soldiers returning from Carolina: they had been impressed but had gotten away.' After crossing once more into Fauquier, 'we had a very bad stony road, es-

pecially in the place known as the Devil's Race Ground, where we saw rock enough. About five o'clock we passed the place where Germantown once stood, but little of it is now to be seen.' At sun rise next day 'we passed Capt. Nevill's' and 'saw several families fleeing from Carolina to Maryland.' And so by Goose Creek and Nolands Ferry they found their long way back to Litilz, in Pennsylvania.

The next traveler by the Carolina road was a philosopher, several of whose comments on Virginia civilization we have quoted elsewhere. In December, 1783, Dr. Johann David Schoepf[63] started from Philadelphia for Florida. He intended 'to take the so-called back road' through the Valley of Virginia because he understood it offered more of scientific interest; but 'the roads of those parts getting worse with the approach of winter, I was obliged to leave them and travel along the coast.' As a consequence he crossed the Potomac at 'Nowles Ferry . . . much above the Falls of the Patowmack,' where he eat a 'fat eel of 5-6 pounds weight.' 'Leesburg,' he says, 'is the first Virginia town on the road, a place of few and insignificant wooden houses.' He 'crossed Goose Creek, at this season pretty wide deep and rapid,' passed below the Bull Run Mountains, and stopped at 'Moore's Tavern and the Red House (30 miles from Goose Creek).'

It was apparently Schoepf's intention to follow the Carolina road to Germantown and thence turn south to Fredericksburg, via the Winchester road. But he must have taken the wrong turn at Greenwich and attempted to follow the original route thence to the falls of the Rappahannock. At all events, he went astray between the Carolina and the Dumfries roads:

'We got out of the right road,' he says, 'but were not aware of it because for as much as half a day on a great broad road nobody met us but a few simple negroes whose geography seldom takes in more than their master's plantation.[64] We passed Cedar run at a place which might have been dangerous from many deep holes, had we not been so fortunate as to hit by chance upon the right ford, a narrow one. To set us in the road again people directed us through impassible woods and swamps where we should have stuck had not a good old man

met us at the right time and taken the trouble to show us the way.'

This guide directed him to the house of one 'Capt. B. H.', who seems to have been that Benjamin Harrison who then lived in Fauquier below Cedar Run, near where the village of Weaversville now stands.[65] After spending a night of curious observation of his host as a type of the prosperous Virginia planter, he was directed into the Brenttown road but again took a wrong turn and followed that road to the head of Aquia. He found

'our road getting continually more and more to the east, hills were less seen and by degrees we drew nearer the tobacco country proper. . . . Crossing Aquia Creek we came by all manner of roads to the Rappahannock, not without having gone wrong at times; for the universal answer one gets on asking the way is keep in the main road, or Straight on—everybody knowing the roads in the parish and thinking that even strangers must find it easy to keep in the straight path, which commonly is very crooked.'

When Bishop Reichel crossed Norman's Ford the adjacent property on both the Culpeper and Fauquier shores was vested in Landon Carter, the youngest son of Charles Carter of Cleve; and had been erected into a 'manor' for him by his father's will. This Landon Carter had then, himself, succeeded to Cleve but apparently maintained the interest in Norman's Ford which his father and grandfather had both had before him.[66] In 1785 he planned to build a town there, on the Fauquier shore,[67] and, in 1787, he built a toll bridge.[68]

Based on the traffic which had thronged the Carolina road and passed through the Carter lands for many years, these were enterprising plans to realize the commercial opportunities of what had been a preferred situation—but they were conceived too late. The old highway was, in 1785, already losing its vogue. The location of the national capital naturally diverted the Southern traveller from any more northern crossing of the Potomac than Mason's ferry, at Rock Creek; and Alexandria reaped the benefit of the diversion. When that am-

bitious community began to stretch out its turnpikes like the arms of Briarius, they took over the through traffic, which had frequented the Carolina road and distributed it among other routes. That via the piedmont crossed the Rappahannock far above Norman's ford;[69] and that via Southside Virginia followed the Potomac Path and rejoined the original through route only below Fredericksburg.[70]

In old Prince William the Carolina road thus deserted lapsed into a by-way. Its fate and the date of its desolation is told in the facts that while it was laid down on the first edition (1807) of Bishop Madison's map, and reappears on the nine sheet map of 1827, it has disappeared entirely from Young's road map of 1835, which is included in *Martin's Gazetteer.*[71]

The last great day of the Carolina road in Fauquier and Prince William was August 24, 1825, when General Lafayette, returning from his final visit to Jefferson, at Monticello, and having spent a night at Warrenton, proceeded via the Fauquier and Alexandria turnpike to New Baltimore, Buckland and Haymarket. Thence by the Carolina road he went on to Aldie to visit ex-President Monroe at Oakhill, in Loudoun. Lafayette was escorted on this journey, with ceremony, by Col. Monroe, Chief Justice Marshall, and all the other local dignitaries, in a procession of open carriages, guarded by a troop of Fauquier cavalry in improvised hussar uniforms. The road was lined by people who had come great distances for the occasion. At frequent intervals the hero was stopped by bands of lovely women, clad in muslin and ribbands symbolical of liberty equality and fraternity, who tendered flowers, refreshments, compliments, and even recited original odes. They were, of course, requited by eloquence from the rising politicians of the party who found little difficulty in drawing cheers from a gathered crowd. Children were told that they could boast they had been there, as they since have done with implacable iteration.[72]

When the dust of that gala had settled down, the Carolina road dozed into a profound slumber from which it has never

since awakened. Does it, after the manner of the aged, dream of its youth and feel once more the soft tread of the Iroquois moccasin?

3. *The Roads to the Valley*

The typical picture of early commerce in Virginia is that of the crew of a London or Bristol ship 'rolling' hogsheads of tobacco from a planter's quarter to a sloop or long boat moored on the shore of a tidewater creek. While the sailors might grumble and call loudly for an increase of their allowance of rum as the rolling distance increased, this was an adequate working arrangement so long as every plantation was equipped with a wharf. But when, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were no more tidewater lands available and the new planter had to clear his tobacco ground above navigation, a new method of transportation was necessary. That which was worked out was an adaptation of the previous practice. The hogshead was still 'rolled,' but as motive power, in place of a company of grunting sailors, cattle or horses were substituted, harnessed by shafts affixed to each individual hogshead. Crude as it was, this practice, of course, necessitated a better road than the bridle path through the woods which had until then sufficed the planter for his own horseback journeys; and it was thus that the earliest inland roads of Virginia came into existence. Their familiar and long maintained name of 'rolling roads' bewrayed their origin and earliest use.

These roads invariably lead from some group of upland or backwoods plantations to the nearest point of tidewater, where delivery could be made to the ships' boats; and these loading wharves quite naturally became the sites of the tobacco inspections when such were established.

The earliest public warehouses thus used by the pioneers of old Prince William were at the heads of Potomac Creek, Aquia and Quantico. Later, as population spread, the planters of that territory used warehouses also at Falmouth, at the mouths of Occoquan, Pohick and Hunting Creeks, and last of all at the head of navigation of the Potomac, below the Falls. As might be expected, we find in the records evidences that

there were 'rolling roads' leading inland from each of these sites; and as might again be expected, we find that some of these roads eventually absorbed the traffic of the others. Those that did the most business developed into through highways leading far inland, even to and beyond the Blue Ridge. These last were the roads which became the first arteries of the community in relation to the back country. So it is that when Dalrymple came to map the through roads of northern Virginia in 1755, it appeared from his notes that the Quantico, Falmouth, Hunting Creek and Occoquan rolling roads had prevailed over all their competitiors; and had extended, into the Shenandoah Valley, the influence of the warehouses they served.

By the middle of the eighteenth century there were three such main roads leading inland from tidewater. They crossed the Blue Ridge respectively by the 'indian thoroughfares' at Ashby's, Williams' and Vestals' gaps and are usually designated by the names of those crossings. More significantly, however, they may be related to their points of origin and the commercial influence which they represented, and are, therefore, here called the Dumfries, Colchester and Alexandria roads.

(a.) The Dumfries and Falmouth Road via Ashby's Gap.

The plat drawn by Bertrand Ewell in April, 1759, to depict the survey of the boundary line then established between Prince William and Fauquier, supplemented by a land grant of 1747 to James Genn, that earlier official surveyor of Prince William who was George Washington's instructor in his profession, affords the key to the system of roads by which the piedmont of old Prince William was developed. This evidence indicates the junction, on the drains of Walnut Branch of Cedar Run, of three roads designated respectively, 'Quantico' (or 'Shenandoah'); 'Falmouth;' and 'Rogues Road.'[73] The two last named represented together the original Iroquois trail to the falls of the Rappahannock (the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path') which, used in the reverse direction, had been Virginia's earliest access to this territory.[74] The Quantico road was, however, a more modern convenience.[75] Opened not later than

1731, to give access from the back country to the first Prince William Court House, before 1747 this road had become the instrument used by the Scots merchants on the Quantico to assert a commercial hegemony which, by 1759 (as appears by the name they then gave their road), extended across the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley.

The second Prince William Court House was established on Philemon's Branch below Cedar because that site was in a fork of the Quantico road. One of the tines of this fork crossed Cedar at Tacquet's (now Howison's) ford, the Falmouth (or Rogues) road at the point already indicated, and went on northwest to a junction with the Carolina road at its crossing of the upper waters of Cedar (Auburn). Here the early landmark was George Neavil's ordinary.[76] From this *carrefour* the south tine of the Quantico road branched again into two westward faring trails. One, known as the Rappahannock Road, lead via Turkey Run Church to a junction, nearby, with a north and south road which is designated the 'Marsh Road' in several conveyances; thereby indicating it as the main highway of the Elk Marsh community. Following this road from the junction above the church, the Rappahannock road branched again at the Red Store (Warrenton). Thence one prong made its way to Leeds Manor and the upper fords of the Rappahannock (i. e., Waterloo)[77] and the other entered the foot hills under Baldwin Ridge and lead to the source of Cedar Run in the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain.[78] In like manner the north tine of the Quantico road lead across Cedar and Broad Runs by the fords now known as Keyser's and Linton's, and thus passed through the Bristow tract and the future site of Brentsville. Crossing the Carolina Road at the 'Redhouse' (Haymarket), it pushed thence west through the Broad Run thoroughfare (Thoroughfare Gap) to Pignut. Finally, the two 'thoroughfare' roads so indicated were extended until they also effected a junction above the sources of Broad Run (Salem, later Marshall); whence they proceeded together across Ashby's gap as 'the road to Shenandoah.'[79]

During the formative years from 1731 to 1759 these roads were the familiar highways of every man living in the

back country of old Prince William. They had been his access to the new lands he cleared and seated; and after he was settled he had used them whether he wished to sell his tobacco, to buy supplies, to see a horse race, or to fight his game chickens, not to speak of the luxury of litigating with his neighbour. For all these considerations the two tined Quantico road superseded the original importance of the Falmouth road as soon as a court house was established upon it; at first on the Occoquan estuary and then below Cedar Run. Remembering what a festival 'court day' was in the life of eighteenth century Virginia, we may assume that most of the founders of Fauquier travelled one or the other of the Quantico roads whenever there was an excuse, even though it required a two day journey on horseback; and that they seldom went to Falmouth.

And yet when, in 1755, Dalrymple re-edited the Fry & Jefferson map and laid down roads upon it he did not show a *Quantico* road at all. The explanation is that he was not depicting the life of the people. His purpose was only to show the routes by which troops could be marched from concentration camps at Fredericksburg and Alexandria into the Valley. Accordingly in relation to the territory which was to become Fauquier he showed only a selected combination of the existing road system. From Falmouth he followed the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path' as far as Elk Run Church and thence the 'German path' through Germantown to a junction with the Marsh road; which, in 1755, had apparently been extended north through the future site of Warrenton to the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain. Here Dalrymple marked 'Nevill's Ordinary.'[80]

As it happened, this route (if not the same location) was later adopted for the Winchester road after Fauquier Court House had been established at the crossing of the Rappahannock and Marsh roads; and so it has come about that Dalrymple's notes have been interpreted as evidence that already in 1755 a Winchester road made its way over Warrenton hill. The consequence has been no little confusion in the modern historical topography of Fauquier. Dalrymple was an excellent prophet, but, in this instance, a poor geographer; for in

his day a large part of the road he here laid down was little more than a forest trail.

Dalrymple's road above the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain was, however, already of importance before 1755. As Ashby's gap was an 'indian thoroughfare' and so, from time out of mind, had been approached from both sides of the Blue Ridge by a buffalo trail, there must have been Virginians who found their way thither soon after the highlands were opened up in 1722. The trail followed the route on which the road was to be located. From the Gap it proceeded down Crooked Run to the Goose Creek ford where Watts' Ordinary was long the landmark, and where the village of Delaplane now stands; and thence it proceeded along the ridge between the waters of Occoquan and Rappahannock to Pignut. In 1742 this 'road to Shenandoah' had taken a place in the history of Virginia as one of the avenues of the westward movement of its people. Many a pioneer of the Valley had traversed it since 1730, and, like medieval barons, men had stationed themselves at strategic points upon it; but north of Pignut it still remained no more than a precarious bridle path through the forest. The testimony of the earliest surviving travel diary relating to it is conclusive in that respect.

In the autumn of 1743 the Moravian missionaries, Schnell and Hussey, enroute to Georgia from Pennsylvania, made a detour from their direct route (which would have followed the Carolina Road) to visit the German settlements on the lower reaches of the Shenandoah River. Thence they took the short cut via Ashby's Gap to rejoin the Carolina road at Germantown. Here is their description of their local adventure:[81]

'Then we came to the Tschanator[82] River. The ferry man[83] was very gruff. He did not want to keep us over night. He also asked us at once whether we had any money before he would take us across the river. We would have liked to stay because we heard that there was no house for twenty four miles. On the other side of the river English people gave us shelter after much urging. At first they said they could neither give us a meal nor a bed, we might sleep at the fire. But after a while they changed their minds and gave us something to eat and a good bed. We paid and left on the following day.

'On the 22d [November] we continued our journey. We had to pass a creek about eight times because its course is very crooked.[84] The Indian hatchet which I had with me was very useful to us for whenever it was necessary we felled a tree across the water and went over. We had some bread in our bundle, which we ate in the woods at noon. As we sat there three men passed us on horseback. They took us perhaps at first for wild animals for they got their rifles ready. But then they continued on their way. After having walked about 35 miles today we happened to come to a German house.'[85]

Five years later the same route was traversed in the opposite direction by two Virginians. George Washington's earliest surviving *Journal*[86] begins as follows:

'Fryday, March 11th, 1747/8. Began my Journey in Company with George Fairfax, Esq. We travell'd this day 40 Miles to Mr. George Neavel's in Prince William County.[87]

'Saturday, March 12th. This Morning Mr. James Genn, the Surveyor, came to us.[88] We travel'd over the Blue Ridge to Capt. Ashby's on Shannondoah River. Nothing remarkable happen'd.'

As it happened, Washington's companion had recently been elected a burgess for the new County of Frederick, and that County had been at some expense in clearing the road on the northern approach to Ashby's Bent leading to Ashby's ferry. It seems probable that the youthful burgess[89] had on this occasion elected to follow the Ashby's Bent route from Belvoir to the Valley, although it was longer and less direct than the Vestal's gap route, in order to investigate the feasibility of improving the Prince William road from Pignut to Ashby's Bent. At all events, at the next session of the Assembly, in the autumn of 1748, George William Fairfax procured the passage of an act[90] which recited that

'Whereas the clearing of a road from a place called the Pignut Ridge in the County of Prince William so far as to meet the road already cleared in the County of Frederick by the inhabitants thereof to that part of the said County of Prince William which is next to the mountains will be very convenient to travellers; but forasmuch as the distance of the said road will

be so great and the places on which it is to be made are so rocky, mountainous and full of grubs that the persons living near to and by law obliged to clear the same are not able to do it:

and provided that the Prince William Court might clear the road by contract and levy the cost upon all the tithables of the County.

It was this act which made it possible for Dalrymple to show a Fredericksburg-Winchester road on his map; but the work done in pursuance of it was not of such a character as to persuade Braddock to use the road. As it happened, a greater man than Braddock did traverse it in the same year, 1755. It was then that the infant John Marshall was taken from his birthplace on Licking Run to the cabin under the shadow of the Blue Ridge, where he was to grow up.

Senator Beveridge's brilliant picture of this journey[91] is, however, purely imaginary so that our earliest contemporary description of the Winchester road (as it then already was called) is that of one who followed it from Fredericksburg in 1760. Archdeacon Burnaby left Williamsburg to visit the Shenandoah Valley in May, 1760. He travelled to Fredericksburg and records[92] his subsequent journey across the Blue Ridge, as follows:

'May 30. I left Fredericksburg and having ferried over the Rappahannock at the falls travelled that night to Neville's ordinary about thirty four miles.[93]

'May 31. I passed over the Pignut and Blue Ridges and crossing the Shenandoah arrived, after a long day's journey of above fifty miles, at Winchester.

'The Pignut ridge is a continuation of the southwest mountains. It is no where very high and at the gap where I passed[94] the ascent is so extremely easy, owing to the winding of the road between the mountain, that I was scarcely sensible of it. The Blue Ridge is much higher than the Pignut, though even these mountains are not to be compared with the Alleghany. . . . The pass at Ashby's Gap from the foot of the mountain on the eastern side to the Shenandoah which runs at the foot on the western is about four miles. The ascent is no where very steep, though the mountains are, upon the whole, I think, higher than any I have ever seen in England. When

I got to the top I was inexpressibly delighted with the scene which opened before me. Immediately under the mountain, which was covered with chamoedaphnes in full bloom, was a most beautiful river: beyond this an extensive plain diversified with every pleasing object that nature can exhibit; and at a distance of fifty miles another ridge of still more lofty mountains called the Great or North Ridge, which inclosed and terminated the whole.'[85]

As Burnaby is the only book-making voyager who traversed this road until the days of the debonair but casual Porte Crayon, we have less local colour for it than for any other road of equal importance in Northern Virginia. The reason is not far to seek. When the tourist began to frequent Virginia after the Revolution, there was no Washington or Jefferson resident in Fauquier to allure the philosophers;[86] while, on the other hand, the physical phenomena of the Valley, caverns and natural bridges, attracted thither, rather than to the piedmont, the merely curious. But if chronicles are lacking, the Winchester road remained a commercial artery of prime importance until the American Revolution. Despite the impression of preferred relations with Fredericksburg, which the modern student derives from Dalrymple and Burnaby, it was, too, during this period consistently a Dumfries road. Both its forks continued to serve territory which looked towards the Scots merchants on the Quantico.

It was only in the new century that all this was changed. As Dumfries decayed, Fredericksburg sought to renew her original relation to the trade of the upper Rappahannock valley; and in the process some of the traffic which had been diverted to Dumfries now again followed the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path' to Falmouth, reaching it by the revised Winchester road via Warrenton. This had become, too, the route of the comparatively few travellers, like Bishop Meade and Chief Justice Marshall, who had political occasion to travel from the lower valley and the piedmont to the state capital. In that relation the revised Winchester road is laid down on both editions of Bishop Madison's map (1807 and 1817) and upon the Nine Sheet map of 1826; and it is in that relation also, as a short

route to the upper Potomac, that it had, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century a sudden and temporary renewal of its original experience as the pathway of a race movement. It then became a favorite route of approach to the Cumberland Road for those Virginians who were leaving their secular homes in the tidewater to seek pastures new on the Ohio.[97] When, probably about 1825, regular stage coach lines were put in service in connection with the 'Great Southern Mail,' Fredericksburg had the enterprise in her own interest to see that such a line gave tri-weekly north and south service over this road, via Warrenton; and thus maintained her relations with Fauquier, until the railroads came.[98]

Meanwhile, the north tine of the original Quantico road through the Broad Run thoroughfare, had been incorporated in the transportation system of Alexandria. After the Revolution the village of Salem (Marshall) grew up about the junction of this road with the Winchester road, and became the base of Alexandria's influence in the highlands.[99] The Thoroughfare Gap road thus achieved that dignity of a through route which is given it, if somewhat out of drawing, on Bishop Madison's maps. It was its function at this time to carry the wheat wagons of the plantations of the Salem neighbourhood by way of Chapman's mill to Alexandria.[100] For the rest it still served to connect the Bristow tract, which had become the most highly developed part of the curtailed Prince William, with the county seat at Dumfries; until in 1822 that centre of attraction was removed higher up the same road to Brentsville.

When the railroad came, the Thoroughfare Gap road at once reverted to obscurity; but fate still had a great day in store for it. That day came late, but when it did come it was more glorious than any day on any other road in all the history of Northern Virginia. On August 26, 1862, Stonewall Jackson passed over it on his strategic march from behind the Rappahannock in Culpeper, via Hinson's Ford, Salem (Marshall) and Thoroughfare Gap, to a position directly across the invader's communications at Bristow. It was this unsuspected

movement of an army corps fifty-six miles in two days, which brought on the second Manassas; and for the moment saved the Confederacy by compelling the retirement of the Federal army behind the fortifications of Washington. Those who took part in that march love to recall a single incident of it, an incident which has been portrayed upon the walls of Battle Abbey in Richmond, and is eloquently recorded also by an English historian:

'Near the end of the day,' says Col. Henderson,[101] 'Jackson rode to the head of the leading brigade and complimented the officers on the fine condition of the troops and the regularity of the march. They had made more than twenty miles and were still moving briskly, well closed up and without stragglers. Then standing by the way-side he watched his army pass. The sun was setting and the rays struck full on his familiar face, brown with exposure, and on his dusty uniform. Ewell's division lead the way, and when the men saw their general they began to cheer. But he raised his hand to stop them and the word passed down the column, 'Don't shout, boys, the Yankees will hear us' and the soldiers contented themselves with swinging their caps in mute acclamation. When the next division passed, a deeper flush spread over Jackson's face. Here were the men he had so often lead to triumph, the men he had trained himself, the men of the Valley, of the First Manassas, of Kernstown and McDowell. The 'Stonewall' regiments were before him and he was unable to restrain them: devotion such as theirs was not to be silenced at such a moment and the wild battle yell of his own brigade set his pulses tingling. For once a breach of discipline was condoned. 'It is of no use,' said Jackson, turning to his staff, 'you see I can't stop them:' and then, with a sudden access of intense pride in his gallant veterans, he added, half to himself, 'Who could fail to win battles with such men as these?'

Since the days of Lee and Jackson and, in a peculiarly local sense, of Mosby, the Winchester road, like the Carolina road, largely has laid fallow, dreaming of the past. It has, indeed, served a useful purpose; not itself to market the fat of the land, as it once did, but humbly to carry it to a nearby railroad. It is only in the latest age, when the Commonwealth is developing a 'state' system of improved motor roads, that any part of

the Quantico road system has seen once more a thin trickle of through traffic. In this respect it is even now more fortunate than the Carolina road; but who may say with assurance that the future has not something in store for both?

(*b.*) *The Colchester Road, via Williams' Gap.*

In the discussion of the Occoquan community in the eighteenth century[102] the story has been told of the opening of the 'Ox Road'[103] from the 'Copper mine landing' on Occoquan to the Carters' Frying Pan mine in what was then Stafford and is now northern Fairfax. The Ox road followed the central ridge between the waters of Potomac and Bull Run.[104] Passing the future sites of Payne's Church and of the present Fairfax Court House, it trended thence northwest across the drains of Pope's Head and Difficult, and was the original of the Little River turnpike between Fairfax Court House and the modern village of Pender.[105] Thence, still pursuing the ridge, it made its way north between the waters of Difficult and Cub Run to its destination in the valley of the Horsepen of Broad.

Contemporaneously with the opening of the Ox road there appears in the records the beginnings of a branch from it which was destined to bring in to the Occoquan a fertilizing current of traffic. In a land grant of March, 1729/30, there is a recital of 'Walter Griffin's Rolling Road' as springing from the west side of the Ox road below the springs of Pope's Head.[106] This new road trended west until it crossed Little Rocky Run, and thence northwest to the waters of Cub, where, after 1731, it served the Eskridge, Hutchinson, Lee and Turberville 'quarters' as an access to the Prince William court house on Occoquan. The early importance of this road is indicated by the fact that on it was built in 1746 the Truro chapel of ease known as 'Rocky Run;'[107] while nearby was established, before the Revolution, the 'Newgate' race track and ordinary, which, under the name 'Centreville,' has persisted as a landmark on the map of Fairfax.[108]

Before 1745 Griffin's road had been extended still further to the northwest, across the branches of Elk Lick and Bull run,

John Warner, Northern Neck, [Third State] 1745.

A Scale of Miles 69½ in one Degree of Latitude
0
10
20
30
40
50
MARYLAND
Falls of Potowmk
Fairfax County
Occoquan
William
STAFFORD
West
mor
land
CAROLINE
ESSEX
Richmond
Northumberland
LANCASTER
Middlesex
Potowmack River
Bay of Chesapoyocke
NECK
ng.
ON, bounded
between
ymack:
YMACK,
W
E
S
40
30
38

until it became a through route by effecting a connection at the north end of the Bull Run mountains (where 'West's ordinary' marked the junction[109]) with the Shenandoah Hunting Path; which had by that time assumed its historical name of Carolina road. The purpose of this connection was to open access for the Occoquan warehouse to the Shenandoah valley. To that end use was made, above the ford of Little River (the later Aldie), of what was already known as the 'Blue Ridge Road'[110] leading to the 'indian thoroughfare' at Williams' gap. From that destination was derived the name 'Mountain Road' applied in 1745 to the extension of Griffin's road after it had reached the lands of Andrew Hutchinson on Salisbury Plain Run.[111]

It was, then, by the Occoquan road to Williams' gap, thus formed, that George Washington returned home from the Valley in April, 1748, as he records in his earliest diary:[112]

'*Tuesday, 12th.* We set off from Capt. Hite's in order to go over Wms. gap about 20 miles, and after riding about 20 miles we had 20 to go, for we had lost ourselves and got up as high as Ashby's Bent. We did get over Wms. gap that night, and as low as Wm. West in Fairfax County, 18 miles from the Top of the Ridge. This day see a Rattled snake, the first we had seen in all our journey.

'*Wednesday, the 13th of April,* 1748. Mr. Fairfax got safe home and I myself to my Brother's, which concludes my journal.'

Twelve years later, in the summer of 1760, Archdeacon Burnaby also traversed the same route and lost his way between Rocky Run Church and Mt. Vernon:

'On the 4th of June,' said Burnaby,[113] 'I was enabled to leave Winchester and I travelled that night about eighteen miles to Sniker's ferry[114] upon the Shenandoah. The next morning I repassed the Blue Ridge at Williams' Gap, and, proceeding on my journey about forty miles,'

lodged 'at a miserable plantation, where no food was to be had.' After a sleepless night he,

'rose early in the morning and proceeded upon my journey,

being distant from Colonel Washington's not more than thirty miles. It was late, however, before I arrived there for it rained extremely hard; and a man who undertook to shew me the nearest way led me among precipices and rocks and we were lost for above two hours.'

The uncertainty of the road at this time is a significant testimony that it was not yet greatly frequented; and when Burnaby is read with the contemporary reports to the Assembly of the decrepitude of the Occoquan warehouse, it may be appreciated that in 1760 Colchester had not attained a firm commercial foothold on the Shenandoah. In that respect her hour was still to strike. It was only after the cessation of indian troubles in the Valley, following the treaty of Paris, that the transmontane trade set in strongly over this road. In 1772 the Assembly recited it as one of the 'great roads' by which 'great numbers of waggons' came 'from the northwestern parts of the colony to the town . . . of Colchester.'[115]

By a curious fate Colchester has been deprived, in the modern historical tradition, of the relation to this road to which she is thus shown to be entitled. After her trade disappeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century and through traffic abandoned her road, the casual student looked for the eighteenth century trade routes no further than the general maps of the period. As it happened, all those maps which showed any roads at all (Evans, Mitchell and Hutchins) followed Dalrymple's notes on the Fry & Jefferson map; and so omitted all indication of a direct road leading from Colchester to Williams' gap. It was not until Bishop Madison drew his map, which was published in 1807, that that road was shown in its original significance.

In this omission, on the maps usually consulted, there was no original intention to derogate from Colchester's dignity. The fact is that it was no part of Dalrymple's plan to show all the roads in the northern Virginia of his day, or even all the important roads. His roads were, as has been already noted, laid down for a special purpose only, which was to indicate,

in preparation for Braddock's expedition, the available routes by which an army could march into the Valley from a concentration camp either at Fredericksburg or Alexandria. Thus he did not indicate any part of the Carolina road nor that part of the Colchester road below Rocky Run church; both of which are shown by the records we have cited to have been, in 1755, highways of at least as great relative importance as any road Dalrymple did indicate.

Dalrymple's plan is revealed by his indication of two roads which, in 1755, were mere laterals of the Colchester road and attained importance only at a later period. One of these laterals to the west connected the Colchester road with the Falmouth road at Ashby's gap; and the other to the east, afforded a similar connection with Alexandria. The road from West's Ordinary to Ashby's gap (the original of the Ashby gap turnpike) was, indeed, indicated by Dalrymple merely by a hair line, doubtless to signify that in 1755 it was no more than a trail;[116] but the road from Alexandria to the crossing of the Ox road at the head of Pope's Head was laid down, in connection with that part of the Colchester road which extended above Rocky Run church, with an emphasis which cannot be justified by any other contemporary record.

The local tradition is that 'Braddock's main army' opened this last mentioned road in 1755 and thereby justified the persistent designation 'Braddock's' which appears as a label to it on the modern maps of Fairfax. But there is no evidence that Braddock played any part either in opening or improving this road or that any part of his force marched over it; on the contrary, the direct testimony is that both his brigades used other routes.[117] The local records show that this road had been opened from Cameron to Pope's Head by the Fairfax County Court in 1752. This was done undoubtedly on the demand of Alexandria for access to the Occoquan back country; but it does not appear that she succeeded in absorbing Colchester's Valley trade by means of that connection with 'Griffin's' road until after the Revolution.[118]

(c.) The Alexandria Road via Vestal's Gap.

Between the waters of Hunting Creek and Four Mile Run there extends north to the waters of Difficult a drainage ridge which nature provided as a highway. Here undoubtedly was an indian trail; for when the first English settlers passed Hunting Creek on their northward progress they adopted this ridge as their avenue of immigration to all the territory which became eastern Fairfax. The route had been pioneered and described for them in detail by Giles Vandercastel and Burr Harrison in 1699 on their way to Conoy Island.[119] When Hunting Creek warehouse was established in 1732 it became a well worn rolling road; and from that day to this it has remained a main travelled highway, parallel with which a railroad was ultimately constructed and is still maintained.

The primary significance of this road in the early life of the community is proven by the fact that upon it was built that first chapel of ease of Truro parish which was called at first the New Church, then the Upper Church and, after 1755, the Falls Church; and also the first court house of Fairfax County. In the Council minutes of June, 1742, relating to the location of the court house on the branches of Difficult, it is called 'the New Church road';[120] and in the Truro processioning proceeding of 1755 it is identified as 'the road from Cameron to the upper church' and, again 'the road from upper Church to Difficult Run.'[121] That it crossed Difficult at the mouth of the stream now called Colvin (a corruption of Colvill) Run we have definite testimony as early as 1739.[122] Beyond Difficult we must turn for detail to Dalrymple's road survey of 1754. On his edition of the Fry & Jefferson map we find the course of this road laid down to and beyond the Blue Ridge. Here the road begins at a junction with the Potomac Path above the ford of 'Hunting Creek' and immediately west of Alexandria, at the place marked 'Cameron's Ordinary."[123] Thence it extends north, and, ignoring the existence of Difficult, crosses Broad Run by a 'Wood's Br.' and Goose Creek by 'Avery Ford;' whence, passing 'Miner' (the future site of Leesburg), it surmounts the Blue Ridge at 'Vestal's gap' and reaches the Shenandoah at

'Vestal's Ferry.'[124] From there it goes on to Winchester and a junction with the 'Philadelphia Waggon Road.' Other records nearly contemporaneous with Dalrymple's enable us to place other early landmarks on this road. Coleman's Ordinary stood at the crossing of Sugarland Run.[125] Above 'Miner' the road passed through 'the Thoroughfare or Hunting Path through the Kittokton Mountains' (now known as Clarke's gap) where Samuel Marksberry had a land grant in 1731;[126] and crossed the South Fork of Catoctin at a ford, about two and a half miles above Waterford; which is significant because there, as early as 1736,[127] a 'Path to Gregory's Gap'[128] forked 'from the Waggon Road to Vestal's Gap.' At the gap in the Short Hills (where the town of Hillsboro was established in 1802)[129] lived, in 1754, the Quaker, Edward Thompson, whose son, Israel, was to be one of the trustees of this road when it was made a public turnpike after the Revolution.[130]

This road early played a part in American history. More justly than that other Fairfax road which runs via Centreville, it is known in the Hillsboro neighbourhood as 'Braddock's road.' If it never knew the chariot of General Edward Braddock himself, a brigade of his troops marched over it; and yet it might with more propriety be called the 'Washington road,' for the father of his country used it frequently; conspicuously in public service on his expedition to Fort Duquesne in 1753 and again the following year, when he marched in command of the Virginia regiment.

Washington's *Journal* of this march was captured by the French at Fort Necessity. Subsequently, in 1756, when the English government was distributing among the Courts of Europe a memorial of the recent political events in America from its point of view, the French retorted with a *Memoire contenant le Précis des Faits* in which, among the *piéces justificatives* of their conduct, they included a French translation of an abridgment of Washington's journal.[131] Unfortunately for our present enquiry, the early entries of the stages of the march beyond 'Cameron' are omitted in this publication; but the substance of them may be deduced from Washington's contem-

porary expense account, which has survived among his papers[132] and includes the following items:

1754				
April 6.	To expense of the Regt. at Edw. Thompson's in marching up	2.	16.	6
8.	To Bacon for D°, of John Vestal at Shenandoah and ferriage over	1.	9.	0

With this may be compared Sir Peter Halket's route in 1755 from the camp at Alexandria, as defined in Braddock's *Orderly Book*,[133] viz:

	Miles
To the old Court House	18
To Mr. Coleman's on Sugar Land Run where there is Indian corn, etc.	12
To Mr. Miner's	15
To Mr. Thompson's, the Quaker, wh. is 3000 wt. corn	12
To Mr. Key's, the Ferry of Shanh.	17
From Mr. Key's to Winchester	23
	97

Again, in October, 1770, when Washington made his expedition to the Ohio to locate bounty lands for himself and the officers who had served under him in the war with France, he noted stages on his journey over this same road:[134]

'Dined at Towlston, and lodged at Leesburg distant from Mount Vernon about forty-five miles. Here my portmanteau horse failed in his stomach.

'*6th.* Fed our horses on the top of the Ridge at one Codley's and arrived at my brother Samuel's, on Worthington's Marsh, a little after they had dined, the distance being about thirty miles.'

The commanding position of the 'Upper Church Road' on the ridge soon achieved for it the dignity of being the backbone of the road system of eastern Fairfax; and during the remainder of the colonial period the other old roads in that region adjusted themselves to it as laterals. Such for at least two generations was the destiny of the two roads, quite as old

in their history as the ridge road itself, which had their origin at the head of Potomac navigation immediately below the Little Falls.

One of these was that 'Falls Rolling Road' which lead inland to and across the ridge from the mouth of Pimmett's Run, via that conspicuous natural landmark, 'the rock stones called Brandymore Castle.' We have already noted the part this road played in the earliest immigration to the territory it served.[135] Its junction with the ridge road prior to 1733 is implied in the designation in that year of the 'cross roads near Michael Regan's' as the site for the first Truro chapel of ease.[136] The early significance of the traffic of this road is apparent in the fact that it gave that chapel its name, 'Falls Church.'

The other such road was the 'Sugarlands Rolling Road.' Beginning also at the mouth of Pimet's run, at the head of Potomac navigation, this route had been opened to serve Daniel McCarty's quarter in the Sugarlands above the Great Falls;[137] and had grown from that function to be the chief economic corridor of the Falls Warehouse. It is recited in correspondence between 'King' Carter and Thomas Lee in 1728, which has been quoted;[138] and in a land grant of 1731[139] a stretch of it above Difficult is specifically named the 'Sugarland Rowling Road.' It follows that the section of the Vestal's Gap road between the crossing of Difficult and the Sugarlands was originally part of the McCarty rolling road, with which the 'Upper Church road' had found a junction below the Difficult ford. With the decay of the Falls Warehouse the upper reaches of this road became more and more characteristically part of Alexandria's Vestal's gap road; but, as we shall see, after the Revolution the merchants of Georgetown once more reversed this relative status and with their turnpike reasserted the primacy in that region of the original McCarty road.[140]

Other important laterals of the ridge road, of later date than those just mentioned but now relatively antique, were the existing road between the present towns of Vienna and Fairfax, and that suburban highway from Falls Church to the

Aqueduct (now Key) Bridge. The first may be assumed to have been opened as early as 1742, when Fairfax Court House was established on Freedom Hill, to serve as an access to that earliest local seat of justice from the Ox Road. This is signified in its grisly traditional name, 'the Gallows Road.' The other, which superseded the Falls Road, was opened from Magee's (later Awbrey's and Mason's) Potomac ferry at the Maryland landing of which the town of Georgetown was to arise.[141]

4. *The Ordinaries of* 1755

Dalrymple recorded, either as landmarks or as stages on his several routes from tidewater to Winchester, a number of 'ordinaries;' for so he had found the Virginia taverns to be called in the old English sense of the word we now translate *table d' hote*.[142] The practice of the county courts to license all ordinary keepers has preserved evidence that there were, indeed, many more such facilities for the traveller in old Prince William than Dalrymple mentions; but he managed nevertheless to advertise several of the wayside inns on which subsequent travellers found occasion to animadvert.[143] The present study is, therefore, limited to the identification of Dalrymple's names and locations. Before doing so, however, it may not be inappropriate here to rehearse a few general observations by travellers upon the Virginia ordinary as an institution; for a changed world has quite forgot the important place it had in the lives of our ancestors.

In the last years of the eighteenth century the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt travelled over the United States from Maine to Georgia. His general and comparative testimony as to the Virginia ordinaries is therefore convincing.

'Although the inns are sometimes bad,' he says,[144] 'yet upon the whole they are better than in the other States. Those in the back country where I have travelled are preferable to the inns in many of the most inhabited parts of New England.'

More in detail than any other Virginia voyager, the Marquis de Chastellux[145] comments upon the ordinary of the same

post revolutionary period. That his picture is faithful we may conclude from the verisimilitude of his local colour. He was intrigued to hear one tavern keeper call his wife 'Honey' and another complain that he was 'feeling mighty porely'—phrases he found difficult to translate into French. Again, his description of one of the most frequented ordinaries in tidewater Virginia is borne out by the buildings which still stand in Fairfax, Loudoun and Fauquier to testify to the departed hospitalities of some of the hosts we are to name. It was 'a little house absolutely isolated in the midst of the woods. . . . For lodging there is one large room for all the company. A pallet brought in and laid on the floor for each guest suffices for these country folk.' He speaks of the fare as frugal but wholesome and the accommodations, such as they were, usually clean. Chastellux found the ordinary to be a great place of neighbourhood resort. Describing an improvised cock fight held at one of them, to which men gathered from forty miles around, he wondered how they got news of it when there was no official postal service!

The German scientist, Dr. Schoepf,[146] adds convincing details:

'It is not always the custom to hang shields before taverns, but they are easily identified by the great number of miscellaneous papers and advertisements with which the walls and doors of these public houses are plaistered: generally, the more of such bills are to be seen on a house, the better it will be found to be. In this way the traveller is afforded a many sided entertainment and can inform himself as to where the taxes are heavy, where wives have run away, horses have been stolen, or the new Doctor has settled. . . . Along the chief roads these ordinaries are commodious enough when there are not too many guests, but coffee, ham and eggs are commonly the sole entertainment. Ham is the great delicacy to the Virginian.'[147]

All of this is confirmed a few years later by a wandering English lady, Mrs. Wakefield:[148]

'We scarcely pass ten or twenty miles without seeing an ordinary, as they call inns in this country. They all resemble one another, having a porch in front, the length of the house,

almost covered with hand bills: they have no sign but take their name from the person that keeps the house, who is often a man of consequence; for the profession of an inn keeper is far more respected in America than in England. Instead of supplying their guests as soon as they arrive, they make everybody conform to one hour for the different meals. There are always several beds in every room and strangers are obliged to sleep together. The sheets are mostly brown and seldom changed.'

The English actor, John Bernard,[149] left an amusing picture of the opportunities awaiting the traveller who, under these conditions, was unable to take his ease in his inn:

'The Virginia planter strained every nerve to pick up companions, and it was only when in utter despair of obtaining this pleasure that he gave himself up to bumbo, a matress and meditation. Many humorous instances were related to me of the plans he adopted to draw guests to his convivial roof in the untracked woods of the interior. . . . Another was to send the negroes round at night fall to the nearest inns (here very properly termed 'ordinaries') with a note to any gentleman who might be putting up there, stating that if he did not like his accommodations, Mr. ——— would be happy to see him at his house close by, to which a black with a lantern would conduct him. This system was often successful; for, in the old times, all you could obtain at these places were eggs and bacon, hoe cake and peach brandy: a bed stuffed with shavings on a frame that rocked like a cradle, and in a room so well ventilated that a traveller had some difficulty in keeping his umbrella erect, if endeavoring under that convenience to find shelter from the rain while in bed. But as the planter's hospitality proved such an antagonist to the landlord's interest, the latter always has it made up to him in presents, so that all parties were well content.'

In 1801, on his way from Great Falls to Spencer Ball's house 'Portici,' on the west bank of Bull Run, John Davis[150]

'prosecuted my walk to Newgate; where in the piazza of Mr. Thornton's tavern I found a party of gentlemen from the neighbouring plantations carousing over a bowl of toddy and smoking segars. No people could exceed these men in politeness. On my ascending the steps to the piazza every coun-

tenance seemed to say, This man has a double claim on our attention, for he is a stranger in the place. In a moment there was room made for me to sit down; a new bowl was called for and every one who addressed me did it with a smile of conciliation. But no man asked me where I had come from or whither I was going. A gentleman is in every country the same, and if good breeding consists in sentiment, it was to be found in the circle I had got into. The higher Virginians seem to venerate themselves as men; and I am persuaded there was not one in company who would have felt embarassed at being admitted to the presence and conversation of the greatest Monarch on earth.'

Finally, in 1830, James Stuart[151] pictures the development of the ordinary into the 'hotel' on the frequented great roads, with incidental details of the gargantuan capacity of the post-revolutionary generation in the matter of nourishment. 'There were giants in those days:'

'On arriving at the hotel [in Alexandria] I immediately inquired for and bespoke a single bedded room and got it. I have never hitherto had any difficulty in having a single bedded room when travelling alone in the United States. But the suspension of steamboat travelling during the severe frost increased the stage travelling so much that I was not without fear of being consigned at this place to one of the public bed rooms where six or eight people sleep on bedsteads without curtains, which give the rooms quite the appearance of an hospital. Next morning before daylight the stage started with four of her passengers. I did not join in the conversation until after the daylight allowed me to have a peep at them: but I had hardly made my voice heard when one of them said 'I think you are a Scotch man.' . . . The gentleman who addressed me proved to be Major Lomax of the United States army, a companion so agreeable that I was very sorry to lose him when we stopped at Richmond. We breakfasted this morning at Occoquan, where, besides many other good things that were set before us, there was the finest brace of roasted canvass-back ducks I had ever seen. We all did justice to the very excellent breakfast, Major Lomax setting us a good example by eating one of the canvass-back ducks and a part of the other. Occoquan is famous for those ducks. Major Lomax bought some from the hotel keeper at a shilling sterling apiece. Provisions are most abundant and cheap in Virginia. When I was

laughing with Major Lomax at the immensity of the breakfast he had made, he told me that I was not aware that I was travelling in Virginia, where the tables of the hotels were so loaded with good things that it was absolutely necessary to make an exertion to relieve them, and that although he had made a tolerable breakfast, he expected he should make a still heartier dinner. . . . The dinner this day, 16th February, was in all respects equal to Major Lomax's anticipation, consisting of roast turkey, a whole ham, roast beef, canvass-back ducks, a pie of game, potatoes, hominie, etc. Four sorts of spirits were on the table, of which we were at liberty to take as much as we asked. The ham was admirable.'

Although few of the foreign travellers in Virginia can say much for the dignity or accommodations of the houses in which the ordinary was served, and usually compared their inflexible 'family' hours to disadvantage with the more accommodating contemporary wayside inns of England,[152] all agree in recognition of the position of importance that the host had in the community. The county courts were, indeed, charged[153] to see that licenses to keep ordinaries were issued only to men of substance, that

'the Petitioner is of Ability to provide Travelers with Lodging, Diet, Provender, Pasturage and other Necessaries; but must not grant License to poor Persons under pretence of Charity, but to such only who are able to keep good Houses and a Constant Supply of all necessary Entertainments.'

It was, too, natural that in the days before universal newspapers the oral depositary of all news should be esteemed relatively as the modern publisher is esteemed: the ordinary keeper was usually a politician and an ardent 'patriot.' The not unnatural consequence of finding him in public office once democracy began to work, and especially holding high military rank in the Revolutionary army, was a constant cause of comment. The conspicuous examples of such achievement in Virginia were Generals Jethro Sumner and George Weedon; both respectable, if not brilliant, soldiers who won their way to be brigadiers on their merits, after having been 'zealous in blowing the flames of sedition' in their ordinaries. Smythe, indeed,[154]

who loved his sneer and did not spare Washington, felt justified in saying that the fact of Sumner's

'keeping an inn at the court house (which is scarcely thought a mean occupation here, singular as the latter circumstance may appear), contributed more to his appointment and promotion in the American army than any other merit.'

Dalrymple names, in all, five ordinaries north of the Rappahannock, of which other records also survive. These were:

Picketts: This is indicated as the first public house on the Fredericksburg-Winchester road above Falmouth. After passing the 'Stanstead' plantation of Charles Carter of Cleve, 'Picket's Ord.' is shown to be seven miles north of the Rappahannock falls. In 1755 its site was in King George, though now in Stafford.[155] The court minute books of King George of the time are missing and it is therefore impossible to identify that one of the Picketts who had license to keep this ordinary in 1755; but it seems likely that he was the William Pickett whose son was long a foremost figure in Fauquier, and from whom descended by another line the Confederate hero of Gettysburg.[156]

Hardin's: After crossing Deep Run and so entering into old Prince William, Dalrymple passed Elk Run Church and, sixteen miles above 'Picket's,' reached 'Harding's Ord.'

In June, 1716, Mark Hardin had the first of several land grants in the Elk Marsh settlement in what was then Richmond and later Fauquier. As we have shown, the recitals of other land grants indicate that he was living on Marsh Run in 1717 and so was one of the pioneer founders of Fauquier. In 1723 he appears further east 'on the branches of Elk Run.'[157] It was here that his son, Martin Hardin, established an ordinary on the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path' or Falmouth Road. The site as indicated by Dalrymple was 1½ miles north of Elk Run Church; and, as all ordinaries were at crossroads, it seems probable that it was at Hardin's Ordinary that the original 'German Path,' leading to Germantown, left the Falmouth road; as did the earliest road leading to the Elk Marsh settlement. In

1741 Martin Hardin voted in Prince William, and, on the organization of Fauquier in 1759, had license to keep ordinary 'at his house."[158] By a deed of 1774 Martin Hardin recited that he was then living in Augusta;[159] and in 1802 his son, Mark Hardin, reciting his own residence in Washington County, Kentucky, conveyed Martin Hardin's lands on Elk Run to Joseph Blackwell.[160] The subsequent records of the Blackwell family[161] identify the site of Hardin's ordinary as that stage of the Winchester road where 'Blackwell's Coloured School' now stands, as indicated on the Fauquier map of 1914.

Nevills: Twenty miles above 'Harding's,' after passing 'Germantown' and 'Branskill's Parsonage,' Dalrymple lays down 'Nevill's Ordy.,' also on the Fredericksburg-Winchester road. The only specification of the location other than the distance from Falmouth is the indication of the site at the source of the northernmost branch of Cedar run which had been traced by Fry and Jefferson. As no local mountains are sketched upon this map the site so indicated was vague; and thus it befell that when Thomas Jefferson redrew, in 1787, his father's map he placed 'Nevil's Or.' at once at the source of Bull Run and at the head of the range he labeled 'Bull Run M^{s}.' This confusion has been worse confounded by the fact, revealed by the study of the county records, that after the middle of the eighteenth century there were two Nevill's ordinaries in that part of Prince William which became Fauquier. They were not, however, contemporary, nor on the same site. One was that noted by Dalrymple, the other that mentioned five years later by Archdeacon Burnaby as well as by later travellers also. The analysis of the land records[162] shows that the respective keepers of these ordinaries were Joseph and George Neavil, as the name was usually spelled locally.

Joseph Neavil at 'Rockingham': A surviving Prince William court order book shows that on November 27, 1752 and October 25, 1753, 'Jos. Nevill' had license to keep ordinary 'at his house.' In 1763 Joseph Neavil conveyed to his son 'George Neavil, jun^{r}' the property 'whereon he now lives;' and the latter in turn transferred the title in 1763, reciting that it was part of the land grant of 1728 to John Hudnall of 412 acres 'on the

branches of Cedar Run at the thoroughfair of the Rappa. Mountain."[163] A trace of this title through its subsequent devolutions shows that the property so conveyed was the place now known as 'Rockingham,' which is indicated on the Fauquier map of 1914, at the source of Cedar Run, in 'the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain.' This is on the Winchester road a short distance north of Bethel. It was there then that Joseph Neavil had an ordinary in 1754 when Dalrymple made his road survey. It may be noted that Dalrymple's distance (16 miles) from Germantown to 'Nevill's Ordinary' is approximately the road distance from Germantown to Rockingham, via Liberty and Warrenton, which we assume to have been the road Dalrymple intended to indicate.

Neither Joseph Neavil nor his son, 'George Neavil, junr.,' seems ever to have kept ordinary at 'Rockingham' or elsewhere after Fauquier was organized: certainly no Fauquier license was ever issued to either of them. After 1766 all records of this family are in the Valley.[164]

George Neavil at Auburn: In 1727 and 1728 there was living in Middlesex one George Nevill, who in the latter year buried there a wife, Hannah.[165] Considering the migration from the lower Rappahannock to the piedmont at this time it is reasonable to assume that he was the George Nevill who had a land grant in March, 1730/1, on the upper side of Cedar Run adjoining the Carter Kettle Run tract,[166] and who voted in Prince William in 1741.[167] The location of this land grant, as proved by the subsequent conveyances,[168] is that of the modern village of Auburn. George Nevill's house thus stood at the crossing of the Carolina road and the 'Rappahannock' branch of the Dumfries road which lead by Turkey Run Church; and the identification is convincing in the light of the record that on the organization of Fauquier in 1759 one 'George Neavil' was surveyor of the road 'from his house to Turkey Run Church.' There can, then, be no reasonable doubt that it was at this house that George William Fairfax and George Washington spent a night in March, 1748, on their journey to the Valley. As has been already noted, they came thither, a stage

of 40 miles from Belvoir, via the second Prince William Court House below Cedar Run, to meet James Genn, the surveyor of Prince William, and described the meeting place as 'Mr. George Neavel's in Prince William County.'[169] It does not appear from any surviving record that George Neavil maintained an ordinary at his house on Cedar Run in 1748, but the situation of that house at an important road crossing made of it an obviously valuable tavern site. The fact in that respect is certain that in 1759, 1761 and 1770 the Fauquier Court licensed George Neavil to keep ordinary 'at his house.' Accordingly, when we find Archdeacon Burnaby recording, on May 30, 1760, that he left Fredericksburg 'and having ferried over the Rappahannock at the falls, travelled that night to Neville's Ordinary, about thirty-four miles,' it is as safe to assume that he spent the night at George Neavil's as it is that Washington had slept there twelve years before. In 1760 that house was a licensed ordinary; and, as it happens, is just about 34 miles from Fredericksburg on the Falmouth and Quantico roads, via Elk Run Church and Catlett's, which (*pace* Dalrymple) we assume to have been the main travelled route at this time.[170]

George Neavil died in Fauquier in 1774, as shown by the probate of his will. The license to keep ordinary at his house was then renewed to his widow, Mary Neavil, and in 1778 was issued again to his son-in-law, Ambrose Barnett. The house continued, however, to be known as Nevill's. It is marked 'Nevill's plantation' on Anburey's route map of 1779; and Bishop Reichel mentions it as Nevill's Ordinary in 1780, confirming the location by the specification that it stood on the Carolina road 10 miles south of Red House (Haymarket) and 6 miles north of Germantown, which are approximately the actual road distances from Auburn.

This old house, probably as old as any now surviving in Fauquier, is still standing, but in ruins, on the green at Auburn. It reveals the foundation of the full length porch which was, as we have seen, the characteristic of the eighteenth century ordinary. In other respects it is in the strict tradition of 'improvement' construction 'after the manner of Virginia building' as

specified in the act of 1713.[171] It has not been occupied for many years. It looks today more like the palace of the Sleeping Beauty than a caravansary where, for the asking, all the world might have news, ham and eggs and a toddy.

Watts': Twelve miles above his Nevill's, and still on the Fredericksburg-Winchester road, Dalrymple showed, 'Watts Ordinary.' Fry and Jefferson had not followed Warner's Northern Neck map of 1737 by laying down the main stream of Goose Creek flowing east from Calmes (Manassas) gap, so Dalrymple had no water course by which to identify his location of this ordinary. The road distance proves, however, as usual, the substantial accuracy of his survey and topography. Twelve miles by the Winchester road north of 'Rockingham' in the 'thoroughfare of the Rappahannock mountain' the traveller comes to the Goose Creek ford below the mouth of Crooked Run, where the village of Delaplane has arisen. Not only has this ford been always a strategic point in all road building plans for the territory now known as upper Fauquier,[172] but as a natural consequence of that local importance it has been the site of a tavern from the earliest settlement of the country.

A surviving Prince William court order book (1752-53) shows that on June 26, 1753, Thomas Watts had license 'to keep an ordinary at his house the ensuing year.'[173] This was undoubtedly Dalrymple's 'Watts' Ordinary' for, although the earliest Fauquier records do not show any renewal of this license to Thomas Watts or any other of the name in 1759 or thereafter, they afford evidence of the location of the house which had been so licensed prior to the organization of that county. In 1760 the Fauquier court appointed John Wood surveyor of the road 'from Watts' to the head of Goose Creek' and again 'from Thomas Watts' to Top of the Ridge on the Manassas Road;'[174] which are convincing descriptions of the Cool Spring road which leads up Goose Creek to its source in Manassas gap, and in doing so still crosses the Winchester road immediately south of Delaplane. Although Thomas Jefferson's map of 1787 also showed 'Watts' Oy.' in a situation which was badly out of drawing by reason of the distortion of the

entire territory of old Prince William on that map, it does not appear that any Watts kept ordinary on Goose Creek after Dalrymple's days. That family had been superseded in such a function by the Ashbys, whose house, 'Yew Hill' at the crossing of the Winchester and Cool Spring roads, long has been, and still is, a local landmark. It is the old building which Porte Crayon depicted in a book which delighted the generation before the war between the states,[175] calling it 'Miss Katy Shacklett's quaint old fashioned cottage.' By this name the house is laid down on the Confederate map of 1863 as well as on Garden's Fauquier map of 1876.[176]

Wests: In laying down the Colchester road to Williams' gap, Dalrymple (as has been already noted) indicated that highway only as a road from Alexandria. Upon it, at a junction of two roads, both leading to the Blue Ridge, the one to Williams', the other to Ashby's gap, he marked 'West's Ordy.' There is no indication of the Bull Run range, nor of Little River on the Fry & Jefferson map, while Bull Run is there cut off short of its source. These deficiencies of material for identification lead Thomas Jefferson into the errors of his map of 1787. He showed the 'Bull Run Mts.' and 'Bull Run' flowing from their head, but he placed 'Nevil's O.' at the head of both the range and the stream;[177] and at the same time pushed 'West's Oy.' far to the north to a location in Loudoun, which is recognisable only by the fact that it is south of Goose Creek, for all that that stream is shown as arising only in Ashby's Gap. If Thomas Jefferson had had before him John Henry's map of 1770 he might have been saved this confusion, for there 'West's' is shown in its correct position with respect both to the Bull Run range and Bull Run itself. This tavern stood (and still stands) at the junction of the Colchester Road with the Carolina road above Bull Run just east of the head of the Bull Run range. It is in Loudoun, only a short distance southeast of the ford of Little River, where the village of Aldie now stands, and south of the Little River Turnpike.[178]

In April, 1740, William West, younger brother of Hugh and John West of Alexandria, began to acquire land in this

vicinity and there established his residence.[179] In 1743 he was one of the processioners for Truro vestry in the district 'between Little River and Walnut Cabin Branch."[180] In 1748 George Washington records, 'we did get over Wms. Gap that night and as low as Wm. West in Fairfax County, 18 miles from the Top of the Ridge."[181] At Fairfax Court, on June 18, 1754, William West had license to keep ordinary 'at his house;' and this license was renewed to him by Loudoun in 1758 and 1762, specifying the location as the 'Fruit Hill Farm.' In 1756 Lord Fairfax started from Greenway Court to Belvoir, travelling by Williams' gap. The next day he wrote, 'I was yesterday down at Mr. West's on my way to Belvoir, but was called back by a false alarm of old Sharpe's,"[182] the Governor of Maryland, as to hostile indians in the valley. Later in the same anxious year West provided provisions for the Fairfax militia on a march to the Valley, via Williams' gap.[183]

This evidence seems conclusive as to the identification of West's ordinary, but the subsequent records identify it also under its later name of 'Lacey's.' In 1765 the license was renewed by Loudoun Court to Charles West, son of William; and thus it was that George Washington, enroute to 'Frederick Warm Springs' in 1769, notes in his diary that he stopped over night at 'Charles West's.' This Charles left a will[184] which was proved in Loudoun, January 8, 1787, in which he says, 'I give to my daughter, Elizabeth West, all my land belonging to the public house where Joseph Lacey now lives.' In December, 1799, Mrs. Warner Washington was called from her home, Fairfield, in Frederick (now Clarke), to Alexandria by news of the illness of her brother, Bryan Fairfax. The next day she wrote to her son from 'Mount Eagle, near Alexandria,' 'We left Lacey's (where I was told I should get to my Brother's funeral) before sunrise and only stopped to feed, which enabled us to get to Mount Eagle by 5 o'clock.' Finally, 'Joseph Lacey's tavern in Loudoun' is mentioned in an act of Assembly of 1800, as a convenient meeting place for a committee representing the four counties of Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun and Fauquier;[185] while in 1802 Israel Lacey was one

of the Commissioners to receive subscriptions to the Little River Turnpike Company, and in 1810 one of the trustees for the establishment of the town of Aldie.[186]

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN.

[1] Alexander Hunter, *Women of the Debateable Land* (1912), p. 125.

[2] G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, 1922.

[3] By an act as late as 1782 (Hening, xi, 27), it was ordered that the routes of the *main* roads be marked by blazed trees.

[4] Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America*, 1915.

[5] Hening, ii, 261. If the planters did not maintain gates in their own fences they persisted in placing them across the highways where the road passed through cultivated land. This became a nuisance to the traveller, but was upheld by the Virginia courts. (*The King* v. *Harrison*, in Barradall's Reports, p. 66). On his way across Maryland in 1774, Philip Fithian counted 79 such gates between Port Tobacco and Annapolis. As late as 1828 John Randolph (*Bruce*, i, 585) found the mail route between Fredericksburg and Potomac Creek similarly obstructed.

[6] A general road law to this effect dated from 1631 and was several times renewed (Hening, i, 199, 436; ii, 103; iii, 392). The minutes of the Stafford Court show that that County was presented for failure to comply with it as late as 1690.

[7] e. g., John Bruerton's dividend of November 1, 1664 (*Patents*, 5: 440), is described as on 'the east side of Powtomac Path.'

[8] In 1690 William Harris and Lewis Markham describe their dividend at the head of Neapsco (*N. N.*, 1: 41) as on 'an Indian Path.'

[9] *Mason's ferry at the Occoquan*: By his will of 1773 the fourth George Mason devised to his son, Thomas, with his Prince William lands, 'the right and benefit of keeping the ferry over Occoquan from both sides of the river, which has been vested in me and my ancestors from the first settlement of this part of the country and long before the land there was taken up or patented' (Rowland, ii, 464). This is confirmed by an act of 1684 (Hening, iii, 21) which required the first George Mason to provide an 'able boat for the transporting the souldiers and horses' over Occoquan. The records of the Stafford Court show, however, that David Strahan was the first to take, in 1691, a contract to maintain regular service. But in 1744 certainly this ferry privilege belonged to the Masons (Hening, v. 252) and in 1759 Archdeacon Burnaby found it exercised by one of their superannuated slaves who was allowed the profits for his keep. After 1795 the Thomas Mason mentioned above built a toll bridge here (Shepherd, i, 430) and celebrated it by giving the name, 'Woodbridge,' to his plantation on the Prince William shore. That this was a Burr truss appears from John Davis' flowery description of it in 1801 as 'a bridge whose semi-elliptical arches are scarcely inferior to those of princely London.' Eventually in one of the recurring floods incident to the gradual denudation of the forest of the Occoquan watershed, this bridge disappeared, and, was

not rebuilt, nor was the ferry put again in operation. Such traffic as still followed the Potomac Path was now diverted via the 'back road' and Ellicott's bridge, and Colchester became no more than a name. It was not until the northern extension of the R. F. & P. railroad, about 1870, that a railroad bridge on the site of Mason's ferry restored the through traffic on this route, but it still remained necessary for the local traffic to detour via the upper bridge. Finally, in 1915, the railroad built a new bridge for its own use and dedicated its old structure to the use of the two counties as a highway, and thereby the ancient route has become again frequented—this time by automobiles.

[10] *The Occoquan back road.* Before 1706 Giles Tillett lived on the Occoquan near the mouth of the stream which is still called for him Giles Run. (See his land grants from 1706 to 1727, *N. N.*, 3: 145; 5: 148; B: 77, 78). At the same time David Jones was living on Accotink on land of which a part was acquired in 1734 for the Truro glebe (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 8). These locations give us the termini of 'the rolling road from Jones to Tillett's' which is recited in 1729 (*N. N.*, C: 39) and again in 1742 (*N. N.*, E: 499) as crossing the drains of Giles run. After this road had been extended to Hunting Creek it was described in the Truro processioning of 1755 (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 32) as 'the road that leads from Hunting Creek through the Glebe land to Occoquan;' in 1765 (Hening, viii, 157) as 'the back road from Colchester to Alexandria;' in 1767 (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 62) as 'the road that leads from Cameron by the Glebe;' and in 1786 (Hening, xii, 523) as 'the back road to the ford of Great Hunting Creek, near Cameron.'

The site of the last Pohick Church was described in 1767 and 1769 (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, pp. 63, 71) as 'at the Cross Roads leading from Hollis's to Pohick Warehouse.' This was the junction of the 'back road' with the Ravensworth Rolling road which served Pohick warehouse. After the location of the church a cut-off was opened to it from the Potomac Path beginning at Robert Boggess' 'LaGrange,' which new road completed the still existing road triangle at Pohick Church.

[11] Reporting his purpose to go to New York for a change of climate, Lord Howard said in his dispatch of June 29, 1687 (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1685-88 No. 1323:) 'I shall go to the head of the bay by water and thence through Pennsylvania, so I shall not be above four days journey from my government at most, if any accident should happen.'

Three years later Cuthbert Potter of Lancaster followed the same route, carrying dispatches from Governor Nicholson to Boston. His *Journal* (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, No. 1164, printed also in Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*) records that he 'departed from the honble. Ralph Wormley, Esqre. his house [i. e., Rosegill on the Rappahannock in Middlesex] in a Shallop . . . it was Sunday morning following before I could get to Casparus Harman's in Bohemia.'

[12] See *post,* chapter xxviii.

[13] *The first Potomac ferries*: In 1705 (Hening, iii, 473) the Assembly established the earliest Potomac ferry 'from Col. Fitzhugh's at Boyd's Hole in Stafford over to Maryland.' In 1765 this was described as 'Boyd's Hole ferry,' reputed then to be 'all to pieces' (*W. & M. Quar.*, xiii, 224, where the name is misprinted 'Boyd's *horse* ferry'). In 1720 (Hening, iv, 93) a competitor to Fitzhugh's ferry was established 'from Col. Rice Hooe's to Cedar Point in Maryland.' By the middle of the eighteenth century Hooe's ferry had become the favorite route from Vir-

ginia to Annapolis and as such was used in 1738 by the Quaker preacher, Thomas Chalkley (*Journal,* Philadelphia, 1808, p. 274); and in 1765 by Lord Adam Gordon (Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies,* p. 407), by the French spy who had heard Patrick Henry's speech against the Stamp Act (*American Historical Review,* xxvii, 70), and by the Scots merchant, William Gregory (*W. & M. Quar.,* xiii, 224). When Philip Fithian travelled to and from Nomini Hall in 1774 he described the Virginia landing as 'Tylers,' locating it 8 miles from 'Mattox bridge' and that in Maryland as 'Mrs. Laidler's.' The ferry left the Hooe place, Barnsfield, below Matthias Point and landed in Maryland at the mouth of Pope's Creek, as shown on the 1755 Fry & Jefferson and most subsequent maps. For the Hooe family, see *ante.,* p. 72. Rice Hooe was a character. The amusing anecdotes of him, as recorded by Gregory, Smyth and Isaac Weld, have been often quoted.

[14] See *post,* p. 503.

[15] *Ante.,* p. 154.

[16] *Cal. Va. State Papers,* ii, 395.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 452.

[18] In Prince William this is now called 'The Telephone Road.' It stands to commemorate a humble but useful service by the local militia in a great emergency.

[19] These maps are catalogued as No. 65 of the collection of *Rochambeau MSS.* now in the Library of Congress.

[20] *Journal of the Continental Congress,* ed. Hunt, xxiii, pp. 670, 831.

[21] *Code* 1819, ii, 201.

[22] Beside the Chipawansic swamp of which Joseph Martin recorded the baleful reputation, Accotink in time of fresh was the greatest impediment. Dr. Coke nearly lost his life in it in 1795, and in 1821 John Randolph waded through it 'for nearly a mile . . . up to the saddle bags.' He says that the customary greeting of travellers who met elsewhere on this road was, 'Can I pass Accotink?' (Bruce, i, 584.).

[23] For the contemporary itineraries see C. Colles' *Survey of the roads of the United States,* New York, 1789, Nos. 62-82; G. Imlay, *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of the United States,* London, 1793 (Imlay's map is reproduced in Winsor, *Western Movement,* p. 249); D. Hewell, *The American Traveller or National Directory of Post Roads,* 1825.

[24] This was Adam Hodgson's testimony in 1820. The rate of progress was not peculiar to the Virginia roads. Thomas Jefferson, en route in 1790 from Richmond to New York, said (*Writings of Jefferson,* ed. Ford, v, 149): 'The roads through the whole were so bad that we could never go more than three miles an hour, sometimes not more than two, and in the night but one.'

[25] *Letters from North America* (1824), i, 18.

[26] *Memoirs of Thomas Moore,* ed. Lord John Russell, 1853, i, 161.

[27] *Travels through the United States,* 1818, p. 157.

[28] *The Potomac Steamboat Company* was chartered in 1813 (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 53) and operated its first boat from Washington to Potomac Creek, in June, 1815, in eight hours, which was half the time taken by the stages (Bryan, *History of the National Capital,* i, 538). For the turnpike roads to connect the steamboat landing, at first at Potomac Creek and later at Aquia, with Fredericksburg, see Acts, 1813-14, ch. 48, 49; 1815-16, ch. 63, p. 147.

[29] *Three Years in North America* (1833), ii, 101. The ice in the Potomac was long a handicap to the R. F. & P. route between Washington and Richmond. When, in 1854, the Orange and Alexandria railroad opened an inland (but much longer) route from Alexandria to Richmond, it advertised its advantage over the R. F. & P. as the 'Only safe and certain line. No detention from ice.'

[30] *Gazetteer of Virginia*, 1836, p. 274. It was to remedy this condition that the Assembly appointed Commissioners in 1831 from the counties of Stafford, Prince William and Fairfax, 'for the purpose of constructing a road from the town of Falmouth in the County of Stafford to intersect with the termination of the turnpike road leading from the town of Alexandria to Dogue run,' but nothing came of it (Acts, 1830-31, ch. 153, p. 230).

[31] *The R. F. & P. Railroad*: The charter is in Acts, 1833-34, ch. 111, p. 127. The line was opened to Fredericksburg in January, 1837, and extended, in November, 1842, to Aquia, where may still be seen an abandoned and weather wasted fill, reaching out towards what was once a terminal wharf where the Washington steamer awaited the adventurous traveller on the arrival of 'the cars.' This fill has, in recent years, contributed to the gaiety of the archeological experts of the Smithsonian Institution. It seems that one of that company, exploring the banks of the Potomac for indian remains, reported in some excitement the discovery of a long snake mound on the banks of Aquia and applied for an appropriation to excavate it.

[32] The 'indian thoroughfares' across the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Bent and William's Gap both lead into the Monocacy trail at the Goose Creek water gap (Aldie), and may be assumed to be part of it.

For a convenient array of the facts about the indian trails leading to Virginia from the North, see Hulbert, *Indian Thoroughfares* in his Historic Highways series. These trails were, of course, used long before the Monocacy road was opened up, for we have seen the Iroquois trading with Henry Fleet at the falls of the Potomac in 1623.

[33] See *ante.*, p. 65.

[34] See *ante.*, p. 182.

[35] As late as 1742 the name Shenandoah Hunting Path was still applied to the Falmouth Road in the neighborhood of Elk Run Church (*N. N.*, E: 362; F: 17). North of that landmark the trail extended northeast above and parallel with Elk Run; crossed Cedar, where Weaversville now stands; thence trended north, via the site of the village of Catletts, across the 'Quantico Road' and the future Prince William-Fauquier boundary, to the point of departure of the Norman's Ford detour (Greenwich). Under the name, Falmouth Road, which, as late as 1747, it bore south of the crossing of the Quantico road (*N. N.*, F: 285) this was the main north and south thoroughfare of the Cedar Run district until Fauquier Court House was established. Its significance appears from the junctions made with it by other important roads: e. g., the 'German Path' (*N. N.*, F: 39), leading northwest to Germantown from a point (probably the site of Hardin's Ordinary) above Elk Run Church; the extension of the 'Brent Town road' at the crossing of Cedar (Weaversville); and the 'Quantico road' at the crossing of Walnut Branch (Catletts). See *ante.*, p. 467.

[36] *The route of the Carolina road below Norman's Ford*: The Nine Sheet Map of 1827 (which was Virginia's first adequate road map) traces the full length of the Carolina road through Virginia. Below

Norman's Ford it shows alternate routes to the Rapidan through Culpeper, one to Germanna Ford and the other to Raccoon Ford. It seems probable that the latter was the route adopted by the Iroquois after Germanna was established: at all events it was that followed from an early date by the intercolonial through traffic. There is evidence for this deduction in George Washington's first official survey as a County Surveyor—that he made in July, 1749, for Richard Barnes, of 400 acres in Culpeper under Mt. Pony. Here is laid down both the 'main road' and the 'Road that leads over Norman's Foard'. (See Washington's *Book of Surveys,* included in Dr. Toner's edition, Albany, 1892, of the *Journal of my Journey over the Mountains*). Between the Rapidan and the James, Judge A. T. Embrey of Fredericksburg has traced the old 'main' road. While no longer in use continuously, long stretches of it are recognisable. Speaking generally, they follow the 78th degree of longitude, and are known locally as the Pamunkey Rolling road.

An interesting testimony to the location of the original indian trail in this region is found in the act of 1691 (Hening, iii, 85) when the Assembly ordered that a trace be cut through the forest 'from some convenient place above the inhabitants on the north side of James River . . . to some place above the inhabitants on Rappahannock River,' and forbade seating without that trace for three years. It is obvious that the intention was to provide, for purposes of military observation, an interior parallel to this part of the Iroquois trail.

[37] *Norman's Ford.* This long notable crossing of the Rappahannock (the name Norman's Ford appears also on the Mattaponi) perpetuates the memory of the family of Stephen Norman, who had a land grant in Westmoreland in 1663 (*Patents,* 5: 525), and died in Stafford in 1665 (*Stafford Court Minutes,* April 5, 1665, MS.). From this beginning subsequent generations of the family may be traced in the land records up the Brent Town road and across what is now lower Fauquier until June, 1726 (*Patents,* 12: 484), when Isaac Norman took a grant on the Spotsylvania (later Culpeper) shore of the Rappahannock at the crossing of the Iroquois trail; and in doing so gave his name to 'Norman's Ford.' Robert Carter bought Norman out and, before his death, established there a 'Norman's Ford quarter' (*Va. Mag.,* vii, 68) which passed to his son, Charles Carter of Cleve (*Va. Mag.,* xxxi, 49, 54), who established a ferry there in 1736 (Hening, iv, 531); and from him to his son, Landon Carter 'of Norman's Ford,' who planned to establish there the town of Carolandville (Hening, xii, 217) and actually did build the bridge which is shown on Bishop Madison's map and is recited by the Assembly in 1819 (Acts, 1818-19, ch. 74, p. 126) as 'a point on the Rappahannock river formerly called Norman's Ford, now Carter's Bridge.' When later the Rappahannock was 'improved' for flat boat navigation the ford was flooded and had disappeared as a landmark prior to the war between the States.

[38] It was to this route that the Frying Pan contract of 1729 (see *ante.,* p. 422) referred in its provision for the establishment of a post 'between the house of the said Robert Carter and Frying Pan, as follows: from the said Robert Carter's to his Forest Quarter; from thence next day to Nanjatico; the next day to Poplar Quarter or the Lodge; and the next day to Frying Pan.' The route was up the ridge of the Northern Neck until it joined the Shenandoah Hunting Path, and thence into the Bull Run Valley.

[39] To cite modern landmarks which are designated on the Fauquier map of 1914, the route of the Carolina road below Greenwich seems to have been across Cedar at Auburn; thence via Casanova and No. 18 School, across Licking at Ball's mill, to Liberty; and thence down Marsh Run, via Bealton, Morgansburg and Lois School, to Norman's Ford. It will be noted that only the German travellers mention Germantown. The main road skirted above that landmark and it was special interest which drew them aside to visit it.

[40] See Dr. Hinke in *Journal Presbyterian Historical Society,* ii, 143.

[41] *History of Western Maryland,* i, 363. That the route of this traffic followed the Iroquois trail throughout Virginia appears from the diary of the Moravian missionaries, Schnell and Hussey, enroute, in November, 1743, from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Georgia (*Va. Mag.,* xi, 370). After leaving Germantown they crossed 'Rapehennik' at Norman's Ford, 'second Rapehennik' at Germanna, 'large James River' at 'Cuschland C. H.; and thence proceeding south via the court houses of 'Ameli,' 'Notawe,' and 'Braunschweig,' crossed the Meherrin and Roanoke Rivers and entered North Carolina. *Cf.* with Bishop Reichel's route in 1780 (p. 462).

[42] It is so called in a land grant as early as 1747 (*N. N.,* F: 285).

[43] Hening, v, 176.

[44] Hening, v. 247. In June, 1745 (*Virginia Gazette,* No. 462) Governor Gooch issued a proclamation against one Edmund Poythress, reciting that 'the said offence of horse stealing is of late become very common and a growing evil'; and in 1748 (*Journals H. B.,* 1742-49, p. 274) the Assembly had before it a proposition from Albemarle alleging that 'the Horse thieves in this and the neighbouring colonies have established themselves into a confederacy for carrying on that Practice.'

[45] *The Loudoun Times,* December 20, 1916. An extended study of the county and provincial records of northern Virginia in the eighteenth century has failed to reveal a single contemporary reference to the existence on the Virginia roads of the practice of this kind of highway robbery, then so common in England. An adventure of that kind which befell a Virginian in Maryland in 1745 was so singular as to excite general interest (See in *Va. Mag.,* xxv, 14, the quotation from the *Virginia Gazette* of September, 1745). On the other hand the author of the *Voyages d'un Francois* says that in the Virginia of 1686 'one can journey with a hat full of money without fear of robbery;' in 1726 William Byrd wrote to the earl of Orrery (*Va. Mag.,* xxxii, 27): 'We have no such trades carried on amongst us as that of Housebreakers, Highway-men or Beggars. . . . We can travel all over the country by Night and by Day unguarded and unarmed and never meet with any Person so rude as to bid us Stand;' and, finally, in 1786 Thomas Jefferson told a French correspondent (*Writings of Jefferson,* ed. Ford, iv, 402) that he had 'attended the bar of the Supreme Court of Virginia ten years as a student and as a practitioner. There never was during that time a trial for robbery on the high road, nor do I remember ever to have heard of one.'

[46] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, i, 192, ff.

[47] Hening, vi, 521, ff.

[48] In an admirable state paper, written early in 1756, in which he urged the policy, later adopted by Virginia, of establishing, in lieu of the maintenance of rangers, a string of frontier forts to which the

people might resort in time of indian danger. See *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family,* Putnam's reprint, pp. 432, 403, 380. This reversion to Sir William Berkeley's last policy of indian protection is at once curious and significant.

[49] *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America,* (London, 1791), ii, 281. Throughout the march Anburey's map assumes to mark the camps. In old Prince William three place names are given as on the line of march, viz:

(*a*) 'Little London' on what is obviously Goose Creek and so may be identified as the crossing of the old road from Leesburg (shown on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map) at the place now known as 'Evergreen.' Here we may assume the prisoners remained in camp for eight days while the stragglers caught up.

(*b*) 'Nevill's Plan[s],' on what is obviously Broad Run of Occaquan and so may be identified as George Nevill's Ordinary at the junction of the Carolina and Rappahannock roads, now known as Auburn.

(*c*) 'Farquier Court House' on what seems to be intended for Marsh Run. This would indicate that the Hessians spent a night at the crossing of the Carolina and Marsh roads which was later to be the site of the town of Fayettesville (Shepherd, ii, 120), but there is no clew to an explanation of its being designated the court house, unless it may be that the officers rode thither to find lodgings.

[50] *Briefe und Berichte . . . des nordamerikanischen Kriegs,* Berlin, 1800, translated by William L. Stone as *Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel,* Albany, 1867. Local topography of a country he does not know is always a translator's pit-fall and in this instance it is expedient to rely on the original. Baron Riedesel commanded the Brunswick troops in the British army and at all times showed himself a gallant soldier. His young wife (1746-1808) who, with her children, shared the hardships of his captivity after Saratoga, was a lovely woman as her portrait, her *Journal* and tradition all testify.

[51] To balance this we have a testimony of the Marquis de Chastellux. He spent a night at a humble Virginia cabin a few years after the Baroness Riedesel's experience, and was hospitably entertained. As he left he offered his host two louis in payment for his lodging and asked if it was enough. 'Much too much,' was the answer, 'you have come from France to succour and defend my country and I should receive you better than I have and take nothing for it.'

[52] *Va. Mag.,* i, 2.

[53] It is curious that they should have had the same trouble in crossing as did the Saratoga Convention prisoners.

[54] *Josias Clapham* was a Yorkshireman of an ancient family of the West Riding (See the pedigree in Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis,* 1715, p. 218). He doubtless emigrated to Virginia and settled in the Northern Neck by reason of his family association with the Fairfaxes. One of his name was chaplain to the fourth Lord Fairfax in 1684, and another, Henry, perhaps an uncle of Josias, married in 1731 a sister of Col. William Fairfax of Belvoir. (See Neill, *The Fairfaxes of England and America,* pp. 37, 85, 121, 167).

This Josias Clapham was one of the most stirring citizens of Loudoun of the generation preceding and following the Revolution. He had been seated on the Potomac in this vicinity since 1739 (*N. N.,* E: 143 and see *post,* p. 503 for his early relation to Noland's Ferry) and represented the county in the Assembly from 1770 to 1788, including most of

the Revolutionary conventions (Stanard, *Colonial Register,* and Swem, *Political Register*). During the Revolution he served on the Loudoun committee and was one of the commissioners to state the militia accounts for the Commonwealth (Hening, ix, 62). He was, too, a trustee for the towns of Leesburg, 1758; Middleburg, 1787; and Matildaville, 1790 (Hening, vii, 236; xii, 605; xiii, 171). On the organization of the Patowmack Company in 1785 he took a contract for some of the work of improving the river navigation and later served as a Director of the company (Bacon-Foster, p. 153). Still later he built the Catoctin Iron Furnace, the site of which, opposite Point of Rocks, is shown on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1857. To provide water for this furnace Clapham 'cut a canal through the end of Catocktin mountain, 500 feet through solid rock and 60 feet beneath the surface' (Bishop, *History of American Manufacturers,* 1866, i, 601). His will, dated July 8th and proved September 12, 1803 (*Loudoun W. B.*, G: 92), names his son, Samuel, who represented Loudoun in the Assembly from 1797 to 1799 (Swem).

[55] *Red House* is marked on Thomas Jefferson's map of 1787. Its location is proven by the act of 1799 (Shepherd, ii, 179) establishing 'a town by the name of Hay-Market . . . on land of William Skinker, at the place known by the name of the Red House in the county of Prince William.'

[56] It is interesting to note from all the travellers who traversed Prince William at the beginning of June that rain and thunder storms at that season are no new things.

[57] The original German diaries are preserved among the archives of the Moravian church at Winston-Salem, N. C. We quote from a translation by Miss A. L. Fries, printed in Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies,* 1916, p. 586.

[58] *Noland's Ferry:* In 1724 Philip Noland makes his appearance in the records of Stafford with a land grant on Broad Run of Potomac (*N. N.*, A: 50, where the name is spelled 'Knowland'). He married a daughter of Francis Awbrey and established his residence on 'that tract of land lying upon Tuskorora which I bought of George Slayter,' which Francis Awbrey devised in 1741 to 'my daughter, Elizabeth Nowland.' (For Awbrey's will see *ante.*, p. 154. The marriage is confirmed by the entry in the Noland family Bible. George Slater's grant on Tuscarora of Goose was 1729, *N. N.*, C: 40). This residence would account for his service with his neighbour, John Lasswell, as commissioner for the Truro vestry in its 1743 processioning in respect to the precinct 'between Goose Creek and Limestone as far as the fork of Little River' (*Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 19), and his vote at the Fairfax election, 1744 (Boogher, *Gleanings*).

In 1748, however, Philip Noland was living on other Awbrey lands on the Potomac above Monocacy and opposite the mouth of the Maryland Tuscarora. In November of that year he petitioned the Assembly (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 288) for license for 'a public ferry to be kept from his land in the County of Fairfax over Patowmack River to Maryland.' This petition was rejected; as, in April, 1756 (*ibid.*, 1752-58, pp. 352, 425), was another in which Noland alleged that he was then maintaining his ferry but that Josias Clapham and one Trammell had petitioned against it. In 1757 the license thus competed for was awarded to Josias Clapham for a ferry some distance below Noland's, probably immediately opposite the mouth of Monocacy, where 'Hawling Ferry' was authorized in 1816 (Acts, 1815-16, ch. 72, p. 190, and see Nine Sheet

map). Clapham had been petitioning for it even longer than Noland, i. e., ever since 1742 (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, pp. 23, 92, 265) or soon after he had taken his earliest land grant in that vicinity (*N. N.*, E: 143). The final decision in favor of Clapham may have been a recognition of his service in the field as Lieutenant of the Fairfax militia following Braddock's defeat (*Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 431; Hening, vii, 126, 217).

For some reason which is not explained by the record, Clapham's license was suspended and never became effective (*Cf. Revisal of* 1769, p. 213), and so the rivalry between Noland and Clapham continued and both maintained ferries in renewed competition for the traffic which crossed the river between the Monocacy and the Carolina road. The former had, indeed, now become a recognised, if still unofficial, landmark: on July 12, 1757 the Loudoun court appointed Philip Noland surveyor of the road 'from Great Limestone to Noland's Ferry.'

In 1769 Josias Clapham and Philip Noland were colleagues on the bench of the Loudoun court (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 263) and it must have been soon thereafter that their old rivalry was peaceably adjusted. At all events, in 1778 (*Loudoun D. B.*, M: 52) Philip Noland conveyed his ferry landing to his son, Thomas; and at the ensuing session of the Assembly (Hening, ix, 585, 586), of which Clapham was himself a member, the authority for Clapham's ferry was formally repealed, and a new license issued for a ferry 'from the land of Thomas Noland in the County of Loudoun across Potowmack river to the land of Arthur Nelson in the State of Maryland.' This authority thenceforth persisted into the Code of 1819 (ii, 243), and in consequence we find 'Noland's Ferry' marked on Bishop Madison's maps (1807 and 1817) and on the Nine Sheet map (1827). Its location below 'Noland's Island' at the mouth of the Maryland Tuscarora and so about two miles above the mouth of the Monocacy is indicated with precision on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1857.

[Philip Noland's will, dated March 15th and proved September 8, 1794 (*Loudoun W. B.*, E: 67), names his sons, Awbrey and Thomas, grandson, Thomas, son of his deceased son, Philip, jr., and daughters, Elizabeth Luckett and Molly Ann Luckett.

Thomas Noland's will, dated February 2nd and proved May 14, 1811 (*Loudoun W. B.*, I: 377), names his wife, Eleanor, his sons, William, Dade, Samuel, Thomas and Lloyd, and his daughters, Elizabeth, and Jane Love.

The well known family of Nolands of Middleburg are descended from 'Noland's Ferry,' through the marriage, in 1814 (*Va. Mag.*, xv, 204) of Lloyd Noland with Anne Whiting Powell, daughter of Burr Powell of Middleburg, and granddaughter of Humphrey Brooke of Fauquier. It was this Lloyd Noland's eldest brother, William, who represented Loudoun in the Assembly from 1799 to 1815 and is commended by Bishop Meade (ii, 278) for his eloquent speech against duelling.]

[59] It must be recorded that on his return, Bishop Reichel found that Mr. Noland had recovered most of the stolen articles and then duly returned them.

[60] This was George Neavil's at the junction of the Dumfries and Carolina roads, the 'Nevill's Plant' of Anburey's map. See *ante*., p. 491.

[61] This testimony that the Carters' Norman's Ford ferry of 1736 (Hening, iv, 531) had been abandoned is confirmed by the omission of it from the lists of ferries in the Revisals of 1752 and 1769. But it was revived in the act of 1792 (Shepherd, i, 154) where it is described

as 'from the lands of Landon Carter, Culpeper, across at Norman's ford.' The item was henceforth carried forward into the Code of 1819.

[62] Bishop Reichel may be followed on the Nine Sheet map of 1827.

[63] *Riese durch . . . nordamerikanischen staaten,* 1783-84, most agreeably translated and edited by A. J. Morrison as *Travels in the Confederation,* 1911. Schoepf was the Chief Surgeon of the Anspach troops in the British army and surrendered at Yorktown. He remained in America to make a scientific tour of the southern colonies to balance that made of the northern colonies in 1748 by the Swede, Peter Kalm. His observations are both judicious and amusing, and are here of special interest because he traversed this country.

[64] This was not an uncommon experience. As early as August, 1748, the Moravian Spangenberg and his party, going north from Germantown on the Carolina road, 'lost their way and had to follow the compass northeast over hills and valleys' until they reached Goose Creek (*Va. Mag.,* xi, 242). In 1784 George Washington himself suffered the same fate on the same road while riding from Norman's ford to 'Prince William old Court House' (i. e., the modern village of Orlando) on his way home from the West. (See the diary of 1784 in Hulbert, *Washington and the West*).

[65] This Benjamin Harrison was a son of the second Thomas Harrison of Prince William and Fauquier. (See *ante.,* p. 345, and *Va. Mag.,* xxiii, 332). In 1782, the year before Schoepf's visit, he was listed in the Fauquier tax book as the owner of 53 slaves, a larger number than any other land-holder in the county except Landon Carter, of Norman's Ford. His will, proved in 1798, left his estate to his grandson, Benjamin Harrison Weaver.

[66] See *ante.,* p. 203, and Charles Carter's will in *Va. Mag.,* xxxi, 39.

[67] Carolandville was established by an act of 1785 (Hening, xii, 217) on lands 'belonging to Landon Carter, gentleman, lying at a place called Norman's Ford in the county of Fauquier.'

[68] Acts, 1797, ch. 53, p. 31, (Shepherd, ii, 116) and 1809-10, ch. 96, p. 90. This bridge is shown on the 1807 edition of Bishop Madison's map, but the 1817 edition shows that it had been superseded by the ferry which is recognised in the Code of 1819. But see the reference in Acts, 1818-19, ch. 74, p. 126, to 'Carter's Bridge formerly known as Norman's ford,' which suggests that the bridge was eventually rebuilt. It did not long survive, however, for there is no record of it as part of the problem of the river improvements by the Rappahannock Company. Incidentally, the works of that company flooded all the lower river fords, including Norman's, and so completed the desolation of the old highway.

[69] The turnpike route was via Warrenton and the bridge at Fauquier Springs. When the Orange and Alexandria railroad superseded the turnpike it crossed the Rappahannock at the place now called Remington.

[70] The last recognition of the Norman's Ford route to the South was a proposal in the act of 1819 to which reference has already been made (Acts, 1818-19, ch. 74, p. 126) to construct a turnpike 'from Alexandria via Occoquan to Carter's Bridge.' This was intended to enable the traveller via Alexandria to avoid the horrors of the Potomac Path through the Chipawansic Swamp; but the attractions of Fredericksburg as a stage on the through journey prevailed, despite the condition of the road thither.

[71] South of the Rappahannock the Carolina road maintained its vogue until the railroads came. After the Revolution the through traveller to the Carolinas crossed the Potomac at Georgetown and followed the Potomac Path, via Alexandria and Dumfries, to Fredericksburg, whence he made his way across the James at Cartersville above Goochland C. H. This was the 'grand Southwestern route . . . from Washington to New Orleans by Athens in Georgia'. (See D. Hewett, *The American Traveller,* 1825). The Virginia stations south of Fredericksburg are here noted as 'Cartersville, Farmville, Danville,' thus proving this road to be merely a modification of the original Carolina road.

[72] R. D. Ward, *Gen. LaFayette's visit to Virginia,* 1824-25, Richmond, 1881.

[73] The plat of the Prince William-Fauquier boundary in 1759 is in the Prince William Book of Surveys under date of 1820. James Genn's grant on Walnut Branch is *N. N.,* F: 285.

[74] See *ante.,* p. 266.

[75] The original Quantico road began at the Potomac Path and the Quantico warehouse and followed the north run of Quantico over Independent Hill to the site of the second Prince William Court House below Cedar Run. In 1761 this location was abandoned in favor of a new parallel road on the ridge between the forks of Quantico. The Assembly then had before it 'A petition of sundry inhabitants of Prince William in behalf of themselves and also the inhabitants of the Town of Dumfries and the Counties of Fauquier and Loundon setting forth the quantity of Tobacco is of late greatly increased at Quantico Warehouse, which is not sufficient to receive the Tobacco brought to it; that there is a new Road opened from the back inhabitants to Murray's Landing on Quantico, which is more dry and convenient than the road leading to the present warehouse, and praying that new warehouses may be erected on the lands of Bertram Ewell and John Murray on the said creek' (*Journals H. B.,* 1758-61, pp. 219, 230).

[76] See *ante.,* p. 491.

[77] See R. N. Brooke's survey of Fauquier Court House in 1790 (Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 1, p. 74).

[78] On the Fauquier map of 1914 this part of the road is marked 'Dumfries road.'

[79] So it is called in the Ashby grant of 1742 on Goose Creek (Delaplane), *N. N.,* E: 494.

[80] That his road here was no part of the original Falmouth road appears from Dalrymple's indication of Germantown and, more particularly, the Hamilton Glebe ('Brunskill's Parsonage') as stations on his route. For the 'German path' see *N. N.,* F: 39; for the 'Marsh road' *Fauquier D. B.,* 6: 34; and for Hamilton Glebe *P. Wm. D. B.* I: 127, 158, 230.

[81] *Va. Mag.,* xi, 375.

[82] Shenandoah.

[83] John Ashby.

[84] This, of course, was Crooked Run, which the Winchester road still follows north of Goose Creek—not Goose Creek itself, as the editor of the Moravian diaries assumes.

[85] They had apparently left the Dumfries road at the thoroughfare

of the Rappahannock Mountain (Bethel) to follow the Marsh road. They were now on Great Run, below the site of Warrenton, where John Kemper of the Germantown colony had his land grant in 1729 (*N. N.*, C: 19).

[86] See the *Journal of my Journey over the Mountains*, either in Dr. Toner's edition (Albany, 1892) or in Ford's *Writings of Washington*.

[87] They had left Belvoir and, crossing the ford above the falls of Occoquan, made their way to Neavill's, by the Quantico road via Independent Hill and Tacquet's ford of Cedar.

[88] *James Genn* was surveyor of Prince William and lived on the Falmouth road near the site of the modern village of Catletts, as shown by his land grant already cited. In 1746 he was one of the 'stewards' on the survey of the Northern Neck boundary from the head spring of Conway to the head spring of Potomac. A year later he made the first survey of Lord Fairfax's 'South Branch Manor.' The duty of the field party to which Washington was attached in 1748 was to subdivide that great boundary into lots, for seating.

[89] *George William Fairfax*, eldest son of William Fairfax, was born in the Bahamas January 20, 1724/5. Sent to England to be educated while his father was still resident at Salem in Massachusetts, he had come out to Virginia in the spring of 1746, just after he attained his majority. In the autumn of 1746, when George Washington was still a school boy at Fredericksburg with an ambition for a commission in the British navy, his future life long friend had represented his father in the survey of the Northern Neck boundary from the head spring of Conway to the head spring of Potomac and was present at the planting of the 'Fairfax Stone.' Soon after his return from this expedition he was included in the commission of the peace for Fairfax County and in 1747 was elected a burgess for Frederick. He was thus already launched in life when he and his precious sixteen year old companion started on this surveying journey across the Blue Ridge. The facts thus hardly bear out the popular juvenile story of 'The Boys of Greenway Court.'

[90] C. O., 5: 1394, ch. 14. The title only is in Hening, vi, 210.

[91] *Life of John Marshall*, i, 36.

[92] *Travels through the Middle Settlements*, 1798.

[93] See *ante.*, p. 492.

[94] He refers here to the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock Mountain, and to the road between Bethel and Lawrence's Burnt tavern.

[95] This charming description of the prospect from Ashby's Gap has been often quoted. *Chamoedaphne* was the beautiful and appropriate name which the Virginia botanist, Dr. John Mitchell, had given to the mountain laurel, the name adopted by Linneus.

[96] In 1796 Volney was in Fauquier and, doubtless, walked the Winchester road; but his observations upon the Virginia piedmont in his *Tableau du Climat et du sol des etats unis* are confined to conjectures as to the geological antiquity of the land and of regret for the changes in its climate incident to the draining, through the water gap at Harper's Ferry, of the great lake which once bounded old Prince William beyond the Blue Ridge. Volney's best legacy to the territory is the well known anecdote of his dramatic use at Fauquier Court House of a perfunctory open letter of introduction from Gen. Washington (Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia*, 1845, p. 261).

[97] *Cf. ante.*, p. 217.

[98] Martin's *Gazetteer*, 1836, p. 174. There have been several abortive plans to 'improve' this road, i. e., the Falmouth Turnpike Company (Acts, 1822-23, ch. 57, p. 79), the Warrenton and Salem Graded Road Company (Acts, 1851-52, ch. 194, p. 147), and the Warrenton and Marshall Road Company (Acts, 1887, ch. 203, p. 278); but the most ambitious of all was the proposal of the 'Fauquier Turnpike Company' (Acts, 1870-71, ch. 258, p. 353) to construct 'a graded or macadamized turnpike road from Paris in the County of Fauquier to a point where the Marsh road crosses Deep Run.'

[99] Salem was established in 1796 (Shepherd, ii, 30) on 'land, the property of John Monroe, in the county of Fauquier.' In 1806 another town of Salem was established in Virginia in what is now Roanoke County and in time there necessarily arose confusion between the two towns; especially in the matter of missent mails, despite the elaboration of the post mark of one of them to 'Salem-Fauquier.' To end this annoyance, a town meeting held in Fauquier in December, 1881, voted to change the name of their community to 'Marshall,' and the decision was given official sanction by order of the Post Office Department, March 8, 1882. This action was, of course, in honour of the Chief Justice, who had spent his boyhood nearby. The adoption of his name was possible in 1881 because the pre-existing Virginia town of Marshall had been included with Marshall County, in West Virginia.

[100] See the description of Thoroughfare Gap in 1835 and the statement of its manufacturing expectations, in Martin's *Gazetteer* (1836), p. 275. The route followed by this traffic is plainly indicated on Bishop Madison's map. From Thoroughfare Gap it followed the Quantico road to Bristow in order to take in all the mills on Broad Run; and thence made its way east, passing through the site of the future town of Manassas, to that once important road junction, Newmarket (which is mentioned by John Davis and is designated on General Beauregard's map of the 'Battlefield of Manassas,' included as an inset in Brown's Prince William map of 1901). Thence it crossed Bull Run at Yeates' Ford, and reached Alexandria by the road marked 'Old Fairfax' on the modern Fairfax maps.

[101] *Stonewall Jackson*, ii, 124. This is stirring enough, but the courage of the leader is what made the march immortal. The same historian characterizes that courage with the comment that 'we have record of few enterprises of greater daring . . . to risk cause and country, name and reputation on a single throw and to abide the issue with unflinching heart is the supreme exhibition of the soldier's fortitude.'

[102] *Ante.*, p. 421.

[103] The earliest public records of the name are in the Council minutes of 1742 relating to the location of the first Fairfax Court House (See *ante.*, p. 321) and in the Truro processioning of 1743 (*Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 19).

[104] 'In the uplands near the Ridge generally run the main roads,' says Hugh Jones in his *Present State* (1724).

[105] See *post*, p. 564.

[106] See *N. N.*, C: 38. Walter Griffin, jr. and Benjamin Griffin had had a land grant in 1719 (*N. N.*, 5: 199) 'on the head branch of Pope's Head.'

[107] See *ante.*, p. 287.

[108] Newgate is laid down on Thomas Jefferson's map, 1787, and on Colles' Road map, 1789. In 1801 John Davis stopped there (See *ante.*, p. 486). This was the last recorded appearance of the name, because in 1792 (Hening, xiii, 580), Leven Powell had established the town of Centreville 'near Newgate,' and that name superseded the older one. Thus on a plat drawn in 1797, contained in the record of the suit of *Carter of Shirley* v. *Carter of Nomini* among the files of the old Chancery Court at Fredericksburg, is laid down the 'Colchester road from Centreville.' Joseph Martin explains the new name (*Gazetteer of Virginia,* 1836, p. 168) 'from its central position, being about equidistant from Leesburg, Middleburg, Warrenton, Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria,' and adds that as he wrote 'for some time past this village has been declining.'

[109] See *ante.*, p. 494.

[110] The 'road that leads to Williams cabbin at the Blew Ridge' of 1731 (*N. N.*, D: 54) had become 'the Blue Ridge Road' in 1741 (*ibid.*, E: 339).

[111] See *ante.*, p. 287, and *Truro Vestry Book,* ed. Goodwin, p. 23. The entire route of this road from Williams' Gap to the Occoquan followed an indian trail: that by which the Iroquois had agreed with Governor Spotswood in 1722 to return 'to Colº George Mason's House on Potowmack River' all runaway negroes who should thereafter fall into their hands. See the discussion at the treaty of Albany in Callaghan, *Documents . . . Colonial History of New York,* v, 674.

[112] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, i, 6. In a popular book Mr. W. H. Snowden (*The Young Surveyors,* 1902) told the story of Washington's surveying in the Valley in 1748. Led astray by Dr. Toner's notes on Washington's diary of 1748, Mr. Snowden here started the current local misinterpretation of Washington's routes to and from the Shenandoah in 1748, 1753 and 1754. All this was due to a confusion of West's Ordinary with Nevill's Ordinary. The evidence we have marshalled shows that of all these historical occasions, only on his return in 1748 did the father of his country follow the road via West's; but in November, 1770, he came home from Winchester by this route, 'breakfasting at Snicker's we proceeded to West's, where we arrived at or about sunset.' The next day he 'reached home' (*Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, ii, 316).

[113] *Travels through the Middle Settlements,* 1798.

[114] *Snickers Ferry*: The ferryman was Edward Snickers, whose name subsequently superseded that of Williams in relation to the Blue Ridge gap. We have seen (*ante.*, p. 253) that the name Williams was applied to this gap as early as 1731 from a squatter who had built a cabin there. In 1748 (Hening, vi, 18) a Shenandoah ferry was authorized 'at Williams' gap, from the land of the Right Honourable the Lord Fairfax, where John Melton now lives, to the land of Ralph Wormeley, esqr.' *i. e.*, the 'Pageland' of 1731. Following Burnaby's evidence that 'Snicker' kept that ferry in 1760, Washington's diary repeatedly mentions the name as a post on his journeys between Mt. Vernon and the Valley: e. g., 1769, when he 'baited at Edward Snickers' '; and in 1770, when he 'breakfasted at Snickers'.' In 1772 (Hening, viii, 550) Edward Snickers was appointed one of the trustees of the fund to improve the road through this gap: and thereafter it was called 'Snickers' gap' (Hening, xii, 76, 375, 524). Meanwhile, in 1786 (Hening, xii, 404), a new authority for the ferry was granted 'from the land of Edward Snick-

ers' at Williams' gap on the one side of Shenandoah river to the land of said Snickers' on the opposite side.' Edward Snickers eventually acquired control also of the gap itself. Among his several land grants between 1762 and 1789, one in 1765 is described as 'on and about the Top of the Blue Ridge'; and another, in 1789, as 'on both sides Snickers' Gap on the Blue Ridge' (*N. N.*, I: 133; U: 449).

[115] Hening, viii, 549.

[116] There is no record evidence to support the local tradition that George Washington surveyed this road. It was undoubtedly an old indian trail.

[117] *Braddock's road*: The local tradition which assigns the name 'Braddock's' to the Newgate road is of long standing; perhaps since 1755. It seems simply to record the contemporary expectation that the road would be used for the march to Winchester. In the nineteenth century Mr. W. H. Snowden did much to perpetuate it. His misinterpretation arose from uncritical reading of Dalrymple's notes before Washington's papers were available. Braddock's *Orderly Book* gives the routes of the two brigades from Alexandria, one through Maryland, via Georgetown and Fredericktown, the other via the Falls Church road and Vestal's gap. It had been the general understanding that the two brigades should both march through Virginia on the routes indicated by Dalrymple, one of which was via Newgate, West's Ordinary, and Williams' gap; and it was hoped locally that such a march would result in improvement of this then new road. Washington's letter to William Fairfax, May 5, 1755 (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, i, 151) tells why that did not happen:

'You will naturally conclude that to pass through Maryland (when no object required it), was an uncommon and extraordinary route for the General and Colonel Dunbar's regiment to this place [Winchester]. Those who promoted it had rather that the communication should be opened that way, than through Virginia; but I believe the eyes of the General are now open, and the imposition detected; consequently the like will not happen again.'

[118] Dr. Goodwin found in the minutes of the Fairfax Court of 1752 (*Truro Vestry Book*, p. 22) the order for Lewis Elzey and others to open this road 'from Alexandria to Rocky Run Chappell.' The next record evidence for it is immediately subsequent to Braddock's expedition. In the Truro processioning of September, 1755, it is recited as 'the road that leads from Cameron by Capt. Lewis Elzey's.' Capt. Elzey's plantation was on the Colchester (Griffin's) road immediately west of the Ox road. He himself, identifies the place by a statement in his land grant of 1740 (*N. N.*, E: 228) that he then lived 'upon a branch of Pope's Head Run.'

For Alexandria's subsequent commercial use of this road as a through route to the Valley via Newgate, *cf.* Hening xii, 294.

[119] See *ante.*, p. 98.

[120] See *ante.*, p. 321.

[121] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 32.

[122] See John Warner's plat (June, 1739) of Lord Fairfax's Great Falls manor (*N. N.*, E: 40, 41) where is depicted the Difficult crossing of the 'main road', which John Grant's contemporary grant (*N. N.*, D: 35) designated 'Sugar Lands Rowling Road.' In John Colvill's deed to William Fairfax, January 23, 1740/1 (*Prince William D. B.*, E: 207),

of the Difficult tract known as Towlston Grange, this crossing is described by reference to 'the main road just at the ford on the lower side of Difficult'; the location of which ford is fixed with reference to the mouth of 'a branch called the Bridge branch.' That this branch is that now called 'Colvin' appears from the Great Falls manor survey (*supra*). It thus seems clear that prior to 1739 there had been a bridge over Difficult at this crossing, which had disappeared before 1741.

[123] See *ante.*, p. 414.

[124] *Vestal's, alias Key's, Gap*: There has been no little confusion in relation to the name of the once much frequented Blue Ridge gap above the town of Hillsboro. In popular practice these gaps were long called by the names of the Shenandoah ferry keepers on the roads leading to them (e. g., Ashby's and Snickers'. See *ante.*, pp. 253, 509). In 1748 (Hening, vi, 18) a public ferry was authorized 'from Gersham Key's land to the land of the Honourable William Fairfax, Esq.' This would indicate that Key owned lands on the upper side of the Shenandoah as early as 1748; while George Washington testifies that he was living there in 1754. There, too, we find him taking out several land grants from 1761 to 1763 (*N. N.*, K: 258; M: 54, 107, 127), after which he was succeeded by one 'Humfrey Keys' who may have been his son. As the ferry referred to was on the road we are here considering, it is apparent that we may trace back to 1748 the name, 'Keys' Gap'; which is applied to this crossing of the Blue Ridge on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1857 and from it is in common usage today. But both long before and long after 1748 that gap was called 'Vestal's.' Thus in 1736 it is so marked on the survey of William Fairfax's manor of Shannondale (*N. N.*, E: 43) as it is on the Fry & Jefferson's map (1755), followed by Thomas Jefferson's (1787), Bishop Madison's (1816) and the Nine Sheet (1827) maps. That, too, is the name applied to it by the Assembly in distinction from 'Snicker's' in 1772, 1785 and 1786 (Hening viii, 550, xii, 76, 375). The explanation of this name is also to be found on the Shannondale survey of 1736. There the Shennandoah ferry in question is laid down as already in operation and the adjacent house of 'G. Vestal' is indicated, with 'W. Vestal,' a mile or so up stream. In 1754 Washington named John Vestal as the one who operated this ferry: From 1762 to 1766 this John Vestal had land grants on the Shenandoah in that vicinity, including an island 'near the mouth thereof' (*N. N.*, M: 90; N: 138, 140); and in 1772 he appears as one of the trustees of the fund for the improvement of this road (Hening, viii, 550). His son, William, later operated the 'Vestal Iron Works' on the Shannondale lands.

[125] On May 18, 1756, Fairfax Court licensed Richard Coleman to keep ordinary 'at his house'; and on August 10, 1757, Loudoun Court renewed the license to James Coleman 'at Sugar Land Run.' George Washington slept at 'Coleman's' on the night of May 9, 1760 (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ii, 168).

[126] *N. N.*, C: 104.

[127] See the survey of William Fairfax's Piedmont manor in *N. N.*, E: 42.

[128] *Gregory's gap*: Gregory was a bird of passage in this region, but left his name indelibly impressed upon the map. While the Northern Neck land office was closed, from 1732 to 1737, he surveyed 866 acres 'on the drains of Kittockton' below the gap which continues to bear his name. He sold to Catesby Cocke, who took out the grant in his

own name in 1739 (*N. N.*, E: 70), and in turn promptly sold to David Potts.

[129] Shepherd, ii, 459.

[130] See *post*, p. 576. The will of Israel Thompson, 1795 (*Loudoun W. B.*, E: 87), shows that his father, Edward Thompson, was living as late as 1759. In 1761 Washington recommended 'Israel Thompson's' as a place where Parson Charles Green might break his journey to 'the Bath' (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ii, 181). This family of Thompson still flourishes in the neighbourhood of Hillsboro.

[131] This official French publication is the only authority for the diary itself, now available. The Carnegie Institution of Washington has recently made unavailing efforts to find the original MS. among the Paris archives.

[132] The original, now in the Library of Congress, is transcribed in Dr. Toner's edition of the *Journal of* 1754, Albany, 1893, p. 181.

[133] Washington retained a transcript of these orders, which is among his papers in the Library of Congress. It was printed by W. H. Lowdermilk in 1893.

[134] *Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, ii, 286. 'Towlston' was the house above Difficult in which Bryan Fairfax long lived; it was in respect of this residence on the Vestal's gap road that he was named one of the road trustees in the act of 1772 (See *post*, p. 576). Samuel Washington's house was laid down by Dalrymple on the road between Vestal's ferry and Winchester.

[135] See *ante.*, p. 148.

[136] *Ante.*, p. 287.

[137] See *N. N.*, 3: 248, and *ante.*, p. 145.

[138] *Ante.*, p. 422.

[139] *N. N.*, D: 35.

[140] *Post*, p. 567.

[141] For Awbrey's ferry see *ante.*, p. 154. Rowland (i, 55) says the fourth George Mason bought Analostan Island in 1748, but that it had belonged to his father is evident from the fact that it is labeled 'Col. Mason's Island' on Brooke's Potomac map of 1737. In any event it was the young George Mason, soon to be of Gunston, who established there in 1748 that 'Mason's Ferry' which continued in operation until the Aqueduct Bridge was opened in 1843 (*Journals H. B.*, 1742-49, p. 261; Hening, vi, 19).

[142] Sir Walter Scott says, in *The Fortunes of Nigel:* 'The Ordinary, now an ignoble sound, was in the days of James I a new institution, as fashionable among the youth of that age as the first rate modern club houses are amongst those of the present day. It differed chiefly in being open to all whom good clothes and good assurance combined to introduce there. The company usually dined together at an hour fixed and the manager of the establishment presided as master of the ceremonies.'

See the history of the word in the *Oxford Dictionary*. Burnaby (1760) says generally, 'Inns are called Ordinaries in America;' but that the usage was peculiar to the South appears from the note of surprise of that keen New Jersey observer, Philip Fithian (1774) in recording that, 'taverns the Virginians call Ordinaries.'

[143] The conspicuous exceptions are the 'Red house,' on the future site of Haymarket; 'Thornton's,' at Newgate (Centreville); and 'Peyton's,' at 'Brents Warehouse' where the Potomac Path crossed Aquia, all of which have been mentioned elsewhere in these pages.

This enumeration takes no account of the houses of entertainment in the towns of Falmouth, Dumfries, Colchester and Alexandria. They were, of course, of a higher class than the 'ordinaries' and proclaimed their distinction by their names, e. g., the 'Swan Tavern' and the 'Steeton Tavern,' at Falmouth; the 'Fairfax Arms,' at Colchester; and the 'George Tavern,' at Alexandria.

[144] *Travels.....in the years* 1795, 1796 *and* 1797, tr. H. Nevman, London, 1797.

[145] *Voyage dans L'Amerique Septentrionale,* 1780-82.

[146] *Riese,* 1783-84, tr. Morrison.

[147] Ham and eggs, fried and served in combination, was the Virginia modification of what Disraeli, in a memorable passage, calls England's national dish. What reader of *Coningsby* can ever forget the appetizing description of a tavern meal of 'still hissing bacon, and the eggs that looked like tufts of primroses.'

[148] *Excursions in North America,* 1806.

[149] *Retrospections of America,* 1797-1811; with which *cf.* the comment by the French spy of 1765 (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* xxvi, 743) that the hospitality of the Virginia planters is 'a raison why the taverns are extravagantly dear.'

[150] *Travels,* 1803.

[151] *Three Years in North America,* 1833, ii: 101.

[152] Both William Harrison and Fynes Moryson testify that as early as the end of the sixteenth century the peculiar merit of the English inn was that it was not an 'ordinary;' that the traveller might there order whatever he was willing to pay for and have it served when he wanted it. The contemporary continental taverns were generally 'ordinaries'; but before the middle of the eighteenth century they had followed the English lead. Thus it appears that in the development of what we call the 'American plan' at houses of entertainment, as distinguished from the 'European plan,' the Virginia practice was not an innovation but a maintenance of an ancient custom.

[153] Webb, *Virginia Justice,* 1736, p. 242.

[154] *Tour,* 1784, i, 114.

[155] *Hening,* ix, 244.

[156] For the Picketts in Fauquier, see *Va. Mag.,* xxiii, 437; Paxton, *Marshall Family,* 53-56 (which, however, should be checked with the Pickett notes from Fauquier records in Hayden, p. 645).

Martin Pickett (1740-1804) of 'Paradise,' near Fauquier Court House, son of William Pickett, of King George, was one of the under sheriffs of Fauquier in 1759. He served in the field with the militia of that county in 1761 and subsequently through the Revolution, rising to the rank of Colonel. He was an original resident of Warrenton, represented Fauquier in the Virginia conventions of 1776 and 1788, served the office of sheriff in 1789-90, and was a great uncle of Gen. George E. Pickett, C. S. A., the fame of whose charge at Gettysburg is immortal.

[157] *N. N.,* 5: 93, 153; A: 12, 56. In the earliest of these grants the

name is spelled as Dalrymple spelled it in 1755, 'Harding.' For Mark Harding on Marsh Run, see *ante.*, p. 201.

[158] Boogher, *Gleanings,* p. 119; Fauquier *Court Order Book,* 1759. This is confirmed by a deed (*Fauquier D. B.,* 1: 86) from William Eustace to 'Martin Hardin, Ordinary Keeper,' of certain lands on Elk Run, adjoining 'the said Hardin's.' This Martin Hardin was the father of that John Hardin (1753-1792), the robust indian fighter in the founding of Kentucky, for whom Hardin County in that Commonwealth is named, and from whom descend that 'courageous breed' of four generations of soldiers of whom Kentucky is justly proud (See T. M. Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky,* 1st Series (1889), p. 177). Mr. Green quotes family tradition that this Martin Hardin 'lived in Fauquier in humble circumstances,' so it seems improbable that he was the Martin Hardin who, in 1759 (Hening, vii, 316, 426), incorporated an 'addition' to Dumfries. Dr. Stanard says (*Va. Mag.,* xxvi, 334), that these Hardins had 'for generations lived in St. Paul's parish' (Chotank) and, as they continued to reproduce the names, Mark and Martin, there were doubtless contemporaries of the same name who, in 1759, were still living in Chotank.

[159] *Fauquier D. B.,* 6: 127.

[160] *Fauquier D. B.,* 7: 438: This Mark Hardin seems to have been the one who served in the Frederick militia during the troubles following Braddock's defeat (Hening, vii, 214, 215).

[161] See the will of Elizabeth Blackwell, 1859 (*Fauquier W. B.,* 28: 133), emancipating her slaves and dedicating her property, including the site of Hardin's Ordinary, for their support. For this Elizabeth Blackwell, see *Va. Mag.,* xxiv, 101.

[162] See the able discussion of this question by Mr. H. C. Groome, based on Mr. Horner's study of the Fauquier records in Fauquier Historical Society *Bulletin No.* 1 (1921).

[163] *N. N.,* B: 123; *Fauquier D. B.,* 1: 430; 2: 391.

[164] *The Fauquier Neavils*: Even more than the tradition of the locations of their ordinaries, the genealogy of the Fauquier Neavils is in confusion; but, unlike their houses, the pedigree has resisted elucidation.

Of the generation before the American Revolution there is evidence for three contemporaneous Neavils in the Fauquier records, viz:

John, who voted at the Prince William election, 1741 (Boogher, *Gleanings,* pp. 117, 118) had a land grant in 1744 (*N. N.,* F: 200) 'on the branches of Cedar Run;' and died in 1768 (*Fauquier W. B.,* 1: 125).

Joseph, who, in 1763, conveyed his land 'in the thoroughfare of the Rappahannock mountain' to his son, George, jr. (*Fauquier D. B.,* 1: 430), and was later living in Hardy where, in 1790, he testified that he was 83 years of age (*W. & M. Quar.,* xi, 286).

George, of Auburn, who died in 1774 (*Fauquier W. B.,* 1: 250).

None of these three left any recorded reference to any other of them to support an hypothesis that they were brothers or otherwise of kin; but all three recited children in will or deed. None of the name is left in Fauquier today.

In the next generation, that of and following the Revolution, two Neavils rose to distinction, viz:

John (1731-1803, as his M. I. testifies) served as a trooper in the Prince William militia, 1755 (Hening, vii, 24); was stationed at Fort

Pitt in command of a company in 1775 (*ibid.*, ix, 13); subsequently was colonel of a regiment of the Virginia line in the Continental army and, after the Revolution, established himself finally at Pittsburgh, where Washington appointed him to important federal office.

Joseph, who died in Hardy, 1819. He had represented Hampshire in the Virginia Assembly from 1773 to 1781 and served in Congress from 1793 to 1795 from the Virginia district which included the lower Valley. In 1785 he was one of the Virginia commissioners to mark the boundary between Pennsylvania and what is now the 'panhandle' of West Virginia (See the report in *Code*, 1819, i, 53).

It is persuasive that this last Joseph was a son of the Joseph of the earlier generation, who we have seen was living in Hardy in 1790; but the fact is not proved, and Dr. Egle records that the younger Joseph was a brother of General John of Pittsburgh. (See *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 2d ed., 1896, p. 541. It is here that is recorded the story of the entertainment of the banished Bourbon princes, one of whom was later King of the French as Louis Phillippe, by Gen. John Neville at Pittsburgh in 1796, which is the source of the local tradition in Fauquier and Loudoun that those princes were once entertained at 'Nevill's Ordinary.' *Cf.* Snowden's *Young Surveyors* and *The Loudoun Times*, December 20, 1916). Whatever may have been the relationship, if any, between the younger John and Joseph, the tradition of the descendants of the former is definite that General John Neville (as he spelled the name) of Pittsburgh was a son of George Neville and Anne, daughter of Christopher Burroughs of Prince William, and that he was born 'on the headwaters of the Occoquan.' (In the notes to his edition (1892) of Washington's *Journal of* 1748, Dr. Toner, lead astray by Thomas Jefferson's map, after reading Burnaby, translates this into 'near the head springs of Bull Run, a tributary of the Occoquan River, and 34 miles from Fredericksburg.'). The Pittsburgh tradition is indeed an adequate description of the Auburn ordinary, but so it is also of the Rockingham ordinary; there is moreover no evidence in the surviving Prince William and Fauquier records for any Christopher Burroughs; again the will of George Neavil of Auburn, of 1774, names a wife, Mary, and several daughters, but no sons. Of course, neither of these facts forecloses the Pittsburgh tradition, but they do not help it. On top of all of this comes another form of tradition in the families of Calmes and Buck: that George Neville of Prince William married Mary Gibbs and had a daughter, Lucy (1732-1789), who married William Calmes and died in Kentucky. This attribution would fit the wife named in the will of George Neavil of Auburn; but in its enumeration of daughters and sons-in-law and grandchildren that will makes no more mention of any Lucy or of any Calmes than it does of sons John and Joseph.

See Dr. W. C. Stubbs' study of the *Descendants of Col. John Catlett*, pp. 49, 103, and *cf.* the uncritical discussion of Marquis Calmes of Frederick in *Collections Habersham, Ga. Chapter D. A. R.*, i, 46; ii, 346, where Lucy, the wife of William Calmes, is made out to be a daughter of George Neville and Anne Burroughs and a sister of General John Neville of Pittsburgh.

[165] Parish register of Christ Church, Middlesex, ed. Stanard, 1899, pp. 121, 125, 186.

[166] *N. N.*, C: 129. This George Nevill subsequently had other grants on the waters of Broad Run above Thoroughfare gap (*ibid.*, F: 106, 184).

[167] Boogher, *Gleanings,* p. 116.

[168] Mr. Horner has most ingeniously identified the site by the mesne conveyances tracing it down to a deed as recent as 1898 (*Fauquier D. B.,* 89: 216) which describes the property as 'the Barnett tavern farm.' It is indicated on Garden's Fauquier map of 1876 by the name of its contemporary owner, B. R. Laws.

[169] George Washington's 'Journal of a Survey, 1748' in *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, vol. i, p. 1.

[170] The recital of this distance is the more significant in the fact that Burnaby says he had with him a copy of the Fry & Jefferson map of 1755. If he had stopped at Dalrymple's Nevill's he might have been expected to record Dalrymple's distance from Fredericksburg, which is 43 miles.

[171] Hening, iv, 81.

[172] The charter of the Thoroughfare Gap Turnpike Company in 1812 (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 40, p. 62) described the point of beginning of its proposed road as 'the ford of Goose Creek below the mouth of Manasse's gap in Fauquier County.'

[173] 'Top of the Ridge' was the common designation of all the road crossings of the Blue Ridge. In his diaries George Washington applies it both to Williams' and Vestal's gaps. As late as 1812 the designation is used by the Assembly, as it is in this Fauquier record of 1759, with reference to the trading station in Manassas gap now known as Linden (Acts, 1811-12, ch. 44, p. 66).

[174] *Virginia Illustrated,* New York, 1857. The diary of a migration from York County to Ohio in 1817 which has been quoted (*ante.,* p. 217) speaks of this house as 'Ashby's.'

[175] Mr. Groome has convincingly traced the title of this property, in his study of the Ashbys, in Fauquier Histroical Society *Bulletin No. 2*

[176] *The Fauquier Watts*: In 1744 Capt. John Watts of Westmoreland had a land grant on Hunger Run (*N. N.,* F: 193, 194) and in 1749 employed George Washington to survey it for him (See Washington's *Book of Surveys,* 1747-1750, printed in Dr. Toner's edition of the *Journal of* 1748). While several proven kinsmen of this John Watts can be traced up the Potomac into eastern Fairfax, it has not been possible to relate him or them to the Thomas Watts of the text. The only genealogical proof for the latter is that he was the son of a Francis Watts who was a voter in Prince William in 1741 (Boogher, *Gleanings,* p. 116), but removed, before 1750, to South Carolina, where in that year he made a will (*Fauquier W. B.,* 1: 159) devising his property in Virginia (i. e., the ordinary on Goose Creek) to his son Thomas.

[177] This was undoubtedly the source of the confusion of 'Nevill's' with 'West's' which resulted in an unqualified identification, with picturesque details, of the building now known as 'Lacey's' with 'Nevill's' in *The Loudoun Times,* December 20, 1916.

[178] The old tavern building is indicated in its correct position on Bishop Madison's maps (1807 and 1817) and by the name 'E. Lacey's heirs' on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1857.

[179] *William West,* for whose family see *ante.,* p. 138, began life as a surveyor. His land grants of 1740 are *N. N.,* E: 146, 147. He

voted at the Prince William election of 1741 (Boogher, p. 117), was one of the trustees to establish the town of Leesburg in 1758 (Hening, vii, 236) and subsequently was included in the Loudoun commission of the peace (*ante.*, p. 327). As may be deduced from the records cited below, he died between 1762 and 1765. His will, if any, does not appear, however, in either the Loudoun or Fairfax records.

[180] *Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 20.

[181] *Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford, i, 6.

[182] *The Fairfaxes of England and America*, p. 83.

[183] Hening, vii, 22.

[184] *Loudoun W. B.*, C: 242. *Cf.* the reference in 1769 to Charles West s land on the boundary between Cameron and Shelburne parishes, above the mouth of Little River, in Hening, viii, 425.

[185] Acts, 1799-1800, ch. 56, p. 29. Mrs. Mary Watson of Loudoun, a member of the Lacey family, has (1923) in her possession portions of a day book of Lacey's Ordinary covering the period, 1766 to 1778.

[186] Acts, 1801-02, ch. 83, p. 47; 1809-10, ch. 41, p. 38.

FRY AND JEFFERSON [SECOND STATE] 1755.

Baltimore Iron Works
Elk Ridge
Falls
ANN ARUNDEL
COUNT
Eastern Branch
The Great Falls
Masons Island
CHARLES
COUNTY
Belhaven
Alexandria
Upper Marlboro
Swan Cr
Pisscattaway Cr
Colchester
Grigsby
High Pt
Crane Island
Mattowoman
Chicomoxen
Charles Town
Maryland Point
Cedar Pt
Swans Pt
ST MARY'S
PATOWOM
COUNTY
Upper Machodock
Attopyan
Blackstones
Hollis's Cliffs
Stratford
Port Royal
Leeds
Port Tobacco
Port Mirow
Laytons
Paynes Island
RICHMOND
WESTMORL
Taylor
Fantleroy
Sabine Ha
ESSEX

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

'The King's Highway'

THE southern colonies were late in securing an official postal service. The primitive practice is revealed in a Virginia act of March, 1657/8,[1] by which it was required that 'publique letters' be dispatched 'from plantation to plantation to the place and person directed.' The organized system had its origin in a Crown patent granted by William and Mary under date of February 17, 1691/2, to Thomas Neale, who had been Charles II's 'groom-porter' and later was the predecessor of Sir Isaac Newton as master of the mint.[2] This instrument recited that Neale

'hath lately humbly represented unto us that there never yet hath bin any post established for the conveying of Letters within or between Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New York, New England, East and West Jersey, Pensilvania and Northward as far as our Dominions reach in America, and that the want thereof hath bin a great hindrance to the Trade of those Parts,'

for which consideration Neale was vested, for twenty-one years, with:

'full power and authority to erect, settle and establish . . . within every or any the chiefe Ports of the severall Iselands, Plantacons or Colonies . . . in America . . . an office or Offices for the receiving and dispatching away of letters and packquetts . . . and to take or receive to the onely use and behoofe of him the said Thomas Neale . . . for the postage or conveyance of all such letters and Pacquetts, as shall be soe dispatcht sent away carried and delivered, such rates and Sumes of money as shall be proportionable to the rates for the port or carriage of letters sett downe and ascertained in and by the act of Parliament [12 Car. II, c. 35], or such other rates or sumes of money as the Planters and others will freely agree to give for their letters or Pacquetts upon the first settlement of such Office or Offices.'

At the request of Neale the Post Master General deputed Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey as his resident deputy[3] and a regular service was soon thereafter established between Boston, New York and Philadelphia.[4] The current English postage, under the act of 1660, which is mentioned in the patent, was, for a 'single' letter, at the rate of two pence for 'fower score English miles,' or three pence for all greater distances. Not unreasonably Neale expected a higher rate in the colonies. He had no great difficulty in securing an agreement in New England and New York, where the service was needed; but when Hamilton made application on his behalf to Virginia and Maryland, in order to extend the service to the South, neither of those provinces responded with enthusiasm. The explanation at the time was that the tobacco ships afforded the southern colonies all the trans-Atlantic postal service they required; while neither Virginia nor Maryland then maintained any such commercial correspondence with the other colonies as could not be conducted by the schooners which carried the intercolonial freight traffic. That this was true is borne out by Hamilton's statement in 1698 that he dared not reckon the correspondence south of Philadelphia as 'exceeding one hundred letters a year.'[5]

The official pressure on the South in behalf of Neale was, however, both persistent and strong. Maryland was the first to compromise. Resenting Neale's claim of monopoly, she yielded to the principle on which it was based and in 1695 employed her own 'post.' Under an appropriation for his support by the Maryland Assembly, the duty was assigned to this public servant of carrying mails eight times a year between Philadelphia and the Potomac River. The route prescribed began at 'Newton's Point upon Wicomico River in Potomack' and proceeded thence via 'Benedict Leonard Town over the head tide water of the Patuxent . . . and so to South River and Annapolis.' Thence the post was to proceed across Chesapeake Bay, via Kent Island, and up the Eastern Shore to the Delaware at Newcastle and so to Philadelphia.[6] There was no renewal of the original appropriation, and it seems likely that Maryland's independent venture soon fell into abeyance. When

the next record appears, Lord Baltimore's colony had joined the association of the North, and the Philadelphia post was extended to Annapolis.

Meanwhile Virginia stood resolutely obdurate. Hamilton appointed as his representative in that colony the gallant Peter Heyman, Collector of Customs for Lower James River, who was destined to be killed in action in 1700 against a French pirate in Lynnhaven Bay. Armed with a royal letter, Heyman took the matter up with Governor Andros and the Council,[7] with the result that in March, 1692/3, the Assembly passed an act recognising Neale's patent and authorizing Hamilton to establish post offices in Virginia. This act stipulated, however, not only that the planters might continue to bargain with the masters of the tobacco ships for the carriage of their English mail, but that Neale's postage rates within the colony should not be more than one-third greater than those contemporaneously applied in England, e. g., for 'single' letters three pence for 'not exceeding four score English miles.' Hamilton judged these terms to be unprofitable for a service which must be maintained in large part through a wilderness of forest and flood, and refused to proceed. In an attempt to relieve the deadlock, Governor Andros now invoked the prerogative and, by proclamation dated May 25, 1693, granted to Neale power to establish ferries and collect tolls over all Virginia waters; while Heyman renewed his solicitation for the support of the planters both in public and private. The records show that the Assembly and the Council formally considered the matter further in November, 1693, and again in July, 1694, each time without avail. Both the Assembly and Hamilton stood firm, and the act of 1693 neither went into effect nor was modified. As a consequence Virginia remained for a generation isolated from the postal system which the other colonies had accepted and made effective.[8]

In 1701 Governor Nicholson made another effort to secure action by the Virginia Assembly, but got no further than an agreement for a general reference, to the Committee then engaged in revising the laws, of the question of 'settling of

ferries and posts and publick despatch of letters.' The resulting act disregarded Andros' proclamation, and established ferries over the Potomac and all streams which divided counties, directed the County Courts to establish such facilities within the counties, and provided that public expresses should pass free over all ferries; but the question of postal facilities for the general public was carefully avoided.[9] Thus it was that as late as July, 1708, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, had to report to the Lords of Trade:[10]

'We have but two safe ways of sending into England, which are the Virginia fleet and the mast fleet from New England. From the first of those places there is noe post, soe that it is very hard to know when that fleet is to sail; for either we must know it by some vessel that comes from thence to this port (and that is not above two or three in a year) or else by some traveller who comes from thence by land; soe that sometimes a letter is six weeks coming to this place from Virginia, sometimes longer, by which means we loose the opportunity of sending by that fleet.'

In addition to its uncertainty, the cost of this casual intercolonial service was heavy. In a letter of October 18, 1706,[11] John Budger, the royal Surveyor General of Woods who was stationed at Boston, complained that the postal rates absorbed an undue proportion of his 'entertainment.' He cited 'a letter from Virginia 2s. 6d., more very often; always 1s. 6d. from Philadelphia, 1s. from New York, and none under 8d.'

On the expiration of Neale's patent Parliament itself took the question in hand. The act of 1711[12] provided for an imperial post office to include America.

The schedule of rates set out in this act shows that it was intended to base the English mails on New York, while Virginia was remitted to an over land connecting service at a total cost which, when compared with the private penny post of the tobacco ships, seems to justify the local sentiment of opposition, viz, for 'single' letters:

London to New York	1s.
New York to Williamsburg	1s. 3d.

On the other hand, the rates established for local service in Virginia, while substantially twice those for which the Assembly had stipulated in 1693, were certainly not unreasonable, viz:

Williamsburgh, 60 miles 4d.
" 100 " 6d.

To carry out the act of Parliament, John Hamilton, son of Andrew, was appointed Deputy Post Master General for all the American colonies. He at once took the matter up with the Virginia government.[13] The record of what next happened there is meagre, but it is clear at least that, despite the earnest co-operation of Governor Spotswood, Virginia continued to resist and Hamilton was successfully put off for several years. It was now blandly represented that there was a practical obstacle to the general use of the official post in that there was no coin available in Virginia small enough to pay postage; while, as was doubtless expected, Hamilton had to confess himself unable profitably to use tobacco collected in small amounts. Spotswood persisted, nevertheless, and at last, in the autumn of 1717, announced that post offices had been 'settled' throughout Virginia and that a fortnightly post was 'established' between Philadelphia and Williamsburg.[14] This was the time when, for its own eminently selfish and parochial purposes, a plantation *bloc* was obstructing the Governor in every way it could. The Virginia politicians were seeking to discredit Spotswood at home. The leaders were prompt to seize upon the post office as an issue. Adroitly enough, they pitched their case upon a fundamental principle. When the Assembly met in the spring of 1718, grievances from Prince George, New Kent and James City complained of the postal monopoly, 'whereby' said Spotswood,

'the people were made to believe that the Parliament could not levy a tax (for so they call the rates of Postage) here without the consent of the General Assembly.'

Acting upon this objection, the Burgesses and the Council

united in passing a bill which 'tho' it acknowledges the Act of Parliament to be in force here, does effectually prevent its being ever put in Execution."[15]

The recitals of this bill illustrate the details of the grievance and the case which could be made out against Hamilton:

'*Whereas* a Public Post office hath been long since appointed and established in Great Brittaine the well ordering whereof was and is a matter of General Contentment and of great advantage as well for the promotion of trade and Commerce as otherwise and

'*Whereas* the said office hath by a late act of Parliament been extended to all His Majesties Colonys and Dominions in North America, Which said office (as it was intended) would be of very great advantage and benefit to such his Majesties Dominions and to this Colony in particular if the same were Executed after such Expeditious and beneficial manner as hath been and now is used and practiced in Great Brittain, But

'*Whereas* it is well known that the Post Master General of North America or his Deputy hath of late Demanded & taken from on Board the several Ships or Vessels arriving in this Colony all Letters brought in the said Ships or Vessels and directed to many or most of the Inhabitants of this Dominion and hath kept and detained such letters many months in the post office which is at a very great distance from their Habitations and unknown to very many persons concerned, to whom the said letters are directed, to their great Detainment and Loss; and other of the said Letters (which were not by Law to have been delivered to the said post Master or his Deputy but should have been delivered to the persons directed without Fee or Reward) have been also taken from on Board said Ships and Vessels and kept and detained as aforesaid, and divers sums of money demanded for the delivery from the persons to whom directed

'For the prevention of which Inconveniences for the future

'*Be it Enacted*, etc.'

Although the Governor blocked this legislation by withholding his assent to the bill, its proponents were successful; the lack of co-operation promptly brought about suspension of the official service in Virginia. As late as 1727 Annapolis was still the southern terminus of the regular posts.[16]

The American post office had not proved profitable. John Hamilton seems to have conducted it extravagantly and in 1722, realizing his failure, resigned his commission as Deputy Post Master General.[17] The service continued as he had settled it, but it does not appear from the surviving record in the General Post Office in London, or among the Treasury papers, that anyone was found during the ensuing eight years to take up Hamilton's mantle. It was still hoped to include Virginia and the authorities were looking for someone with influence in that province to renew the effort. At last, in January, 1729/30, when Alexander Spotswood was in London on the business of his iron industry, planning 'forthwith' to repair again to Virginia, the Treasury negotiated a contract whereby he undertook 'the management of the American posts for ten years,' and to that end duly appointed him Deputy Post Master General.[18]

Spotswood took hold with his accustomed vigor. On July 31, 1730, he wrote from Germanna to Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania giving notice of his new duty and declaring his intention 'for setling a regular Post Correspondence which may reach so far Southward as through the Colony of Virginia.[19] His determination was, despite the difficulties, to extend the official service from Annapolis to Williamsburg and later as far south as Charles Town. That he was delayed for eight years but at last achieved his objective is revealed by the contemporary newspapers.

On November 3, 1737, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* contained the following advertisement:

'Notice is hereby given that the Post Office in Philadelphia is now kept at B. Franklin's in Market Street, and that Henry Pratt is appointed Riding Post Master for all the stages between Philadelphia and Newpost in Virginia; who sets out about the Beginning of each month and returns in 24 Days: by whom Gentlemen, Merchants and others, may have their Letters, etc., carefully conveyed and Business faithfully transacted, he having given good security for the same to the Hon. Col. Spotswood, Post Master General of all his Majesty's Dominions in America;'

On April 28, 1738, the *Virginia Gazette* supplemented this with a more extended announcement:

'Alexander Spotswood, Esq., Sole Deputy Post-Master-General of America, having form'd a new Regulation for carrying on the Several Post-Stages with greater Expedition and Certainty than hitherto, this is to advertise the Publick thereof; and that by this Regulation, the several Stages will be perform'd, as follows, viz: The Post is to set off from the General Post Office at New Post, on Wednesday, the 26th inst., to cross over Patowmack that night, and arrive at Annapolis on the Friday; there he is to make some stop, and then proceed to Susquehanna, where he is to arrive on Saturday night; and exchange Mails with the Philadelphia Rider, who is there to meet him; The Monday following, he is to return to Annapolis, and arrive at Patowmack on the Tuesday night; from whence the Mail is to be brought to New Post, on the Wednesday, and the next morning to set out for Williamsburg, where he is to arrive on Saturday.

'Riders are engaged so conveniently, that no Post Horse is to cross Patowmack or Susquehanna, by which means the Mail will pass much more certain than usual, it having been often retarded before, by bad weather when it was impossible for a horse to pass these wide Ferries; so that the Post will for the future, regularly arrive at Williamsburg every other Saturday. And in order to extend the Post Office still further to the Southward, Col. Spotswood has been pleased to grant a Commission to William Parks, the Printer of this Paper, to carry on a Stage from Williamsburg to Edenton, in North Carolina, which is to be perform'd once a month, Summer and Winter. The Stage is already begun, and the Post is to set out again from Williamsburg, on Monday the 8th. of May, to go over Hog Island Ferry; from thence to Nansemond Court House; thence to Norfolk Town; and from thence to Edenton, where he is to stay over night, and then to return the same way back again; and so to continue the Stage once a month.

'All persons who have letters to send to the Southward of Williamsburg are desired to deliver them to William Parks at the Printing Office; and those who have letters to send from North Carolina to the northward of Edenton, are desired to deliver them to Dr. Abraham Blacknall, at Edenton, who is appointed Post-Master of Carolina.

'N. B. Any Gentlemen that have occasion to send letters to the West Indies, may put them into any of the Post-Offices,

and paying the Postage to Philadelphia (from whence Vessels are almost always going to one or other of the Islands) may depend on having them taken Care of, and put on Board.'

It was a year later, in the spring of 1739, that Spotswood accomplished a continuous post southward to Charles Town. This appears from two notices published by William Parks in his *Virginia Gazette*:

'Williamsburg, May 25, 1739.

'We hear for certain, that there is now a post settled from Charles Town to Edenton, which returned last Monday was Se'nnight to Charles Town; And that the Postage of Letters from thence to Cape Fear, and Edenton, amounted to 80 pounds, North Carolina money; By which it may be reasonably expected, that in a short time, the Number of Letters will greatly increase from the Northward.'

'Williamsburg, June 22, 1739.

'This is to give notice to all Persons that have occasion to Correspond to the Southward, That a Post-Stage has been some time carried on, and is still continued, from Williamsburg to Edenton, in North Carolina, to carry Letters and Packets. And that There is now begun, and will be carried on, once a month, Post Stages from Edenton aforesaid to Cape Fear, and from thence to Charles-Town, in South Carolina: So that now a Communication may be carried on, by Post, all the way from Piscataway and Boston in New England, thro' the principal Towns and Places in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina to Charles-Town in South Carolina, and from thence there are frequent opportunities to Georgia: Which must certainly be a Great benefit to the Public, and particularly to the trading part of it.

'The Printer of this Paper keeps the Post Office in Williamsburg, for the reception and dispatch of Letters from and to the Southward. The Southern Post will set off from Williamsburg as soon as the Northern Post arrives, which will be on Tuesday, the 3d., or Wednesday the 4th. of next month; and so will continue from that time, to go constantly once a month, Summer and Winter.'

So far as concerns northern Virginia and Maryland, these bulletins raise and leave unanswered some interesting questions of topography.

Spotswood's 'General Post Office at New Post' was on his land on the south side of the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg at the mouth of Massaponax Run. The site is indicated with the designation 'New Post' on both Mayo's and Warner's Northern Neck maps of 1737, as well as on all the succeeding eighteenth century maps of that tradition (Jefferson & Brooke, 1746; Fry & Jefferson, 1751; Thomas Jefferson, 1787). The local authority on the historical topography of the Rappahannock, Judge Alvin T. Embrey of Fredericksburg, made, in 1923, the following note on the site:

'New Post can, with certainty, be identified. It lays on the south side of the Rappahannock River, in Courtland District, Spotsylvania County, immediately North of and adjoining Massaponax and is about three miles below Fredericksburg. It formerly belonged to Alexander Spotiswood, as shown by the records of Spotsylvania, and has borne the name of New Post in the records for nearly two centuries and is known today as the New Post Farm. On it was the eastern terminus of the Mine Road which Gov. Spotiswood had cut through the forest from the river to his mine and on it also to this day, very near the confluence of the creek with the river, are the foundations of old buildings. What is known as the Tidewater Trail, from Fredericksburg down the Williamsburg way goes through the farm.'

It is apparent also from his announcement of 1738 that Spotswood had found it expedient to vary the route through Maryland which was established in 1695. The reference to the 'wide Ferries' of Potomac and Susquehanna indicates that the mails were now dispatched from New Post across the Northern Neck to the Potomac at Hooe's Ferry; whence they passed to Port Tobacco and followed the Maryland road via Piscataway to Annapolis, which Dalrymple laid down on the 1755 edition of the Fry & Jefferson map. Remaining on the Western Shore, this route next skirted the estuary of the Patapsco (via the 'Baltimore Iron Works,' where the ultimate town of Baltimore was still to be established) and crossed the Susquehanna near its mouth, as the railroads now do between

Havre de Grace and Perryville, enroute to Philadelphia, via Wilmington and Chester.

The calls of the route so established may be identified with certainty by the itinerary which Thomas Prince recorded in 1732,[20] as follows:

'Post Road from Phila. to James River in Virginia. 343 *Miles,*

To Christiana	38
" Elk River	20
" Susquehannah	20
" Gunpowder Ri.	25
" Patapsco	25
" Long Bridge	6
" Petuxon Ford	25
(Here you may turn off to go St. Mary's)	
To. Bells Mill	10
" Middleton	10
" Cedar Neck Poi.	30
Over Potowmock River	4
To Harvey's Mill	5
" Rapahanock Ri.	12
" Gainsie's	8
" Metapay Ford	30
" Pomonky Ferry	14
" Madadecum Bridge	5
" James Town	50.'

It was not until after Spotswood's death that this route was again modified. Dalrymple laid down on his edition of the Fry & Jefferson map (1755) two routes between New Post and Annapolis, the one via Hooe's ferry, which we have described, and the other via Alexandria, crossing the Potomac by West's ferry to Addison's at the mouth of Oxen Creek in Maryland. That this last mentioned road had become the post route before 1764 appears from a casual notice in the *Maryland Gazette* of July 19, 1764,[21] of the death of the Post Rider 'between This [i. e., Annapolis] and Alexandria,' but if conclusive evidence for the date of the transfer is lacking[22] (as is perhaps to be expected by reason of the ever-to-be-lamented loss of so many of the files of the *Virginia Gazette*), it is rea-

sonable to assume that the early municipal vigor and commercial self-consciousness of Alexandria secured, promptly after her establishment in 1749, a transfer of the intercolonial mails to the streets which had been laid out by the youthful George Washington. There is, indeed, a shred of evidence to confirm this conjecture. The local tradition is that the ancient 'Potomac Path,' which leads north from Fredericksburg to Alexandria, was known as early as the middle of the eighteenth century as the 'King's Highway;' and it may be fairly deduced, from the previous use of that designation for other parts of the itinerary of the mails, that it was specially applied in Virginia only on the promotion of the road in question to be a post route.[23] At all events, whenever the transfer took place, the official post route through Virginia in 1773, and thereafter until a steamboat ploughed the Potomac, began at Alexandria and proceeded thence via the Potomac Path to Fredericksburg. Hugh Finlay[24] describes the route thence just before the revolution as passing through Williamsburg, York Town, Hampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk in Virginia; Bath, Edenton, Halifax, Newbern, Wilmington and Brunswick in North Carolina, and thence to Charles Town and Savannah.

Spotswood had continued to serve the office of Deputy Post Master General for America to the end of his life in June, 1740. Although there are few surviving records of his activities in this function, it may be assumed that he not only gave satisfaction to the authorities in England, but had contrived to establish cordial relations with all the colonial governments, including his own Virginia. If this had not been so it is hardly likely that he would have been appointed to the command of the American troops destined for the Carthagena expedition, the duty for which he was actively preparing when death overtook him at Annapolis. The administration of the post office was thus not the least of Spotswood's services to America. The historians have generally recognised this, if only to note his initiation into that organization of a greater man

who was eventually to succeed to the command; but by reason of the disappearance of many of the records of the General Post Office in London between the appointments of Spotswood (1730) and of Benjamin Franklin (1753) only the specialist remembers that Spotswood's two immediate successors as Deputy Post Master General, as well as Franklin's first colleague in that office, were also Virginians; and that, until Franklin and Hunter took charge, the General Post Office for America continued to be maintained where Spotswood had established it, at New Post on the Rappahannock.

As a patriotic society might today piously mark, with enduring bronze, the long obscure spot on which centered during more than twenty years all the political, commercial and merely personal communications of a continent, so it is worth while to rescue from oblivion the names of the worthies who there presided. Spotswood's *epigones* were not, indeed, themselves great men, and it was their fate to be sandwiched in office between large figures of history; but they played their parts, such as they were, beyond the confines of their parishes and so may be said to have made a contribution to the organization of a nation.

John Lynch (1652-1733), of Groves, co. Kent, a country gentleman who was to serve the office of Sheriff of Kent in 1714, married, in 1690, a granddaughter of that Sir Richard Head, bart., M. P. for Rochester, who had sheltered James II during his flight in 1688. Among the many children of this marriage, the eldest surviving son, another John Lynch (1697-1760), married a daughter of Archbishop Wake, and himself became Dean of Canterbury. A younger son was Head Lynch (1700-1743), who emigrated to Virginia with a powerful backing of family influence.[25] He settled on the Rappahannock River in Caroline County, where he was added to the commission of the peace on June 13, 1735.[26] In January, 1739/40, his friends at home stirred themselves to promote his interest in the colony, and secured a 'sign manual' directed to Governor Gooch for his appointment to the lucrative post of Naval Officer for York River. This warrant reached Virginia during

Gooch's absence on the Carthagena expedition and greatly embarrassed the Council, because the Governor had, shortly before his departure, appointed his own son, William Gooch, jr., to the office in question. A temporary compromise was effected with Head Lynch's acquiescence, by which the profits of the office were impounded until the further pleasure of the Crown was known. When the Governor returned he wrote eloquently to the Duke of Newcastle, praying the protection of his son, and on April 7, 1742, duly obtained a new warrant for the appointment of the younger Gooch to the disputed office 'in the Room of Head Lynch, Esq.'[27] This was accomplished by another compromise under which Lynch was appointed Deputy Post Master General, vice Spotswood, deceased. The date of the appointment is lacking, but, whenever it became effective, Lynch did not long survive to enjoy it.[28] The next entry in the surviving Post Office Order Book was under date of August 18, 1743, and reads as follows:[29]

'Elliot Benger appointed Deputy Postmaster General of America in the room of Head Lynch, deceased.'

The new chief of the American post office was a Scot who had emigrated to Virginia before 1728 and there entered the personal service of Spotswood.[30] He may have been a kinsman of the ex-Governor; but at all events in January, 1733/4, he married Dorothea Brayne, the 'Miss Theky' of Byrd's *Progress to the Mines*, and so became his brother-in-law.[31] He was now included in the commission of Spotsylvania County[32] and installed in charge of the General Post Office at New Post; so he was qualified by experience for the promotion which came to him on Lynch's death.[33]

Benger continued to serve the office of Deputy Post Master General until his own death in the summer of 1751.[34] When the news of his last illness was noised abroad, Benjamin Franklin, with strong backing, became one among several candidates for the succession.[35] The competition was hot and the decision was delayed, resulting in a compromise. So far as concerned

Virginia, either her deeply rooted tradition of control of the office could not be passed over politically, or (what is more probable) the bids of the Virginia candidates were pecuniarily attractive to those in London who made a trade in such things. At all events, Virginia maintained a foothold in the postal service. The commission which at last issued on August 10, 1753, for the first time divided the responsibility. It ran jointly to Franklin 'and Mr. William Hunter of Williamsburg in Virginia . . . in the stead of Elliot Benger, Esq., deceased.'[36] Hunter was the publisher of the *Virginia Gazette,* as Franklin was of the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* It was a partnership of 'intelligence.'

There is no necessity further to pursue in detail the history of the colonial post office. The subsequent events were played out on a larger stage and are known to 'every schoolboy.' Moreover, they have been ably and amply rehearsed.[37] It will suffice to record here that when Hunter died, in August, 1761, John Foxcroft of New York was appointed to succeed him in the Post Office and continued to act jointly with Franklin until 1774, when the latter was removed from office for a political indiscretion, and his place was taken by Hugh Finlay, a product of British post office civil service.

Meanwhile, on September 25, 1765, the territory of colonial America had been divided for purposes of postal administration. The Northern and Southern Departments were created, bounding at Suffolk in southern Virginia. The new commissions issued by the Post Master General on this decision limited the jurisdiction of Franklin and Foxcroft to the Northern Department, including all Virginia, and transferred Benjamin Barons (sometime Collector at Boston) from the Customs service to put him in charge of the Southern Department of the post office.

The American service had now passed through the hands of politicians, placemen and printers. When the Revolution suspended its relation to London it seemed destined to admin-

istration by trained professionals sent out from headquarters. At all events, Virginia had then ceased to control the machinery of organized communication, of which she had so strenuously opposed the inauguration.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT.

[1] Hening, i, 436.

[2] For Neale's picturesque career see *D. N. B., re-issue,* xiv, 147, and note Macaulay's contemptuous characterization in *History,* ch. xx. The patent was printed by Dr. J. F. Jameson in 1894 in *Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University.*

[3] *Acts P. C., Colonial,* ii, 355; H. Joyce, *History of the Post Office,* 1893, p. 110.

[4] W. Smith in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* 1916, xxi, 258. Lord Bellomont's dispatch from New York, May 25, 1698 (*Colonial Documents . . . New York,* iv, 317) reported to Secretary Popple that 'the sure way of conveying letters to me is by way of Boston, whence the post comes every week to this place.' Safety was, however, only a relative phrase in relation to the colonial post office. In 1704 Lord Cornbury testified (*Colonial Documents . . . New York,* iv, 1113), that Boston had a pleasant practice of opening his official dispatches, and in 1737 the *Virginia Gazette* carried a letter from 'Tom Tell-Truth,' making the same charge with reference to New York.

[5] Joyce, *supra.*

[6] *Md. Archives,* xix, 160, 189: xx, 240.

[7] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1693-96, No. 21, ff.

[8] For Heyman's filing of Neale's patent with the deputation of Hamilton, and the ensuing negotiations leading up to the act of 1693, *Journals H. B.,* 1660-93, pp. 430 ff.; Hening, iii, 112. Heyman's subsequent proceedings are recorded in *Journals H. B., ibid.,* p. 489; *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1693-96, Nos. 370, 1430. Curiously enough, Professor Channing (*U. S.,* ii, 1910, p. 474) follows Mr. Bancroft in asserting that the act of 1693 went into effect.

[9] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1701, pp. 543, 547; Hening, iii, 218, 469.

[10] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1708-9, No. 10, p. 7. There is a similar comment in a dispatch of 1704 in *Colonial Documents . . . New York,* iv, 1113.

[11] *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1706-08, No. 544, p. 275.

[12] 9 Anne, ch. 11, *Statutes of the Realm,* ix, 393.

[13] *Spotswood Letters,* i, 21.

[14] *Ibid.,* ii, 280.

[15] *Journals H. B.,* 1712-26, pp. 191, 209. The quotation is from a MS. copy of the bill in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society.

[16] Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia,* ii, 391.

[17] Joyce, *supra.*

[18] *Cal Treasury Books and Papers*, 1729-30, pp. 314, 318. Spotswood was to be paid £300 per annum, plus a commission of 10% 'out of the clear profits.'

[19] *Pa. Archives*, i, 264.

[20] Thomas Prince, *The Vade Mecum for America, or a Companion for Traders and Travellers* (Boston, 1732), at p. 203. That this continued to be the main north and south route appears from the *Journal* of the Quaker preacher, Thomas Chalkley, in which is described a land journey north from Carolina in May, 1738. The crossing of the Potomac is specified as follows (Philadelphia edition, 1808, p. 274): 'then to William Duff's [in Westmoreland County, Virginia] . . . and afterwards William went with us over Potomac river as far as Piscataway in Maryland. This river is computed to be near four miles over.' Thence Chalkley proceeded across Maryland, via Patuxent, Patapsco, Gunpowder and Bush River, to the Susquehanna.

[21] *Md. Hist. Mag.*, xviii, 175.

[22] The complete files of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and of the *Maryland Gazette*, as well as the available numbers of the *Virginia Gazette*, have been searched, diligently but in vain, for an announcement of the new route.

[23] In law every public road, in the colonies as in England, was a 'King's highway,' and was so adjudged by the Virginia General Court in *Rex v. Harrison*, reported by Barradal. But when a postal route was established the road it followed seems to have become in common parlance in all the colonies *the* King's Highway *par excellence*. For the Fairfax County tradition see Snowden and other local historians; and for a similar usage in Maryland as early as 1721 in respect to the post route between Philadelphia and Annapolis around the head of the Bay, Mr. Gould's quotation of Cecil County records in *Money and Transportation in Maryland* (Johns Hopkins Studies, 1915), p. 125.

[24] *Journals of a Survey of the Post Roads*, 1773-74, ed. Norton, 1867. *Cf.* Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 1917, at p. 170.

[25] For Lynch of Kent see Hasted, *Kent*, iii, 672; Berry, *Kentish Genealogies*, 282. The Lynch pedigree last cited is a not unprecedented instance of English consideration of emigration as equivalent to death. The birth of Head Lynch is there recorded, with the note that he died young. For the Heads, see Burke, *Baronetage*.

[26] *Va. Mag.*, xx, 202, 203.

[27] The record of this typical contest of influence for a colonial office of profit is in the *Council Journal* printed in *Va. Mag.*, xv, 11, 13, 123, 118, 241; and in Gooch's dispatches, C. O., 5: 1337, No. 145, and 324, p. 116.

[28] The loss of the Caroline records eliminates the evidence for the date of Head Lynch's death. He seems to have left descendants in Virginia. In 1758 (Hening, vii, 206) there was a Head Lynch living in Bedford, who had served in the militia after Braddock's defeat. See also the obituary in the *Virginia Gazette*, July 21, 1804 (*Va. Mag.*, xx, 287), of 'Mrs. Frances Lynch, wife of James Head Lynch.'

[29] The quotation is from the source, *G. P. O. Order Book*, 1737-1771, i, 79. *Cf.* the reference in Andrews' *Guide . . . British Museum, etc.*, p. 275.

[30] The earliest Virginia records of him are his signature as witness

to several deeds by Governor Spotswood, ranging from 1728 to 1739 (Crozier, *Spotsylvania Records,* pp. 106, 123, 137, 139, 147).

There is a record of a John Benger of Farnham parish in Richmond County, but his will, proved in 1725, does not mention Elliot Benger (*Cf. Va. Mag.,* vii, 52; *W. & M. Quar.,* xvii, 184).

[31] Spotswood's mother was a widow Elliott, and Elliott Benger's given name suggests a relation with that family. His marriage license, dated January 4, 1733/4, is in *Va. Mag.,* iv, 198, and Crozier, *supra,* p. 84. Spotswood named Benger as one of the executors of the will he made in 1740 (Hening, vii, 325).

[32] Council Journal, November 1, 1739, in *Va. Mag.,* xiv, 347.

[33] See James Home's letter to his brother, June 30, 1743 (*Va. Mag.,* xx, 383).

[34] On August 6, 1751, Dorothea Benger qualified as administratrix of the estate of Elliott Benger, deceased (Crozier, *supra.,* p. 58).

[35] *Cf.* the application of Francis Jerdone of Yorktown, May 21, 1751 (*W. & M. Quar.,* xi, 159), with Franklin's own application, curiously enough of the same date (*Writings of Franklin,* ed. Smyth, iii, 48).

[36] *Writings of Franklin,* ed. Smyth, x, 173.

[37] W. Smith, supra.

JOHN CAMPBELL (1705-1782)
fourth Earl of Loudoun.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

The Failure of the Waterways

AT Annapolis, on December 23, 1783, George Washington resigned to the Continental Congress the military commission with which he had been entrusted eight and a half years before. On the following day he reached Mt. Vernon in time to keep his Christmas at home.

The father of his country had announced a firm determination to retire definitely from public life. He at once began to unravel the tangled skein of his long neglected private affairs and wistfully looked forward to a renewal of the comfortable life of a prosperous planter, which he had abandoned in 1775. But he soon found that that old life was gone forever. Instead of the familiar neighbours, who had assembled to discuss the pleasant mysteries of horse and hound breeding, parish politics and new experiments in agriculture, his house was now crowded with curious strangers who came to 'pay their respects' to a world figure, and stayed so long that their host was in a fair way to become a glorified inn keeper. In his correspondence at the time he steadily protested his pleasure at the surcease of care, but he soon confessed to General Knox that he was beginning to wake up in the morning wondering what he was to do during the day. The human fact evidently was, as Madison surmised, 'that a mind like his, capable of great views, cannot bear a vacancy.'

While Washington was in this moral situation, a consummate politician, sitting in the Continental Congress at Annapolis, saw an opportunity to make use of him to accomplish one of the large plans with which a restless brain was teeming. Thomas Jefferson was at the moment revolving the business of the cession by Virginia of her territory north of the Ohio and in that connection had studied the future development of that territory and its commercial relations with the eastern seaboard. Writ-

ing on February 20, 1784, to his political lieutenant in Virginia, he summoned Madison to aid in diverting this commerce to the old Dominion, for he saw what the competition for it would be. 'Pennsylvania,' he said,[1] 'is attending to the western country. She has had surveys made of the river Susquehanna and of the grounds through which a canal must pass to go directly to Philadelphia. . . . What an example is this!' He goes on to propose that the Virginia Assembly shall vote a tax, to be used to improve the navigation of the Virginia rivers leading to the west, particularly the Potomac, which he deemed most available to accomplish the desired object; and then the statesman disclosed his political bent:

'Gen'l Washington has that of the Patowmac much at heart. The superintendence of it would be a noble amusement in his retirement and leave a monument of him as long as the waters should flow. I am of opinion he would accept of the direction as long as the money should be emploied on the Patowmac; and the popularity of his name would carry it through the assembly.'

A month later, Jefferson broaches the subject to Washington himself in an adroit appeal:

'All the world is become commercial,' he said,[2] 'We must then in our defence endeavor to share as large a portion as we can of this modern source of wealth and power. That offered to us from the Western Country is under a competition between the Hudson, the Patowmac and the Missisipi itself. Down the last will pass all heavy commodities, but the residue is to be divided.'

After drawing attention to the old established indian trade route from the lakes to Albany and the fact that the available water and land route from 'Cayahoga' on Lake Erie was much longer than a possible route via Fort Pitt and the Potomac to Alexandria, he continues:

'Nature then has declared in favor of the Patowmac and through that channel offers to pour into our lap the whole commerce of the Western world. But unfortunately the channel

by the Hudson is already open and known in practice: ours is still to be opened. This is the moment in which the trade of the west will begin to get into motion and take its direction. It behooves us then to open our door to it.'

Stating that he has already brought this proposal to the attention of 'my friends in the Assembly,' Jefferson proceeds:

'But a most powerful objection always arises to propositions of this kind. It is that public undertakings are carelessly managed and much money spent to little purpose. To obviate this objection is the purpose of my giving you the trouble of this discussion. You have retired from public life. You have weighed this determination and it would be impertinence in me to touch it. But would the superintendence of this work break in too much on the sweets of retirement and repose? If they would I stop here. Your future time and wishes are sacred in my eye. If it would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would it be. It is one which would follow that of your public life and bespeak it the work of the same great hand. I am confident that would you, either alone or jointly with any person you think proper, be willing to direct this business it would remove the only objection the weight of which I apprehend.'

What was new in this proposal was the argument of Virginia's actual competitive opportunity in respect to the 'western world' beyond the Alleghanies, and the nomination of Washington as the instrument to realize it. No one knew better than Jefferson that the opening of the Potomac route to the west was, in 1784, already an old vision which Washington himself had seen; and it was that knowledge, more than any engineering judgment, much less any sentiment, which actuated the present avowal of preference of the Potomac route over that of the James. The latter might have been expected to be the choice of an Albemarle man; but Jefferson's political instinct told him that the hope of opening any route to the west lay in securing the active support of Washington, and that was enough to turn the scale of practical preference.

The Potomac route had, indeed, already had a considerable history. It was the basis of the plans of the Ohio Company.[3] In

the preparations for Braddock's expedition, Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland had, however, demonstrated that it was impracticable for more than canoe navigation without 'improvement' of the river;[4] and the subsequent interest was in achieving such 'improvement.' The earliest organized effort in that respect seems to have been promoted by George Mercer in the valleys of the Shenandoah, Catoctin and Monocacy; where, in the revival of commerce following the French and Indian war, the need of cheap transportation to market was realized to be essential to the development of wheat growing as an industry in the interior. These crepuscular 'Fredericktown adventurers,' as they have been called with reference to the place where they met in 1762, themselves accomplished nothing, but their souls went marching on.[5]

In the summer of 1769 John Semple, an enlightened Scot who was then operating the Occoquan mills, revived their plans and then probably had the honour of being the first to enlist Washington's serious interest in the commercial navigation of the Potomac, and to have introduced him to the current Scots school of economics with its tenet of capitalism as the effective method of accomplishing large works of quasi-public concern.[6]

If Washington absorbed this wisdom in January, 1770, he was not yet able to persuade the Virginia Assembly to accept it and his first bill was withdrawn. The demand for river navigation persisted, however, and the leadership in the movement now passed to Maryland, where Thomas Johnson had become interested.[7] He soon found it necessary to turn once more to Washington, and from him learned the Semple doctrine. Together they formulated a new bill providing for river improvement 'by private subscription;' and Washington secured its enactment at the next session of the Assembly, in March 1772.[8] It was under this act that John Ballendine was to make his spectacular, but vain, attempt to finance, in England, a Potomac canal.[9] If unsuccessful Ballendine's activities proved useful, for they won public opinion to Semple's argument for the principle of 'a capital' with the possibility of speculative profits. It was now generally appreciated that on no other basis could

the necessary funds be enlisted. A new bill was accordingly formulated by that master draughtsman, George Mason. This was designed to meet the objections Ballendine had encountered in England by providing for a chartered company with large powers and an authorized capital of £40,000 sterling. It was agreed that this bill should be proposed concurrently in Virginia and Maryland. Johnson took it in charge in Maryland but failed to secure its enactment: he encountered the first overt expression of that determined opposition by the Baltimore merchants, alarmed for their back country trade, which ultimately was to destroy the C. & O. canal.

But Washington was successful; he put the bill through the Virginia Assembly at its last colonial session in June, 1775.[10] He thought, indeed, that the work was on the verge of accomplishment when the Revolution suspended all constructive industry. So it was that he could reply to Jefferson's letter with a rehearsal of previous interest:

'More than ten years ago,' he wrote on March 29, 1784,[11] 'I was struck with the importance of it and I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense . . . the extension of the navigation from tide water to Will's Creek. . . . To get this business in motion I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River in order to remove the jealousies which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potowmac. The plan however was in a tolerably good train when I set out for Cambridge in 1775; and would have been in an excellent way had it not been for the difficulties which were met in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given (according to report) by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed, and perhaps not without cause, at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce which usually moves to their market by land.'

Washington made no response to Jefferson's proposal as affecting himself, but it is apparent that its continental sweep fired his imagination. He had already been contemplating the 'rising empire' of the west, but it does not appear that he had related it to his old plans for the improvement of the Potomac.[12]

He may or may not have seen through Jefferson's politics and, doubtless, he despised the flattery, but he evidently now pondered deeply upon the whole question. Some months later, on July 10th, he advised Dr. Craik that he had come to a resolution to take a trip to the western country, and on the September 1st following he set out. It is apparent that with his usual caution and sound common sense he was unwilling to commit himself until he was satisfied by personal inspection that there was a practicable route by which to connect the eastern and western waters. He was cautious, too, in avowing the purpose of his journey. In a letter to George Plater of Maryland, soon after his return, he says:

'to see the condition of my lands which were nearest and settled and to dispose of those which were more remote and unsettled *was all I had in view*:'

but to his diary[13] he confided as he began his journey that

'one object of my journey being to obtain information of the nearest and best communication between the eastern and western waters and to facilitate as much as in me lay the inland navigation of the Potowmack.'

That diary fully bears out this statement for it shows Washington consulting everyone he met on his long horseback journey to the Ohio and back, as to what they knew of the practicability of a portage between the head of Potomac and the waters of the Youghiogheny, Cheat River and the Little Kenawha.

After accumulating a mass of opinion, but, what is more important, satisfying his own intelligence, he reached home on October 4, 1784, and on the October 10th following sent off his famous letter to Governor Benjamin Harrison,[14] in which he definitely committed himself as an active advocate of river improvement. In this letter re-appear all of Jefferson's large views of competitive commerce, admirably elaborated, with a vigorous statement of the urgent necessity upon Virginia to protect herself, fortified by details of Washington's own obser-

vation; but it is interesting that there is nowhere any mention of Jefferson himself.

The Patowmack Company

When the Virginia Assembly met on October 18, 1784, in obedience to Jefferson's direction Madison at once brought forward the question of connecting the waters of the Virginia rivers with those of the Ohio. Cautiously he proposed[15] no more than 'a survey of the rivers Potowmack and James up to their several sources' and an enquiry 'into the practicability of their being made navigable and how far and what distance the land carriage may be reduced to, between the said rivers and the Western waters.' While this resolution was under consideration, Washington's powerful intervention resulted in a charter for the 'Patowmack Company'[16] with which was contemporaneously pushed through a similar charter for the 'James River Company.'

Madison duly reported to Jefferson, now in France,[17] the details of Washington's activity and the success of his personal negotiations with the Assemblies of both Virginia and Maryland. The sage of Monticello must have cracked a wan Machiavellian smile as he realized how entirely the father of his country had swallowed his bait and had accomplished for him what he never could have done for himself. The political 'boss' had had his will without ever appearing in the public record. He contented himself with sending his congratulations to Washington, accompanied by a didactic description of France's great Languedoc canal, then already in use for a century.

By the terms of its charter[18] the Patowmack Company was to be managed by a President and four directors who were to receive private subscriptions[19] and with the proceeds open the river to navigation by flat boats drawing one foot of water, from 'tidewater to the highest part of the North Branch to which navigation can be extended.'[20] To that end obstructions were to be removed and shallow canals were to be cut at the several falls. When this had been accomplished the company

was authorized to charge tolls at three places, the mouth of the South Branch, Payne's falls below the mouth of the Shenandoah, and the Great Falls. The company was organized at a meeting held in Alexandria on May 17, 1785. George Washington was elected President, with Thomas Johnson, Thomas Sim Lee (of Maryland), James Fitzgerald and George Gilpin as Directors. James Rumsey, the inventor, who had just been granted a monopoly of navigation on the Virginia rivers by means of his device of a hydraulic steam jet,[21] was employed as superintendent, and, despite the derision of the Baltimore merchants,[22] work was at once begun. Thenceforth until he was inaugurated President of the United States and Thomas Johnson succeeded him as President of the Patowmack Company, Washington was active in his participation in the work, as his correspondence and diary show. He was full of hope of success, but the candid historian must record that the influence of his dominant personality upon the plans of the company during the formative period was in no small measure responsible for the ultimate failure of the enterprise. In September, 1784, Rumsey had captured his imagination with his steamboat and, with the characteristic gesture he used towards all those to whom he gave his confidence at all, he subsequently backed Rumsey's judgment in other things as well. He now gave the whole weight of his support to Rumsey's insistence on improved stream navigation, as distinguished from the artificial canal upon which the successful engineering opinion of the world had then united, as the key to long distance transportation. As shown by the event, this was a fatal error of judgment, but it was human. To Washington's practical mind Rumsey's proposal had the preponderent advantage of promising the desired result at much less expense than the construction of a continuous locked canal. This appears conclusively.

On September 16, 1785, he wrote to Edmund Randolph:[23]

'We (that is the Directors of the Potomac Navigation and myself) are of opinion, without having an eye to the probable advantages which are expected to be derived from Rumsey's mechanical discovery, that [the expense] will be infinitely less

than what must arise from cutting canals, building locks, making track paths, etc., as was the design of Balendine and others; and will have this advantage over them that when once done, that is when the passage of the river is opened in a straight direction in the natural bed of the river it is done as it were forever; whereas canals and locks besides the natural decay of them are exposed to much injury from ice, drift wood and even the common freshes; in a word are never safe where there are such sudden inundations and violent torrents as the rivers of this country are subject to.'

He yielded a reluctant consent even to the construction of the Great Falls locks. On March 31, 1786, he wrote to the Directors:[24]

'With respect to this part of the business, I feel and always have confessed an entire incompetency, nor do I conceive that theoretical knowledge alone is adequate to the undertaking. Locks, upon the most judicious plan, will certainly be expensive: and if not properly constructed and judiciously placed may be altogether useless.'

Unfortunately, in the end, the opinion of 'Balendine and others' was justified. Not only was stream navigation demonstrated to be impracticable, but other errors of judgment in laying out the work became apparent. In a report to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1818, John Mason, then President of the Company,[25] was obliged to confess that,

'Many errors of minor importance were no doubt made in the commencement and prosecution of this great work and not a little money was lost for the want of the necessary knowledge in its early stages, as it was the first work of the kind undertaken in this part of the country.'

If, in the light of the developments of a century and a half of transportation practice, one can now respectfully criticise Washington's judgment as applied to the policy of construction for which he stood, it is as interesting as it is gratifying to note that his vision of one of the other abiding problems of aggregate capital put at risk for the convenience of the public

was as modern and as sound as (say) the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In a letter to Madison of December 28, 1784, he assumed the role of a rate maker and defined the principles which control that difficult art in language which a present day expert of acknowledged authority has characterized as 'the whole philosophy of making rates in its simplest terms.' Washington said:

'We have reduced most of the Tolls from what they were in the first Bill, and have added something to a few others—upon the whole we have made them as low as we conceived from the best information before us, and such estimates as we had means to calculate upon, as they can be fixed without hazarding the plan altogether. We made the Value of the Commodity the governing principle in the establishment of the Tolls; but having had an eye to some bulky articles of produce, and to the encouragement of the growth and manufacture of some others, as much as to prevent a tedious enumeration of the different species of all, we departed from the general rule in many instances. The rates of the tollage as now fixed, may still appear high to some of the Southern gentlemen when they compare them with those on James River; but as there is no comparison in the expense and risk of the two undertakings, so neither ought there to be in the Tolls.'

After he became President of the United States, Washington's interest in the Patowmack Company continued unabated. He attended the annual meetings in person down to and including that in the summer of 1798, and he made the company a loan. He must, however, have realized a full measure of disappointment. He saw Virginia's interest gradually wane as the expected profits did not materialize and the work became every year more definitely a mere local development. But Washington found comfort in the steady support of Maryland, moral and financial, and he took pleasure in the society of the Company, for its membership constituted a sympathetic Federalist club. He lived, too, to hear that through navigation had been opened up to Fort Cumberland, though the lock system at Great Falls was not completed until February, 1802.[26]

Between 1785 and 1799 the Patowmack Company estab-

lished its operating headquarters at the town of Matildaville, on the Virginia shore above Great Falls,[27] built locked canals around Little Falls and Great Falls, and sluice canals around Seneca Falls, and at the 'ripples' below and above Harpers Ferry which were known respectively as Shenandoah (or Payne's) Falls and House's Falls, and otherwise improved the main river; so that navigation was eventually possible 30 miles above Cumberland. It opened navigation also for 60 miles up the Shenandoah,[28] and made a beginning of similar work on the Monocacy. All this represented an aggregate investment of $729,000. Thenceforth, between 1799 and 1828, a considerable local traffic was developed chiefly in flour and whiskey brought down stream.[29]

But by 1821 there was a general realization that the service did not measure up to what had been expected. The Maryland and Virginia Assemblies both passed acts in that year reciting that 'it is represented . . . that the Potomac Company have failed to comply with' its charter, and appointed a joint commission to survey the works and report. This 'low water survey,' carried out in 1822, revealed that the river was really navigable even by the shallowest draught flat boats, only during the high water periods, which were normally limited to ten days in the autumn and thirty-five days in the spring of each year. For this consideration the commission recommended that adequate navigation could be secured only by building a continuous slack water canal. The successful work then in progress on the Erie canal had prepared public opinion for this judgment and there now arose a vociferous popular demand that the Potomac route to the west must be realized. The Patowmack Company was in no financial position either to take the lead or to resist this new movement and, after its stockholders were assured that their investment was to be protected, quietly agreed to step aside and let others bear the heat of the day. The company continued its operations until August 15, 1828, when its history came to an end with the conveyance of its works and franchises to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company

The immediate legislative consequence of the 'low water survey' of 1822 was an act of Virginia of February 22, 1823, chartering the 'Potomac Canal Company.'[30] A year later, by an act of January 27, 1824, to meet the views of Maryland, there was substituted the 'Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company,'[31] to build a canal 'from tide water of the River Potomac in the District of Columbia to the mouth of Savage Creek on the north branch of said river, and thence across the Alleghany mountain to the navigable waters of the Ohio.' After several years of surveying, on July 4, 1828, President John Quincy Adams, with solemn ceremony, inaugurated the new work by turning the first turf at High Island above Georgetown.

The history of the great undertaking of the C. & O. canal under the initial presidency of Charles Fenton Mercer of Loudoun, contains, even more than the record of the Patowmack Company, the elements of tragedy.[32] With enlightened aims and high aspirations to match the achievement of DeWitt Clinton, who, in 1825, had opened the Erie Canal and so realized Jefferson's prophecy that the 'Yorkers' might be first in the field, Mercer began his work under the stimulus of a federal subscription but under the handicap of a constantly increasing political interference. It was politics which soon eliminated Mercer from the company, but the enterprise itself was doomed by the fate of having entered the field too late.

The Baltimore merchants who had blocked Washington's plans in 1775 and had laughed at them in 1785, were now more active than ever in protecting their own interest. They had at first contemplated the construction of a lateral canal from Baltimore to connect with that of the C. & O. at Point of Rocks; but, under the leadership of Philip E. Thomas, it was perspicaciously determined to build a railroad instead; and on the same July 4, 1828, on which the canal was inaugurated, the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, performed the same office for the B. & O. Railroad. In the competition which en-

sued, like the lean kine in the parable, a doubtful experiment swallowed its rival.

The C. & O. canal was located from Georgetown to Harpers Ferry on the Maryland shore of the river. By 1832 it was opened for operation to Seneca falls; but there the work was suspended during a fierce litigation with the B. & O. for possession of the Catoctin gap at Point of Rocks.[83] After this question was so compromised that both contestants could proceed with their construction, the C. & O. was opened to Harpers Ferry on March 31, 1834, and at last, on October 10, 1850, to the town of Cumberland. There, after a futile investment of eleven million dollars, the work ended. The railroad had definitely outstripped it, physically and morally. At Harpers Ferry a few months after the canal, the railroad reached Cumberland seven years ahead of it. By 1852 it was on the Ohio River at Wheeling and, meanwhile, had absorbed the local traffic of the territory which the canal had hoped to serve.

The fate of the canal is pathetic enough, but the tragedy it illustrates lies in the fact that while canal and railroad were fighting on the Potomac and Virginia was wasting on her James River and Kenawha canal the millions which might have accomplished the dream of Washington and Jefferson had they been concentrated on the Potomac, the 'Yorkers' on the one hand and the Baltimore merchants on the other had established themselves in possession of the trade of the Ohio country.

One cannot but feel that if Washington had been intellectually convinced that slack water canal construction was practical on the Potomac, the Patowmack Company might have anticipated the Erie Canal Company. As it was, Virginia lost, beside much treasure, her greatest commercial opportunity.

The Alexandria Canal

The work on the C. & O. canal began at Georgetown. In order to share in its benefits the town of Alexandria, then also a federal municipality, at once demanded that it be extended to her doors. In view of Alexandria's subscription to the main

project this was deemed a reasonable request and was met by a private act of Congress of May 26, 1830,[34] chartering a separate corporation, the Alexandria Canal Company, to build a canal from a connection with the C. & O. canal at Georgetown to Alexandria. Construction was begun in 1831 and on December 2, 1843, the supplemental canal was opened for service, including the 'Aqueduct bridge,' which carried it across the Potomac at Georgetown.[35] This work had been undertaken on an estimate of a total cost of $300,000; but, as shown by the annual report of the company in 1849, the actual cost proved to be $1,250,000, of which Congress had subscribed $400,000. The remaining $850,000 represented a municipal contribution by the town of Alexandria. The resulting burden of taxation, followed by the failure of the C. & O. project to realize the traffic which might have justified it, combined to lay a dead hand upon Alexandria. The use of the canal continued, however, until the close of the season of 1886, when the Aqueduct bridge, condemned as unsafe, was closed pending reconstruction. No aqueduct was provided on the new bridge, for the navigation of the canal had meanwhile been definitely closed. The *Alexandria Gazette* of October 22, 1886, published the obituary:

'The creation of the free bridge at the Georgetown aqueduct, under the plan now agreed upon, destroys the Alexandria Canal as a waterway and confines the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to one outlet on the Potomac in place of two—Georgetown and Alexandria. It seems, however, to be agreed on all hands the conditions of modern transportation are such that the Alexandria Canal, which ran nine or ten miles on a hill alongside a river, had outlived its usefulness. The old method of coming by water from upper Maryland and Virginia to tidewater was by poling in the shallow waters of the upper Potomac, going round the falls in the locks of the old Potomac Company and then, if not desiring to stop at Georgetown, poling in the shallow channel south of Analostan Island and of Alexander's Island and still poling along the Potomac shore to Alexandria. It was to substitute horsepower for pole pushing that the aqueduct and Alexandria Canal were made. But the modern expedient of steam tugboats on the river has ren-

dered the canal unnecessary for several years. Many canal boats have passed out the outlet lock and gone to Alexandria by river rather than by canal. It is said by the Cumberland (Maryland) shippers that it costs only 28 cents more per boat to go from Georgetown to Alexandria behind a tug than to be dragged nine miles along the canal and pay toll. When the tug has the boat in tow the mules rest and the Captain and hands of the boat may sleep, and on reaching the unloading wharves are fresh. This, they say, makes the river route much better than the canal. However this may be, it is certain that canal boats have passed over the Alexandria Canal for the last time.'

The Goose Creek Improvement

As we have seen, there were enterprising men in Loudoun as early as 1762 who saw a vision of improved transportation. They had steadily supported the Patowmack Company until they realized that it was a house built upon a foundation of sand. In 1812 they began to look about in their own interest and petitioned the Assembly for a charter to cut a canal from Seneca falls to Hunting Creek. This memorial was renewed in 1816, but on both occasions the Patowmac Company was able to block it.[36] After the C. & O. canal had been opened to Seneca falls, the ambition of Loudoun took a new direction. The purpose now was to intercept the wagon trade from the Valley at the ford of Little River (Aldie); and to provide cheap transportation to market, in connection with the canal, for the product of the many flouring mills then in operation on the waters of Goose Creek. By an act of March 15, 1832,[37] a charter was granted to 'the Goose Creek and Little River Navigation Company . . . for the opening and improving the navigation of Goose Creek, Little River and other improvable branches of the said Creek.' It was contemplated that the main creek should be 'improved' with locks and dams from its mouth at the Potomac to the mouth of Little River and thence up that stream 'to the lower end of the Ashby's gap turnpike' at Aldie; also up the North fork of Goose Creek to the highest mill above the mouth of Beaverdam; and up the 'South or main branch of Goose Creek to

Duers mill.' Significant of its date the charter also granted power to substitute a canal or a railroad.

In 1838 the Commonwealth subscribed to the work, but the surveys by Gen. William Gibb McNeill were not completed until 1849, when a contract was let for construction of 12 miles of slack water navigation from the mouth of Goose Creek to the mouth of Little River. The reports of the company to the Board of Public Works show that the work was prosecuted under discouraging conditions, partly physical; but principally, as President Humphrey Brooke Powell recorded in 1854, because 'shortly after commencement the idea of railroad improvements started, drawing off many early friends.' After there had been expended a total sum of $100,750,[38] of which the Commonwealth subscribed $60,000, Mr. Powell reported in 1857:[39]

'The effort to make Goose creek and Little River navigable by locks and dams may now be admitted to have been a failure. . . . The faint hopes which I entertained at the date of my former report as to the prospective value of this work have long since vanished and candor compels me to say that I consider it of little value, either to the state or to the individuals who have expended their money on it. . . . It may be said to have received its *coup de grace* by the location of the Loudoun Branch of the Manassas Gap Railroad.'

The Rappahannock Company

As Dumfries withered and Alexandria waxed, Fredericksburg and Falmouth renewed their competitive claims upon the trade of the territory of Fauquier and Culpeper. More than ever, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, their opportunity was measured by the facility of transportation. The precedent of the 'improvement' of the Potomac and the James had been locally followed by plans for similar development of several other Virginia rivers; and now the Rappahannock towns followed suit. Application was made to the Assembly for a charter to improve the upper waters of the Rappahannock, and by an act of February 9, 1811,[40] a franchise was granted to

'the Rappahannock Company . . . for opening, improving and extending the inland navigation of the river Rappahannock and all its improvable branches.' A subscription of $100,000 was invited at all the towns and court houses in the territory to be affected; the commissioners including among many others, in Fredericksburg, Garrett Minor and Daniel Grinnan; in Falmouth, Basil Gordon and Thomas Seddon; and in Fauquier, William Skinker and Hancock Lee.

This act was revived in 1816.[41] It was not, however, until the Assembly agreed in 1828 to a subscription on behalf of the Commonwealth for two shares of stock for every three subscribed by individuals that the company was organized with a total capital of $65,000 and the work began. In 1830 the President of the company, S. A. Storrow, of Farley, could report[42] no more than that 'the unfinished condition of the works of the company precludes any other information than that they are in progress.' The truth was, as was revealed by subsequent reports, that the fund derived from the original subscription, even when supplemented in 1835 by additional capital of $48,750, and by certain bank loans, 'was so unsuccessfully applied in the construction of the work that but a few miles [between the falls at Falmouth and Deep Run] were ever opened and they very soon fell into decay and ceased to be used.' Thus had been wasted an original investment of $133,030.03. Despite this failure, the ambition of Fredericksburg persisted and in 1845, under an act of January 20th of that year,[43] the company was reorganized and renewed construction under the presidency of Wellington Gordon. The plan now was to secure, by a system of locks and dams, a navigable draught 'at all times, except in dry seasons and scarcity of water at least 24 inches in depth of water.'

As a consequence of the investment of $247,000 of new capital during the years 1846 to 1849, the company was able triumphantly to report on November 6, 1849,[44] that 'their whole line of improvement from the basin at Fredericksburg to the mouth of Carter's run has been completed and is now in successful operation.' Flat boats carrying 200 barrels of flour, or

the equivalent in lumber, made their way down stream and returned with ladings of merchandise, fish, salt, guano and whiskey. But there were never more than a few boats engaged in this trade and the tolls collected were nominal, so that it had to be reported in 1851 that 'though the revenues of the work shew an increase over those of the previous year, they are still barely sufficient to cover the necessary expenditures.' Great hopes were, however, placed in the 'accession of trade from the Hazel River and Sperryville turnpike improvements.' Thus it appeared that the bulk of the river traffic was with Culpeper. The fact was that the trade of Fauquier had been definitely annexed by Alexandria through her turnpikes, which were about to be superseded by her railroads. It is, then, significant that immediately after the Orange and Alexandria railroad had been opened across its works, the Rappahannock Company was sold out in execution of a debt. Another financial reorganization followed, but the new company never attempted to operate the works. In 1855 it was reported[45] that:

'Since the sale, the work having ceased to produce revenue sufficient to keep it in repair, the Company have let it to two gentlemen, Messrs. Chancellor and Ellis, farmers living near the line of improvement, who agreed to take it and keep it in repair at their own expense, the board of Directors thinking this the wisest disposition to make of the works for the present.'

The last word was said in 1857:

'The boating has almost entirely ceased and nothing of consequence is transported over the entire length.'

There was a financial report made in 1859, but so far as the record goes the Rappahannock Company did not survive the war between the states.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE.

[1] *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, iii, 402. He referred to Robert Morris' project to cut a canal from the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna, out of which ultimately developed the Pennsylvania railroad.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, 420.

[3] In a letter of November 7, 1749, (Conway *Barons*, p. 272), Lawrence Washington argued on behalf of the Ohio Company that 'it appears evident (and is so in fact) that the [skin trade of the lakes] can be better supply'd from the Head of the Potowmack than any other way, the navigation from Europe being much safer and shorter and the land carriage very easy.' He pointed out specifically that 'Potowmack river is navigable for small flats as high is the Aligany Mountains except an obstruction of seventeen miles immediately above where the Tide flows.' and that there was a portage of only 45 miles from the 'Head of Potomac' up Savage River to the navigable waters of 'the Branch called Yohiogana' leading to the lakes. This letter is an interesting parallel to Cadwallader Jones' plan of 1699 (see *post*, p. 610).

[4] See Sharpe's report to Lord Baltimore, March 12, 1755, *Md. Archives*, vi, 186. It is of interest that John Semple said in 1769 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 499) that Braddock not only contemplated improvement of the Potomac but 'made use of it even in the state it was for the carriage of his artillery, ammunition and Provisions a great part of the way' between Alexandria and Fort Cumberland. This testimony is curious as bearing on the conjecture that it was for a similar purpose in the summer of 1754 that Washington explored the navigation of the river, as rehearsed in a well known undated letter (See *Records of the Past*, ix, 74).

[5] See the report of the Fredericktown meeting in the *Maryland Gazette*, February 11, 1762. This is the authority for Scharf's date (*Maryland*, ii, 518), which has been uncritically questioned. The Virginians who attended the meeting were George Mercer, eldest son of John Mercer of Marlboroughtown, and in 1762 a burgess for Frederick; James Keith, eldest son of the parson of Hamilton parish, then a burgess for Hampshire, and later President of the Patowmack Company; James Hamilton, a burgess for Loudoun; Joseph Watson of Frederick, soon to be a burgess for Dunmore; John Hough, a justice of Loudoun; Jacob, John and Abraham Hite of Frederick; John Patterson of 'Patterson's Creek' in Hampshire; William Ramsay and John Carlyle, Alexandria merchants.

[6] See *Am. Hist.* Rev. xxviii, 499, for Semple's 'Proposals for Clearing the Potomac.' This able paper seems to have been the basis of the bill Washington introduced in the Assembly in December, 1769 (*Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, pp. 314, 338) and subsequently withdrew under the criticism of its form expressed in Semple's letter of January 8, 1770. For Semple on the Occoquan see *ante.*, p. 428. It was doubtless his purchases of wheat above Harper's Ferry and the cost of transportation to the Occoquan which actuated his interest in Potomac navigation.

[7] Thomas Johnson (1732-1819) played a large part in promoting the Revolution in Maryland and was, in 1777, the first Governor of the new state (see his *Life* by Edward S. Delaplaine in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, xiv, 33 ff.). Until after the Revolution he lived in Anne Arundel but became interested in the navigation of the upper Potomac in 1768 when he acquired a share in the Green Spring iron furnace in what is now Washington County. Johnson's letter to Washington, of June 18, 1770, inviting his co-operation in the plans of the Fredericktown adventurers, supported by an able prospectus (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 507), and Washington's reply of July 20, 1770 (H. R. Document No. 228, 19th Congress, 1st Session), are the constitutional documents for the future de-

velopment of the Potomac waterway. Washington's letter is significant as showing the effect of Semple's preaching of capitalism.

[8] On March 17, 1772 (*Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, p. 252), the Assembly had before it a proposition from Frederick for the opening of navigation of the Potomac 'to Fort Cumberland' at public expense or by private subscription. The second alternative was authorized in a bill introduced by Thompson Mason and George Washington (Hening, viii, 570).

[9] In February, 1773, in the midst of the agitation for Thomas Walpole's proposed 'Vandalia' colony on the Ohio, John Ballendine (for whom see *ante.*, p. 435) published in London 'Proposals for opening the navigation of the River Potowmack' (The document is printed by George Armroyd in *A connected view of the whole internal navigation of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1830, p. 209). Therein he stated that 'in the beginning of the year 1772,' he had made representations to the Governors of both Virginia and Maryland that with encouragement he would undertake 'to remove the obstructions in and render more navigable by locks, etc.,' both the rivers James and Potomac; and that in a paper dated May 9, 1772, he had received subscriptions with reference to the Potomac from Governors Dunmore and Eden, Lord Fairfax, 'and most of the principal gentlemen of the said provinces.' Under the terms of that subscription paper he had then gone to England to study the Duke of Bridgwater's canal and now invited subscriptions also from those interested in the Vandalia scheme, on the ground that they would most benefit by connecting the waters of the Potomac and the Ohio. It does not appear that he got any English subscribers, but, in the *Maryland Gazette* of September 8, 1774, Ballendine announced that he had 'just arrived from Great Britain with a number of engineers and artificers' and before beginning work desired a meeting of his American subscribers. The same *Gazette* of October 25, 1774, announced that the meeting was held at Georgetown on October 10th, when Ballendine's revised plans were approved and trustees were appointed to receive the subscriptions (also see *Virginia Gazette*, November 10, 1774; and the MS. 'Recommendations passed by meeting of several of the Trustees at Fredericktown, November 16, 1774,' in *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxviii, 516). The list of these trustees included George Washington, George Mason, Thompson Mason, Bryan Fairfax, Daniel McCarty, besides John Carlyle, William Ramsay, and several others of the 'Fredericktown adventurers' of 1762. An announcement by Ballendine in the *Virginia Gazette* of January 14, 1775, shows that he was actively at work at the Little Falls; but a later announcement in the same *Gazette* of October 28, 1775, reveals Ballendine as then established at the 'Falls of James River.' He had apparently forfeited the confidence of the Potomac River men and transferred his activities to the rival river.

[10] The letters by Johnson and Mason to Washington of February 25th and March 9, 1775, outline the new plans (See *Md. Hist. Mag.*, xv, 40; Rowland, i, 188). For the failure of the bill in Maryland, see *Virginia Gazette*, November 2, 1775. The bill was introduced in the Virginia Assembly on June 3, 1775 (*Journals H. B.*, 1773-76, p. 181) under the description 'to raise a capital sum of forty thousand pounds sterling by subscription and establishing a company for opening and extending the navigation of the River Potowmack.' It went through and was assented to by the Council, but never became law, because Governor Dunmore refused to approve any of the acts of that Assembly unless they were brought to him at 'my present residence' on board H. M. S. *Fowey*. The Revolution had begun.

[11] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, x, 375.

[12] *Cf.* his letter to Chastellux, October 12, 1783, Ford x, 324.

[13] The diary from September 1st to October 4th, rehearsing this journey to the Ohio, has been edited by A. B. Hulbert in his *Washington and the West,* 1905.

[14] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, x, 402.

[15] *Journal H. D.,* 1784, p. 13. This resolution was the beginning of the Virginia system of 'internal improvements.'

[16] So the name is spelled on the seal the company struck in 1803. The history of the 'Patowmack Company' has been adequately recorded. John Pickell's *The Potomac Company* (1856) is uncritical in its endowment of Washington with superhuman prevision but was long valuable for its citation of the corporate minute book. It has, however, now been superseded by Mrs. Bacon-Foster's study of the same sources (*The Potomac Route to the West,* 1912).

[17] In a general political letter of January 9, 1785, partly in cipher (*Writings of Madison,* ed. Hunt, ii, 102). The charter had become law, January 5, 1785. The steps of the negotiations, as reported by Madison, are confirmed in detail by *Journal H. D.,* 1784-85, pp. 55, 60, 65, 94. Mrs. Bacon-Foster has collected a number of the more important documents in her *Potomac Route to the West.* Others, from the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, were printed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* xxviii, 497, 705.

[18] Hening, xi, 510; xii, 69. There were in all ten amendatory acts between 1786 and 1820. All of this was concurrent legislation in Virginia and Maryland. The original opposition of Maryland had been overcome by Virginia's renunciation, in her constitution of 1776, of all claim to ownership of the Potomac, followed by an agreement in June, 1784, that commissioners should formulate a treaty governing the mutual use and regulation of the river. This resulted in the 'Mt. Vernon compact' of 1785 (Hening, xii, 50).

[19] It was no part of the original plan that the work should be assisted by public subscriptions, but a beginning was made to that end by small subscriptions on the part of both Virginia and Maryland, *pour encourager les autres.* Virginia's offer of 50 shares to Washington and his noble gesture in reply, followed by the dedication of those shares towards the establishment of a university in the District of Columbia, are recorded in Hening xi, 525, xii, 42, and in Washington's will.

[20] The head of navigation ultimately agreed upon was to be the mouth of George's Creek, where there grew up the Maryland town of *Westernport,* the name of which survives as the monument over the grave of a generous hope.

[21] Hening xi, 502. Rumsey's pamphlets describing his invention are reproduced in *Documentary History of New York* (1850), ii, 601.

[22] 'He is quite pleased at the idea of the Baltimore merchants laughing at him and saying it was a ridiculous plan and would never succeed. 'They begin now,' says the General, 'to look a little more serious about the matter, as they know it must hurt their commerce amazingly.'' An English traveller at Mt. Vernon, 1785, *W. Va. Hist. Mag.,* i, 60.

[23] *Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, x, 499.

[24] Bacon-Foster, p. 77. It was Washington, however who insisted,

once the policy of building locks was determined upon, that the best advice should be taken. Although he had an instinctive distrust of 'experts,' he called into consultation the English canal engineers, James Brindley, jr., and William Weston, whom Robert Morris had brought over in the interest of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna canal.

[25] The Presidents of the Patowmack Company form an interesting procession of federalist worthies. According to Mrs. Bacon-Foster's quotations from the minute book of the company, they were George Washington, 1785-1789; Thomas Johnson, 1789-1793; John Fitzgerald, 1793-1796; Tobias Lear, 1796-1798; James Keith, 1798-1807; Charles Simms, 1807-1814; Elie Williams, 1814-1817, John Mason, 1817-1828. The memories of most of them have been kept green, but an exception is a scion of old Prince William who had a varied career, and deserves to be commemorated.

James Keith (1734-1824) was born the eldest son of Parson James Keith of Hamilton parish and his Randolph wife. He was educated in the law and was admitted to practice in Frederick Court in 1757 (Cartmel, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers*). From 1761 to 1762 he sat in the Assembly as burgess for Hampshire, vacating his seat in November, 1762, because he 'hath accepted of the office of Clerk of a County' (*Journals H. B.*, 1761-65, p. 67). On May 4, 1762, he had qualified as Clerk of Frederick (Cartmel; and Johnston, *Old Virginia Clerks*), a post he continued to hold for sixty-two years, although after 1804 the office was served by a deputy, T. A. Tidball, who ultimately succeeded as Clerk. After the Revolution Keith removed his residence to Alexandria, where he was Mayor in 1784 and presided at a dinner to Lafayette (Brockett, *The Lodge of Washington*). Thenceforth his name appears often in the acts relating to the organization of turnpikes, industries and towns arising out of Alexandria's commercial activities at this period. Meanwhile Keith had been not only one of the original, but a consistent supporter of the various plans for improving the navigation of the Potomac. One of the Fredericktown Adventurers of 1762 (*Maryland Gazette*, February 11, 1762), he was also one of the earliest subscribers to the shares of the Patowmack Company, and served on various committees of the stockholders before he was elected a director and President in 1798. This was done, doubtless, on the recommendation of Washington who had great confidence in his business ability (*Writings of Washington*, ed. Ford xiii, 164). In his *Recollections*, G. W. P. Custis mentions Keith as one of the guests at the last dinner party Washington attended in Alexandria in 1799, and it appears that he planned to attend also the last dinner Alexandria gave to Lafayette on October 16, 1824; but, dramatically enough, being then in his ninetieth year, he died that same day (*Alexandria Gazette*, October 19, 1824). His will, dated May 19, 1814, was proved November 15, 1824 (*Fairfax W. B.*, N. No. 1: 294), mentions his property in Berkeley, as well as in Alexandria, and names seven children. Their names seem to indicate that he had married one of the Maryland Contees. His eldest son, another James Keith, died in 1846, leaving a will, which was proved in Alexandria, from which it appears that the family had removed to Georgetown. On this record it is curious that the Fauquier Keiths, descended from a younger brother of this James Keith, should have lost contact with their kinsmen in Alexandria, at least so far as relates to their enumeration in Paxton's *Marshall Family*.

[26] Between 1798 and 1802 the traffic was transferred over the Great Falls by means of such an inclined plane as was later devised to enable

the obese King George IV to move comfortably from his window to his carriage. The permanent works on the Virginia shore included a canal 1,200 yards in length with a basin and five locks having a total lift of 77 feet, of all of which the vestiges may still be seen by the curious. It has been well remarked that the Great Falls locks were as important in the eyes of the public during their construction as the Gatun lock in the Panama canal was to be in its day. Travellers like the Duc de la Rochefoucault, Isaac Weld and John Davis went out of their way to see those works and record their impressions of them.

[27] *Matildaville and South Lowell*: The town of Matildaville (shown on Bishop Madison's maps) was established in 1790 (Hening, xiii, 171) on 'land at the Great Falls of Patowmack in the County of Loudoun in the possession of Bryan Fairfax.' The site was adjacent to one of President Thomas Lee's land grants, the title to which had descended through Philip Ludwell Lee to his daughter Matilda, the first wife of General 'Light Horse Harry' Lee, and the town was named for her (*Cf.* the testimony of John Davis). The Patowmack Company maintained shops, a forge, and other construction facilities at Matildaville, as well as its Superintendent's residence and a laborers' barracks. There was also a grist mill and a saw mill, and Virginia transferred thither the 'Falls Warehouse' (*Cf.* Code, 1819, ii, 136). The original charter of the Little River turnpike carried a provision for a 'Matildaville Company' to open and maintain a toll road from 'the great falls of Patowmack to the said town' of Alexandria, the purpose being to connect Matildaville with the West (See the act of 1795, Shepherd, i, 387). For these considerations it was believed that Matildaville would grow into an important industrial center in which the surplus water power of the falls could be utilized, and there was for a time some speculation in town lots; but when the works of the Patowmack Company were abandoned in 1830 and the C. & O. canal was put in operation on the Maryland shore, Matildaville lapsed into obscurity. In 1839 new hopes were entertained of making a commercial development of the Great Falls water power. Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Henry Fairfax of Ashgrove, William A. Bradley and others then secured a repeal of the Matildaville act and authority to lay out nearby a new town of 'South Lowell' (Acts, 1839, ch. 248, p. 184). When the Orange and Alexandria Railroad was put under construction in 1851 they secured a charter to connect that town with it by a 'South Lowell Branch Railroad' (Acts, 1850 51, ch. 84, p. 66) and in 1854 changed the name of the town to 'Potomac' (Acts, 1853-54, ch. 192, p. 126). These new plans disappeared during the war between the states and the town charter once more lapsed. There have since been two other towns of 'Potomac' chartered successively, one in Prince William (Acts, 1872-73, ch. 38, p. 26; 1895-96, ch. 794, p. 880), and another in Alexandria County (Acts, 1908, ch. 273, p. 391), which, of course, must be distinguished from the successor to Matildaville.

[28] In 1798 (Shepherd, ii, 99) Virginia chartered the Shenandoah Company to improve the navigation of the river of that name, but as nothing was done, in 1802 the Assembly entrusted the work to the Patowmack Company, which proceeded to cut five canals and construct five locks on the lower reaches of the Shenandoah, thereby opening that river for navigation 60 miles above its mouth. While this work was in progress the people of the upper valley, who had established the town of Port Republic in Rockingham at the contemplated head of navigation, became impatient at the delays of the Patowmack Company and, in 1813,

themselves took over the work in the name of a new Shenandoah Company, issuing stock to the Patowmack Company for what it had spent. The Board of Public Works reported in 1831 that the Shenandoah Company was then still operating but had not opened navigation to Port Republic.

[29] In 1824 the Patowmack Company reported that in the 25 years ending on August 1, 1824, their works had been used by 15,000 boats, carrying 179,554 tons, on which tolls had been paid amounting to $238,-117.66. In his *Old Georgetown* Mr. Taggart collected some interesting reminiscences of this traffic by the oldest inhabitants.

[30] Acts, 1822-23, ch. 46, p. 59.

[31] Acts, 1823-24, ch. 38, p. 41. The various acts of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland and of Congress, constituting the full charter, are collected in 4 *U. S. Stat. at Large,* p. 793.

[32] Among the many studies of the C. & O. canal, that by A. B. Hulbert, in *Historical Highways,* vol. xiii, is valuable as relating the movement to similar contemporary undertakings elsewhere.

[33] *C. & O. Canal Co.* v. *B. & O.,* 4 Gill & Johnson (Md.), p. 1.

[34] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 6: 419. The incorporators were John Roberts, Phineas Janney, Robert J. Taylor, Thompson F. Mason, Hugh Smith, Anthony C. Cazenove, William H. Miller, Charles Bennet, Edmund J. Lee, Colin Auld, Henry Daingerfield, George Brent and Jonathan Boucher.

[35] For the difficulties of the construction of this bridge, see *Georgetown* v. *Alexandria Canal Co.* (1838), 12 Peters, 91.

[36] Bacon-Foster, pp. 113, 122. In 1817 indeed an 'Alexandria Canal Company' was chartered 'to cut a canal to unite the waters of Goose Creek . . . with the waters of Hunting Creek' (Acts, 1816-17, ch. 49, p. 96).

[37] Acts 1831-32, ch. 89, p. 95. Among the commissioners appointed by this act the principal were Humphrey Brooke Powell, Noble Beveridge and Asa Rogers of Middleburg, Lewis Berkeley and William Noland of Aldie, George Carter of Oatlands, William Elzey and Burr Harrison of Leesburg.

[38] The vestiges of what was done with this money, which remain as landmarks, are indicated on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1853.

[39] *Annual Report of the Board of Public Works,* 1857, p. 106.

[40] Acts, 1810-11, ch. 25, p. 31.

[41] Acts, 1815-16, ch. 55, p. 104.

[42] *Report of the Board of Public Works,* 1831, p. 48.

[43] Acts, 1843-46, ch. 101, p. 82.

[44] *Report of the Board of Public Works,* 1849, p. 193. It may be of curious local interest, to a community which has long forgotten the fact, to observe that the opening of navigation to the mouth of Carter's run in connection with the previously accomplished navigation of the Potomac and the Shenandoah almost surrounded the territory of old Prince William with navigable waters.

[45] *Report of the Board of Public Works,* 1855, p. 734.

JOHN HENRY, 1770.

CHAPTER THIRTY

The Turnpikes

AS the trade of the Potomac towns with the Shenandoah Valley increased, the roads which bore it grew steadily worse. In becoming through roads they presented a political problem which had never been provided for by existing Virginia law. Under the act of 1748,[1] which followed the ancient English precedent, all roads were considered alike as neighbourhood byways, to be maintained by the several county courts with conscripted labor of the 'tithables.' In the new situation, arising out of a long distance traffic, men who had never been keen about working roads for their own use came to resent the obligation of maintenance for the benefit of 'foreigners;' for so they soon dubbed the professional waggoners who passed through the piedmont on their way from transmontane communities to trade with the tidewater merchants. It was argued that what had been originally a self-imposed obligation of self-help had now become, in respect to these roads, a substantial feudal *corvée*. The result was that maintenance was locally neglected. Alexandria recognised the growth of this sentiment and her danger in the failure of the roads on which her prosperity depended. Several times after 1765 she petitioned the Assembly, with some resentment, to enforce the law as applicable to all 'the Roads from the mountains to the town of Alexandria;' but, getting nowhere, at last, in March, 1772,[2] adopted another tone and prayed 'the House to devise some method for making the Roads more useful.' If necessary to secure relief, the Alexandria merchants were ready for the adoption of the toll system, which was already familiar practice on some of the great roads of England, and seem to have proposed the organization of what was then known as a 'Turnpike trust;' but, as such restrictions of free movement had never ceased to be unpopular among the obscurantists in England, the Assem-

bly was chary of introducing into Virginia all the rigors of the system.[3] They acted, indeed, at once but with a politic compromise. The act of 1772[4] recited that,

'Whereas the public roads leading from the northwestern parts of this colony to the towns of Alexandria and Colchester in the county of Fairfax by means of the great number of waggons which use the same are rendered almost impassable and the ordinary method of keeping them in repair as at present by law established is not only insufficient but exceedingly buthensome to those who are employed thereon;'

and, directing the county courts of Fairfax, Loudoun, Berkeley and Frederick to lay a special annual levy (aggregating £175 for the four counties), named trustees[5] to receive the fund and disburse it 'in such manner as they shall think best for keeping in repair the great and direct roads leading from Vestal's and Williams' gaps to the said towns of Alexandria and Colchester.'

This legislation undoubtedly accomplished immediate improvement in the road conditions, but the machinery for enforcing it necessarily fell into abeyance during the Revolution and Alexandria had eventually to petition for further relief. After a preliminary survey in 1782[6] it was agreed that certain minor relocations of the road were desirable and that the only fair way to raise the wind for such improvements would be to resort to tolls upon the through traffic. By an act of 1785[7] the Assembly accordingly revived the act of 1772 and authorized the trustees to collect tolls;[8] and to that end to erect 'one or more gates or turnpikes[9] across the roads or any of them, leading into the town of Alexandria from Snigger's and Vestal's gaps, within five miles of said town.' With the proceeds they were to maintain and, as they could, to straighten and otherwise improve the roads named. By amendatory acts the road system so constituted was enlarged to include the road 'from Georgetown to Alexandria' and that 'leading from Ashby's gap into the road from Snicker's gap . . . near the ford of Little River.'

It does not appear how effective this system of public turnpikes may have been in the matter of maintaining the old roads, but it is clear that the trustees lacked tact in the administration of their duties and soon became unpopular. There were charges of waste in the use of the funds and of favoritism in the matter of 'free passes.'

When Virginia had reached this stage of her highway development, Pennsylvania took a momentous forward step in respect to her Lancaster 'great road.' In 1792 a private company was chartered to undertake for profit to provide a public convenience. After the first outburst of public horror at the novel thought had died down, this company proceeded to improve the sixty-six miles of road between Philadelphia and Lancaster, and by 1796 had converted it into a model highway 'paved with stone and overlaid with gravel."[10]

Virginia at once profited by Pennsylvania's example. The foundation of precedent had been laid in the charter of the Potomac Company, and the federalist school of political opinion was beginning to maintain that private initiative could be depended upon, under regulation in the public interest on the one hand and the spur of self-interest on the other, to give more efficient service in developing public transportation facilities than any political management however respectable. More than that, there was a local problem in relation to Alexandria's transmontane trade which now demanded special treatment. About the time of the establishment of the first turnpikes, when the Carter and Fairfax 'manors' were beginning to be subdivided and the territory about the village of Upperville to be settled up, the road from Aldie to Ashby's gap was improved and the merchants on Hunting Creek reached out for the additional trade thus made available.[11] This supplement to the traffic on the old Colchester road via Newgate soon proved its incapacity and stimulated a demand for an entirely new road between Aldie and Alexandria. The surveys of 1782 had revealed that no revision of the old Colchester road could eliminate the grades incident to its crossing of the valleys of Bull and Cub runs, while a much better grade was available with less mileage,

a short distance to the north. Desirable as such a new road might be, it was appreciated that the turnpike trustees could not be expected to provide the necessary capital out of their toll collections. For all these considerations the Assembly now authorized the principle of the privately owned turnpike as a solution of Alexandria's problem. It was not long before Congress followed the precedent in respect to the District of Columbia. Thus were evolved two competing turnpike systems which, by modifying the pre-existing road system, have ever since determined the main lines of highway communication in northern Virginia.[12]

The Little River Turnpike System: The earliest private turnpike charter in Virginia was that granted in 1796 to the 'President, Managers and Company of the Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Road,' by which the corporation so constituted was authorized to build and operate for profit a new road from Alexandria to the ford of Little River.[13] This company was not successfully organized; but, in January, 1802, another corporation took an equivalent, but more liberal, franchise under the name of 'Little River Turnpike Company.'[14] It was required to pave and maintain an 'artificial' road 'from the intersection of Duke Street in the town of Alexandria with the southwest line of the District of Columbia to the ford of Little River where the turnpike now crosses it.' With some aid from the Commonwealth this company laid out and paved a new road between Alexandria and Aldie,[15] and in 1806 opened it for traffic. The original engineering was amateurish, as the State Engineer, C. Crozet, subsequently reported to the Board of Public Works, and made necessary expensive revision at a later period (the mistake had been of sacrificing easy grades to save distance); but despite this handicap and some grumbling over the tolls, the company gave general satisfaction, to the public as well as to its stockholders; and persisted as a going concern down to the war between the States. It was, indeed, one of the few among the Virginia turnpikes which paid regular divi-

dends, a fact which stands as a monument to the able and practical management of the vigorous Quaker President, Phineas Janney.[16]

Immediately after the Little River Turnpike had reached its objective at the ford of Little River (Aldie), plans were put on foot to widen its influence. The first proposal of extension was born out of Alexandria's challenge of the growing influence of Fredericksburg in Fauquier and Culpeper, following the decay of Dumfries; but it was planned also, by a new route, to reach the upper valley. After several years of preliminary survey and study of the terrain between Fairfax Court House and Thornton's Gap,[17] the 'Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike Company' was organized in 1808,[18] and thereafter built a new paved road from the Little River turnpike near Fairfax Court House, via Centreville and Buckland, to Warrenton.[19] Following this venture charters were secured in 1810 to convert into private turnpikes also Dalrymple's old roads leading from the terminus of the Little River turnpike into the Valley, via Snicker's and Ashby's gaps, respectively, and within a few years those roads had been revised and paved.[20] Thus by 1816 the Little River turnpike system had realized Alexandria's ambition by radiating its influence: it then consisted of a main stem from Alexandria to Aldie, with three prongs, to Warrenton, to Snicker's gap and to Ashby's gap.

The Georgetown Turnpike System: On the organization of the District of Columbia, Georgetown set up a claim to share in the Virginia wagon trade in competition with Alexandria. The basis of this seems to have been that her merchants had fallen heir to the trade of the Lees' 'Falls Warehouse.' Although that facility itself had now disappeared, Georgetown still maintained at its site a bridgehead of commercial influence in Virginia. From this outpost she observed the town of Leesburg beginning to attain commercial self-consciousness and to resent Alexandria's condescension towards her. Taking ad-

vantage of the opportunity, Georgetown held out a friendly hand to Leesburg and soon cemented a trade alliance. The consequence was the establishment of a new turnpike road connecting the two towns, which was destined fairly to rival in importance the Little River road itself.

L'Enfant's 'Plan of the City intended for the Permanent seat of the Government,' published in 1791, showed a proposed bridge over the Potomac above Georgetown, and Maryland at once[21] incorporated the 'Georgetown Bridge Company' to realize it. The original act specified the site no more definitely than as 'at or near Georgetown,' but the supplemental act of 1795 shows that in that year the company was just beginning work on a bridge 'near the little falls' and desired authority to build and maintain a toll road on the Maryland shore leading to it from Georgetown. Here then, in 1797, was opened the first bridge to span the Potomac, that bridge which was officially designated the 'Falls Bridge' but soon became a familiar landmark under the popular name, 'Chain Bridge.'[22]

The decision thus had been to revert to the ancient indian river crossing at the fishing ground below the falls, which had once been represented by 'Magee's' and 'Awbrey's' ferries, and so to establish a direct connection with the Sugarlands road at the mouth of Pimmet's Run.

In 1813, after the true Chain Bridge had been in use for some years, Georgetown proceeded to the work, almost equally necessary to her purpose, of improving that road. Charters were first obtained in the District of Columbia for two companies, the 'Alexandria and Leesburg Turnpike Company,' and the 'Georgetown and Leesburg Turnpike Company.'[23] Within the limits of the District the former was authorized to establish a turnpike road from the intersection of West and Pendleton Streets in Alexandria 'towards Leesburg,' and the latter from the intersection of Falls and Water Streets in Georgetown 'to join the road to Leesburg.' These two charters were complements of a single purpose. The plan was to incorporate, as the nucleus of a turnpike system, the old back road from Alexandria to Little Falls (which is laid down on Ellicott's

'Territory of Columbia' map of 1792) and the toll road leading from Georgetown to the same place, via the Chain Bridge. From the junction of these roads on Pimmett's Run the Sugarlands road was to be improved for the use of both. As this last lay altogether outside of the District of Columbia, a Virginia charter was next necessary. It was here that Leesburg was brought in.

In the plans to extend the influence of the Little River turnpike, which followed the opening of that road, Leesburg had made a bid to secure a connection. A corporation styled 'The President, Directors and Company of the Leesburg Turnpike Road' was then authorized 'to establish a turnpike from the town of Leesburg in Loudoun County to the Little River Turnpike.'[24] The purpose was, of course, to secure an improved communication between Leesburg and Alexandria; but, while this new road was being slowly pushed from Leesburg in the direction of Sugarland run, Georgetown succeeded in diverting its destination. By an amendment of its charter in 1813,[25] the 'Leesburg Turnpike Road' was now authorized 'to lay out its route from Leesburg to Alexandria *in any direction*, favoring a connection with Alexandria and the Falls Bridge across the Potomac, 'which[ever] may be most advisable.' From this description it appears that Leesburg offered to do her trading at either Alexandria or Georgetown, whichever might afford the better terms; and the subsequent history shows that Georgetown made the highest bid. What she offered was to provide the capital to construct the new road below the Loudoun line, provided its terminus should be the 'Falls Bridge.' Contemporaneously with the amendment of the charter of the Leesburg Company, a charter was accordingly secured for the 'Fallsbridge Turnpike Company,'[26] with authority to establish a turnpike road, 'commencing at any point on the route laid down for the Leesburg Turnpike road and extending towards the Falls Bridge as far as the boundary of the District of Columbia.' The point of connection between the two roads as finally adopted was 'Drane's tavern,'[27] (now represented by Dranesville[28]) and there, about 1820, they met.

Having thus achieved a connection with Georgetown and the national capital, the enterprising spirits of Leesburg soon dreamed of extending their modern highway to the north until it should join the national Cumberland road, and so forever place Leesburg on the route of through traffic to the west. Richard H. Henderson and others procured a charter in 1828[29] for 'the Northern Turnpike Company' to build

'a road from the termination of the Leesburg turnpike to a point on the south bank of the river Potowmac, or of the north branch of said river, opposite to such point as may be most favorable for connecting the National or public road in the State of Maryland at or near the town of Cumberland.'

The plan was, however, too ambitious, and necessarily gave way to a more modest proposal by Georgetown in the interest of her trade, viz, to place her road on an equality of competition with the Little River pike, by extending the Leesburg pike into the Valley. This was undertaken in 1831[30] by the 'Leesburg and Snicker's Gap Turnpike Company,' which duly opened an improved road from Leesburg north through Clark's gap, where it diverged from the old Vestal's Gap road and made its way westerly to the foot of the Blue Ridge near the access to Snicker's gap.[31] There it was hoped to divert traffic which had used the older 'Snicker's gap Turnpike' leading to Aldie. If the meagre evidence of the reports to the Board of Public Works does not convince one of the success of this venture as a competitor, it is clear that for some years this road bound the Quaker region of Loudoun to Georgetown.[32] This is revealed by the name which adheres to all sections of this road without regard to corporate titles. It was in the beginning and still is, throughout its extent from the Falls Bridge to Snicker's gap, the 'Georgetown pike.'[33]

As a pendant to Georgetown's commercial plans, the new city of Washington had also engaged in bridge and road building. In 1808 the 'Washington Bridge Company' opened

the original 'Long Bridge' over the Potomac between the foot of Maryland Avenue, in Washington, and Alexander's Island.[34] Contemporaneously the 'Washington and Alexandria Turnpike Company'[35] opened a new road 'between the town of Alexandria and Bridgepoint on Alexander's Island opposite the City of Washington;' and the 'President, Directors and Company of the Columbia Turnpike Roads'[36] began construction on another, 'from the western extremity of the causeway leading from Alexander's Island to the boundary line of the District of Columbia in the most practicable route towards the Little River Turnpike road in the State of Virginia.' Both these roads have since been landmarks, the one as the lower road between Long Bridge and Alexandria, which parallels the railroad, and the other (to which still clings the designation 'Columbia pike') the upper road, via 'Baily's Cross Roads,' to a connection with the Little River turnpike below Annandale.

The record of the 'Columbia pike' between the south end of Long Bridge and the Little River turnpike makes this an appropriate place to record also a parallel younger brother of that road, the highway from the Aqueduct Bridge via Falls Church to Fairfax Court House. Prior to the construction of the Long Bridge, when Mason's ferry at Georgetown was the principal river crossing, there were, of course, roads leading to it from Alexandria and from Falls Church. The former was converted into a turnpike in 1809 by 'The President, Directors and Company of the Georgetown and Alexandria Turnpike Company' as an answer to the competition of the 'Washington and Alexandria Turnpike Company' leading to the Long Bridge; but it was not until 1852 that the Falls Church road was 'improved.'[37] It had then superseded the Alexandria road and become the principal Virginia approach to Georgetown, almost as important as the Leesburg pike. The original 'Fairfax and Potomac Plank Road Company,' authorized in 1852 to construct 'a plank road from the town of Providence,[38] in the county of Fairfax, to the Potomac river near the town of Georgetown,' was in time succeeded by two Fairfax and

Georgetown Turnpike Companies,[39] but all three corporations successively maintained the same road.

The Middle turnpike: The traffic which thronged the Little River and the Georgetown pikes in 1820 included all who had been wont to frequent the ancient ridge road from Alexandria, via Falls Church, to Vestal's gap. That highway, which had known the successive marches of the Virginia regiment under Col. George Washington and of a brigade of Braddock's expeditionary force under Sir Peter Halket, as well as generations of wagoners seeking tidewater markets with the fat of the land of the lower Valley, was now reduced to a local byway. Above Freedom Hill, indeed, as we can see on both Madison's and the Nine Sheet map, even the local traffic had trended to the east until a junction had been effected with the Georgetown pike, the purpose being to take advantage of that company's bridge over Difficult. Incidentally, this diversion destroyed the custom of William Wiley's long established tavern which stood where the old road crossed Difficult. Doubtless Wiley and his neighbours had expected that the Leesburg turnpike would pass their doors, and in a double disappointment now became active to secure their restitution to a place upon the map. It was at their procurement that, by an act of 1818,[40] the 'Middle Turnpike Company' was authorized 'to establish a turnpike road from Wiley's Tavern in the county of Fairfax to a point of intersection of the Little River Turnpike Road or of the line of the District of Columbia;' but it was under other auspices and not until ten years later that this vision assumed substance.

By a turn of the wheel of fortune, in 1829 the market at Georgetown had declined and Leesburg was again looking to Alexandria. The need of a more direct communication was recognised. Alexandria offered to help the Middle Turnpike Company to be the instrument to bring that about; the charter had been amended so as to authorize a connection with the Leesburg Turnpike road,[41] and Leesburg now persuaded that

last named corporation to agree to extend a five mile branch from Drane's tavern 'to some point at or near Wylies tavern . . . so as to meet or intersect the Middle Turnpike Road.'[42] Finally, the State Engineer reported to the Board of Public Works that the Middle Turnpike was a desirable public improvement.[43] On all this the Commonwealth made a loan and work was begun under the superintendence of Thompson F. Mason, President, and Cassius F. Lee, Clerk. The reports of the company are meagre. It appears only that in 1832 it had exhausted itself in building a bridge at Difficult and that as late as 1838 the whole road from Alexandria to Drane's tavern had not been sufficiently 'improved' to justify charging tolls. In 1838, however, Congress came to the company's relief with authority for a lottery, and thereafter the work was completed.

The Middle Turnpike was thus late in the field, but it succeeded in linking once more the early interests of Leesburg and Alexandria and so, doubtless, justified the name which is given it on the modern maps, 'the Alexandria and Leesburg Turnpike.'

The Hunting Creek turnpike: We have seen that the Potomac Path reached Alexandria via the ford of Hunting Creek, at the place known as Cameron. This ancient highway was included in the public turnpike system under the act of 1785, and in due course became a link in the official route of the 'great Southern mail;' in consequence of which it was successively known after 1800 as the 'stage road' and the 'telegraph road.' But as soon as the era set in of private initiative in highway improvement, the people of Alexandria realized that they could conveniently shorten their route to the south by bridging the estuary of Great Hunting Creek and so avoid a long diversion via Cameron. Accordingly, contemporaneously with the plans for the construction of the Potomac Long Bridge, 'the Great Hunting Creek Bridge Company' was chartered in 1807[44]

'to erect a toll bridge over Great Hunting creek from the lands of Colonel Augustine I. Smith or of the heirs of major Roger West, to the land of James H. Hooe.'

Such a bridge was duly opened before 1810, from the foot of Henry Street in Alexandria and immediately thereafter the bridge company extended its operations[45] by

'making a turnpike from the Southern abutment of said bridge to the ford of Dogue run where it [i. e. Dogue Run] crosses the stage road.'

Thus was laid out the cut-off which is still in use between Alexandria and the Telegraph road at Dogue Run. Under the name of the 'Hunting Creek turnpike' this new route not only at once diverted the traffic which formerly had flowed through Cameron, but stimulated the enterprising Nathaniel Ellicott of Occoquan to take up and carry forward the improvement thus inaugurated, by converting the old 'back road' also into a turnpike. The 'Occoquan Turnpike Company' was chartered in 1811[46] to build

'a turnpike road from the termination of the Hunting Creek turnpike at Dogue run to the town of Occoquan or Colchester.'

This left open the question whether the improved road south of Dogue run should be the original Potomac Path or the 'back road;' but in 1812 Ellicott procured an amendment striking out Colchester as an alternative route and so concentrated the energies of the company upon the improvement of the 'back road' through his own town of Occoquan. Before the work was complete, however, Ellicott died and in 1831 there was still no turnpike south of Dogue Run. The ambition to restore to the Potomac Path the traffic which the Potomac Steamboat Company had diverted from it then stimulated a plan that the counties of Stafford, Prince William and Fairfax should unite in

'constructing a road from the town of Falmouth . . . to intersect with the termination of the turnpike road leading from the town of Alexandria to Dogue run;'[47]

but it does not appear that any such thing was done.

Thus it became possible, as late as 1856, for a local convenience once more to reverse the relative importance of the forks of the Potomac Path north of the Occoquan. A charter[48] was secured in that year for the

'Alexandria, Mount Vernon and Accotink turnpike company . . . for the purpose of constructing a turnpike road from Alexandria, crossing Little Hunting Creek, at the intersection of the present road from Alexandria to Mount Vernon with said creek, to the mill race at Accotink mills.'

This route, which remains the approach from Washington to Mt. Vernon, was a substantial reversion to the original Potomac Path, as distinguished from the 'back' or 'Telegraph' road. It began with a connection with the 'Hunting Creek Turnpike' near the spring of the 'North Branch' of Little Hunting Creek; and in order that the entire improved road might be under one management the new company was authorized to buy out the franchise of the Great Hunting Creek Bridge Company; which apparently it did.

As there was still no private initiative to improve the Telegraph road and the condition of that highway grew steadily worse after the stage traffic had definitely abandoned it, it resulted that, through the agency of the 'Accotink pike,' the oldest portion of the Potomac path once more became, and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century remained, the best road between the Occoquan and Alexandria.

The early successful experiments with turnpikes served as fertile precedents. Within ten years after the Little River turnpike was opened, Virginia had been caught up in the contemporary national turnpike craze. 'Internal improvements'

became the subject of heated political controversy, and influential demands were made upon every successive session of the Assembly not only for new charters for turnpike companies, but for aid in constructing them. It was in this situation that in February, 1816, Virginia created her 'fund for Internal Improvements' with a 'Board of Public Works' to administer it. By this far reaching legislation the previous investments of the Commonwealth in companies which had undertaken public works, aggregating about $1,500,000, were funded, and solemnly dedicated for fifty years, to be employed as a revolving fund, in aid of other such works.[49] A year later there was enacted a general turnpike law, which was to become part of every future turnpike charter. By this act[50] a high standard of construction was now set up. Every turnpike was to be

'60 feet wide at least, eighteen feet of which shall be well covered with gravel or stone where necessary and at all times be kept firm and smooth, free from all mud holes, ruts and other obstructions and in all respects fit for the use of heavy laden waggons and of other carriages: and on each side of the parts so to be made and preserved, they shall clear a summer road eighteen feet wide and keep the same always in good repair, free from all stumps, roots, rocks, stones, mud holes, ruts and other obstructions fit for the use of waggons and other carriages in dry weather between the first day of May and thirty-first day of October, and fit for the use of horses and foot travellers at all times.'

In consideration of such construction every turnpike company was not only authorized to collect tolls for every five miles of road maintained,[51] but to condemn lands for its use and to regulate the abuse of the road by prohibiting the use of narrow tired wagons when loaded beyond a pre-established standard. On the other hand the company was held up to its standard of maintenance by provision of an ingeniously simple proceeding before any justice of the peace, under which a section of road could be summarily found to be out of repair and the collection of tolls in respect to it adjudged unlawful until the necessary repairs were made.

Under this legislation local ambitions crowded in on the Assembly and year after year for a generation to come a series of new turnpike companies were chartered. Being without substantial backing, most of them fell by the wayside at once, their routes serving today only to reveal the development of the pre-existing local road system and the philosophy of those who planned to link that system up.[52] The failure of these later plans was a symptom of the decay which had already taken hold even of the established roads. The turnpike principle was never popular but its ultimate collapse was not the result, like that of the waterways, of its own inherent defects. The turnpikes were the palpable victims of the all conquering railroad. In the decade before the war between the states this had become evident in respect of some of the principal roads which found themselves in direct competition with the steam locomotive; and the Assembly recognised the fact by providing in 1860[53] that the investment of the Commonwealth in the turnpikes should be transferred to the counties in which they lay whenever the Board of Public Works and the County Court might agree that 'the public interest will be promoted thereby.' The war gave the finishing impetus to this tendency. Maintenance was, of course, generally suspended during hostilities, and in few cases was it ever resumed by the companies; in 1866 the Assembly recited[54] that 'many turnpikes have been abandoned by the chartered companies having charge of them respectively and the said companies practically disbanded.' It was, therefore, provided that whenever the fact of abandonment might be judicially found, the counties were to be vested with all the property rights of the turnpike companies.

This act of 1866 was the obituary of the turnpike system in Virginia. Under it the toll gates disappeared from the 'great roads.' The 'Little River pike,' the 'Ashby's Gap pike,' the 'Warrenton pike,' and the 'Georgetown pike,' all became ghostly names, and the post-war generation grew up with no more appreciation of the part they had played in their fathers' lives than could be derived from tradition and the slowly decaying evidences of solid standards of maintenance, which the

County Supervisors made no pretense to revive. The social changes thus accomplished were, of course, important and far reaching. Communities which had known a vigorous industrial life when they were stations on main travelled highways, but never achieved the fortune to be served directly by a railroad, now lapsed into slumber within an array of solid stone and brick buildings which alone remained to testify for the generosity of their youth.[55] There were, indeed, several new turnpikes chartered and built in old Prince William during the seventies, but they were merely devices to provide a transportation convenience where the traffic would not support a railroad. It remained for another generation, after the application of the internal combustion engine to the individual vehicle, to see traffic restored to the highways and to provide for the reconstruction of them. When this was done, the day of the federalist was forever gone and democracy, securely in the saddle, was willing to agree to restrain its potations but could not stomach the restraint of the turnpike gate. The cost of the new road construction was accordingly made a charge of general and special state-wide taxation; and the equitable principle of the turnpike, that the traffic should bear its own costs, was not revived.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY.

[1] Hening, vi, 64; xii, 174. This was the general road law until 1819, when a radically revised act (included in *Code*, 1819, ii, 233) laid the foundation of the modern practice of commuting the duty in taxes.

[2] *Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, p. 206.

[3] The English practice of collecting tolls to be appropriated to the maintenance of a road originated in an act passed immediately after the Restoration (15 Car., II), but as late as 1749 the spread of the system was bitterly opposed. (See the chorus of protests collected in the *Gentlemans Magazine* for 1749). Trevelyan says (*British History in the Nineteenth Century*, 1922) that 'the Turnpikes only began to be really effective between 1748 and 1770, during which years the number of Trusts rose from 160 to 530 and the mileage quadrupled. An improvement in the roads of Britain was then noticed, perhaps for the first time since the Romans.'

[4] Hening, viii, 549.

[5] They were 'Thompson Mason, Francis Peyton, John Hough, Israel Thompson, Bryan Fairfax, William Ramsay, Alexander Henderson, Ed-

ward Payne, John Vestal and Edward Snickers, gent.' Of these the first five were residents on the Vestal's gap road, and Payne (for whom Payne's Church was named) on the Colchester road. Ramsay and Henderson represented, respectively, Alexandria and Colchester; and Vestal and Snickers, the two Shenandoah ferries.

By the act of 1785 a new board was constituted, consisting of 'George Gilpin, Charles Little, Francis Peyton, Samuel Love, Israel Thompson, Thomas Hart, William Brady, John Smith and George Noble, gent.' Colchester was not represented in this list, showing the decay of her trade following the Revolution.

[6] Hening, xi, 27.

[7] *Ibid.*, xii, 75, 375, 522.

[8] The original tolls were 'a coach or other four wheeled riding carriage, 1s, 3d.; two wheeled chaise or chair, 8d.; loaded or unloaded waggon, 1s.; cart, 6d.' These were collected without regard to the distance travelled. When the inevitable resentment arose, the system of tolls was modified under an act of 1787 (Hening, xii, 522) which is particularly interesting as an early statement of the spontaneous growth of that weed, the 'free pass.'

[9] This seems to be the earliest official use of the word in Virginia. In the middle ages a 'turnpike' was a military device for defence of a road against cavalry attack, while permitting footmen to pass. It operated on the principle of the turnstile.

[10] Francis Baily, *Tour*, 1796-97; McMaster, *History of the People of the U. S.*, ii, 553.

[11] *Cf.* Hening, xii, 294.

[12] Erroneous as Bishop Madison's map of 1807 is in detail, it fairly portrays, as we have already noted, the highway system of northern Virginia at the end of the eighteenth century. How much new road building was accomplished during the turnpike era and how much the new roads modified the old system can be seen at a glance by comparing Madison with the road system of 1826 as laid down on the Nine Sheet map.

[13] Acts 1795-96, ch. 31, p. 25. The list of commissioners included many in the Valley. Those below the Blue Ridge were Levin Powell of Middleburg, Thomas Lewis of Leesburg, Richard Bland Lee and Samuel Love of Loudoun, Francis Peyton, jr. and Levin Powell, jr., of Alexandria.

[14] Acts, 1801-02, ch. 83, p. 47. The commissioners below the Blue Ridge were William Hartshorne and John Thomas Ricketts of Fairfax; Israel Lacey and Burr Powell of Loudoun.

[15] The town of Aldie was established in 1810, or four years after the Little River Turnpike had reached its site, 'at the western extremity of the Little River turnpike road, in the County of Loudoun [on] property of Charles F. Mercer' (Acts, 1809-10, ch. 41, p. 37).

[16] The history of the Little River turnpike from 1817 to 1853 is recorded in the annual reports throughout that period by Phineas Janney to the Board of Public Works, documents filled with 'thee' and 'thou' and common sense. The annual tolls collected ranged from ten to twelve thousand dollars per annum. Among the directors serving at various times may be found George Carter, Charles Lewis, Reuben Johnston, Thomas Moss, Anthony Charles Cazenove, Hugh Smith, John Moore and Washington C. Page.

[17] Acts, 1800-01, ch. 47, p. 25; 1805-06, ch. 29, p. 18.

[18] Acts, 1807-08, ch. 27, p. 29; 1809-10, ch. 65, p. 57; 1811-12, ch. 53, p. 88; 1828-29, ch. 101, p. 99; 1833-34, ch. 137, p. 171. *Cf.* also *Phalen's Case,* 1 Robinson, 713. Among the commissioners appointed in 1808 were Geo. Summers, William Moss and Humphrey Peake of Fairfax; Thomas P. Hooe, Geo. G. Tyler and James Kemp of Prince William; James Keith, James H. Blake and Joseph Deane of Alexandria; Thomas Hunton, John Edmonds, Gustavus B. Horner, William Gibson and William H. Hampton of Fauquier.

[19] These towns were established as follows: Centreville, 1792; Buckland, at John Love's mill on Broad Run, 1798 (Shepherd, ii, 120); and Warrenton, 1810. William Hunton did not establish his town of New Baltimore until 1822 (Acts, 1822-23, ch. 81, p. 97).

[20] The charter of the Snicker's Gap Turnpike Company is Acts 1809-10, ch. 82, p. 67; that of the Ashby's Gap Turnpike Company is *ibid.,* ch. 88, p. 78. Both roads are laid down as turnpikes on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1857.

[21] *Maryland Laws,* 1791, ch. 81; 1795, ch. 44.

[22] *The Chain Bridge*: The history of the Georgetown Bridge Company, related in a memorial to Congress in 1826 (Senate Document No. 86, 19th Congress, 1st Session) fails to suggest the important place the several structures built by that company have in the general history of American bridge building. The first wooden bridge, opened in 1797, was designed by Timothy Palmer, a 'self taught architect' of Newburyport, Mass., and introduced novel and cheap engineering features, which excited 'Yankee' pride but were contemned by foreigners (See the observations upon it by Rochefoucauld and John Davis). This bridge had a life of seven years, when, by reason of the failure to enclose and so protect it from the elements, natural decay made replacement necessary. Resort was then had to Theodore Burr, an expert and ingenious bridge engineer who had recently achieved fame by a bridge over the Delaware at Trenton and had built also Thomas Mason's bridge over the Occoquan (*ante.,* p. 496). Burr's Potomac bridge, like his others, was designed on the principle of the 'Burr truss,' the immediate ancestor of the well known 'Howe truss.' It consisted of wooden arches, carried by a wooden truss. This new structure over the Potomac, built in 1804, cost $80,000, but, unfortunately, was carried away by a 'fresh' in the river within six months after it had been opened. Of the book making travelers, Mrs. Wakefield alone seems to have crossed the Burr bridge She described it as 'a giant bridge of one arch an hundred and twenty feet wide.' Nothing daunted, the Georgetown Bridge Company then tried another experiment. In 1801 Jacob Finlay had built the suspension bridge over Jacob Creek, near Greensburg, Pa., using, to carry the load, a system of iron chains, braced in solid abutments and strung over low masonry towers. On this principle the Georgetown Bridge Company built in 1805, at a cost said to be no more than $4,000, the original Potomac 'Chain Bridge,' with a span of 128 feet; which was to be the route by which Henry Clay and John Randolph reached Virginia for their duel in April, 1826. Until 1840, when it too was swept away by a flood, this bridge successfully performed the duty imposed upon it. (See the description of it and of its fate in Sears, *United States,* 1848). Superseded by successive iron and steel structures, the hold the original Finlay type bridge had on the popular imagination is indicated by the persistent designation of its successors, without regard

to type, as 'the Chain Bridge.' (For the engineering history see Thomas Pope, *Treatise on Bridge Architecture,* New York, 1811, and the admirable article, *Bridges,* in Johnson's Cyclopedia (1894), i, 775, where is reproduced a picture of the original Potomac 'Chain Bridge.' Other details are in the chapter on transportation in Webb, *Centennial History of Washington,* 1892).

[23] *U. S. Stat. at L.,* 1813, ch. 11 and 12.

[24] Acts, 1808-09, ch. 88, p. 78. Among the commissioners were Wilson Cary Selden, Israel Janney and William Noland. The route originally surveyed followed the subsequently built turnpike southeast from Leesburg to and across Sugarland run, whence it diverged from the old ridge road and made directly south to Fairfax Court House, where the proposed connection with the Little River turnpike was to be accomplished. This is the route of the existing road via Cartersville, Hunter and Oakton, and may be compared with the several subsequent surveys of the Manassas Gap Railroad Company for its Loudoun Branch.

The original 'Leesburg Turnpike Road' must, then, be distinguished from the later Leesburg and Aldie Turnpike Company (Acts, 1861, ch. 120, p. 212) which many years later established a turnpike road 'from Leesburg to some point on the Little River Turnpike at or within one mile of the town of Aldie.' With its twin brother, the Leesburg and Point of Rocks Turnpike Company (*ibid.,* ch. 121) this last road is still maintained to bear the traffic through Leesburg which once followed the Carolina road.

[25] Acts, 1812-13, ch. 42, p. 71. John Mason, of Georgetown, here makes his appearance as the dominant factor in the Georgetown turnpike system.

[26] Acts, 1812-13, ch. 39, p. 56; 1846-47, ch. 133, p. 119.

[27] See the company's statement in *Fifth Report, Board of Public Works,* 1820, p. 73. Here it appears that the Fallsbridge company had built another 'chain bridge' over Difficult, which is described as '220 feet long and 20 feet wide; it stands on two large stone abutments and three stone piers 18 feet high: it is further supported by three ranges of chains extending from end to end, resting on the stone piers, and has support of strong upright timbers between the piers where necessary.'

[28] An act of 1840 (Acts, 1839-40, ch. 170, p. 128) established 'a town by the name of Dranesville . . . on property of J. B. Farr and Nicholas Farr of the place heretofore known as the village of Dranesville in the county of Fairfax lying on the turnpike road leading from Leesburg . . . to Georgetown.'

[29] Acts, 1827-28, ch. 100, p. 69.

[30] Acts, 1830-31, ch. 138, p. 211.

[31] It was upon this road that the villages of Hamilton and Purcellville now grew up, around post offices which took the names of adjacent landowners, as may be seen on Yardley Taylor's Loudoun map of 1853. These Hamiltons were of the family of that Major James Hamilton who used to entertain Washington when he journeyed over the Vestal's Gap road (*Writings of Washington,* ed. Ford, ii, 181).

[32] The later charters, which showed a tendency to break away, under the centrifugal attraction of the B. & O. railroad, were the Waterford and Point of Rocks Turnpike Co. (Acts, 1844-45, ch. 100, p. 81), the Hillsborough and Harpers Ferry Turnpike Co. (Acts, 1848-49, ch.

173, p. 121) and the Loudoun and Berlin Turnpike Company (Acts, 1849-50, ch. 125, p. 85).

[33] This confusion of corporate titles is well illustrated by the act of 1910 (Acts, 1910, ch. 4, p. 4), which authorized a new corporation, the 'Washington and Leesburg Turnpike Company,' to take possession of and improve the old road. This act recited that the 'Leesburg and Dranesville,' 'Dranesville and Alexandria,' and 'Georgetown and Leesburg' turnpikes had all been 'abandoned.'

[34] *The Long Bridge:* The charter of the Washington Bridge Company was an act of Congress of February 5, 1808 (*U. S. Stat. at L.*, 2: 457). In 1832, when the bridge required reconstruction, it was taken over by the Government and reopened as a street of Washington City (*ibid.*, 4: 582, 727; 5: 364). In 1870 the old wooden bridge was rebuilt again by the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Company, to which it was granted for that purpose (*ibid.*, 16:161) and thenceforth continued in use as a combined railroad and highway bridge until 1901 (*ibid.*, 31: 772) when new and separate modern railroad and highway bridges were substituted. The southern terminus of this bridge, which is variously styled in the records 'Alexander's Island,' 'Bridgepoint' and 'South End of Long Bridge,' was originally an island separated from the Virginia upland by a channel which has been filled in.

[35] *U. S. Stat. at L.*, 2: 485.

[36] *Ibid.*, 2: 570. The Virginia charter to carry this road to destination was issued in the name of 'the Fairfax Turnpike Company' (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 38, p. 51: 1816-17, ch. 55, p. 119) and described the route as 'from the intersection of the Columbia line by the road nearly completed from the southern abutment of the Washington bridge in the District of Columbia, to the Little River Turnpike road.'

[37] Acts, 1852, ch. 168, p. 131. For the charter of John Mason's Alexandria turnpike of 1809, see *U. S. Stat. at L.*, 2: 539.

[38] i. e., Fairfax Court House. See *ante.*, p. 343.

[39] Acts, 1866-67, ch. 268, p. 693; Acts, 1887-88, ch. 362, p. 436.

[40] Acts, 1817-18, ch. 86, p. 135; 1820-21, ch. 69, p. 100. Among the commissioners was Thomas Fairfax of Ashgrove, who thus assumed a function which his father, Bryan Fairfax, had exercised under the public turnpike act of 1772. The reference of the name to the 'Middle' position of the road, between the Little River and Georgetown turnpikes, is a significant testimony of the contemporary importance of those roads..

[41] Acts, 1825-26, ch. 74, p. 69.

[42] Acts, 1829-30, ch. 82, p. 87.

[43] See Twelfth Report, Board of Public Works, 1829. Mr. Crozet here said: 'This road will extend from Alexandria to Difficult Run in the direction of Leesburg: its length will be 16-1/2 miles. It is expected to be met by another turnpike 5 miles long, branching off from the Leesburg turnpike. Thus a very direct road will be formed from Alexandria to Leesburg.' The statement of the Leesburg Turnpike Road Company in 1839 shows that it had then recently completed its portion of the road.

[44] Acts, 1806-07, ch. 86, p. 34.

[45] Acts, 1809-10, ch. 52, p. 49; ch. 57, p. 52.

[46] Acts, 1810-11, ch. 27, p. 46; 1811-12, ch. 57, p. 90.

[47] Acts, 1830-31, ch. 153, p. 230.

[48] Acts, 1855-56, ch. 172, p. 127.

[49] *Code,* 1819, ii, 201. The securities so pledged were shares of the Little River Turnpike Company, the Dismal Swamp, Appomattox, Potowmack and James River Companies, the Bank of Virginia and the Farmers' Bank.

[50] The act of February 7, 1817, is in *Code,* 1819, ii, 211.

[51] The tolls were, sheep per score, 6-1/4 cents; cattle per score, 12-1/2 cents; horses and mules each, 3 cents; 2 wheeled riding carriages, 10 cents; 4 wheeled riding carriages, 20 cents; cart or wagon, 6-1/4 cents, upward, according to load and width of tire, plus an additional toll of from 1 to 3 cents per draught animal. These tolls should be compared wtih the standards of 1785 (*ante.,* note 8).

[52] *The paper turnpikes of Fauquier:* There were apparently large hopes in Fauquier about 1820 of an extensive highway development intended to extend the influences of the Little River Turnpike system. In the perfection of its paper elaboration this is perhaps the most interesting of all the contemporary turnpike plans in Virginia. It is necessary to record, however, that little of this Fauquier plan was ever realized.

From Warrenton the Little River system was to be extended by two prongs: (a) crossing the Rappahannock at the mouth of Carter's Run (Waterloo) and thence west, via Sperryville and Thornton's gap into the Valley, (b) crossing the Rappahannock at the Fauquier Springs and thence via Jeffersonton, southwest into Culpeper. To that end a succession of corporations were chartered. The 'Springs' road was entrusted at first to the Fauquier and Culpeper Turnpike Company (Acts, 1822-23, ch. 59, p. 80), but later the Warrenton and Rappahannock Turnpike Company (Acts, 1848-49, ch. 169, p. 118) and the Warrenton and White Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company (Acts, 1879-80, ch. 201, p. 193) successively assumed responsibility for that portion of it east of the Rappahannock. The 'Waterloo' road also had a struggle to express itself. The Warrenton and New Market Turnpike Company (Acts, 1816-17, ch. 69, p. 139) seems to have exhausted itself in building this road from Warrenton to the Rappahannock river. Beyond that boundary it remained for the Thornton's Gap and Warrenton Turnpike Company (Acts, 1832-33, ch. 123, p. 94) and the Sperryville and Rappahannock Turnpike Company (Acts, 1847-48, ch. 173, p. 204), successively to attempt to realize the plan of a through road across the Blue Ridge, via Thornton's gap, such as is laid down on the Nine Sheet map. The impetus of the last named company, like that of the Leeds Manor Turnpike Company (Acts, 1847-48, ch. 179, 208), incorporated in the same year to build 'a turnpike road from Barbee's cross roads [now Hume] . . . to some point at or near the head of navigation on the Rappahannock River,' was, however, no longer through wagon traffic to Alexandria, but a connection with the improved Rappahannock navigation.

Meanwhile a similar road system had been laid out with reference to Manassas gap. It was planned that the Thoroughfare Gap Turnpike Company (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 40, p. 62) should construct a road beginning at Hay Market, on the Fauquier and Alexandria turnpike, and extending via Thoroughfare Gap to a connection (at the ford of Goose Creek on the Winchester road, i. e., at Delaplane) with the Manassas Gap Turnpike Company; which had been chartered (Acts,

1811-12, ch. 44, p. 66) to build a road from Middleburg, on the Ashby's Gap turnpike, to Top of the Ridge (Linden) in Manassas Gap. This last road was, in turn, to be extended to Strasburg by the Strasburg and Front Royal Turnpike Company (Acts, 1815-16, ch. 65, p. 160).

[53] Acts, 1859-60, ch. 163, p. 305.

[54] Acts, 1865-66, ch. 128, p. 223.

[55] Such were Aldie, Dover, Middleburg, Upperville, Chantilly, Dranesville, Centreville, Sudley, and Buckland.

THOMAS ANBUREY, 1779.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

The Railroads

WHILE Northern Virginia was in full swing of the development of her turnpike system, the world learned of a great event. In October, 1829, George Stephenson had demonstrated at Rainhill the practicability of his epoch making improvement of Watt's double acting stationary steam engine. By the device of a multitubular boiler to promote a forced draft he successfully actuated a locomotive engine, the 'Rocket.'

The use of rails to reduce tractive friction in the transportation of heavy loads was then already, and for three quarters of a century had been, an approved practice. As early as 1750 almost every mine in England had its horse 'rail-road' to reach tidewater or canal. As part of the movement for the improvement of internal navigation, which was epidemic after the beginning of the nineteenth century, this English precedent was seized upon and generally adopted in America. It was conceived that the use of the improved waterways for long distance transportation could be economically extended by horse drawn traffic using 'rail-roads' as portages between navigable waters, and as laterals to reach them. In old Prince William we find evidence of the germination of this thought in the charters of the period. In 1831[1] Thomas Philips and others had a franchise for a railroad from the mouth of Catoctin Creek, across Loudoun to a connection with the Ashby's Gap turnpike at Upperville; and in 1832[2] Richard Henderson and others had another for a similar convenience from Leesburg to the nearest point on the Potomac.

But contemporaneously with these local plans, the news of the success of the Rocket profoundly affected the imagination of everyone, not only in Virginia, but in America. It opened up to the most enterprising commercial communities the pos-

sibility of a more expeditious and more reliable means of reaching the back country, over indefinite distances, than any waterway could ever hope to achieve. Among such communities Charleston and Baltimore stand pre-eminent in appreciation of their new opportunity to enlarge and secure the remote trade upon which each had developed. If Charleston was the first to open as much as 135 miles of her railroad, Baltimore was the first in the field, and deliberately set about the accomplishment of the amazing proposal to push what was still an experiment through two mountain ranges. It was the astonishing success of this enterprise, so creditable to those who had it in hand, which determined the future economic history of all Northern Virginia; and, incidentally, spelled the downfall of Alexandria.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was chartered by Maryland in 1827 to build such a railroad as the name connoted. In 1831 this company was operating with horses its line from Chesapeake Bay to the town of Frederick, in Maryland, when it made the decision to adopt steam as a motive power. As we have already seen in its relation to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal the B. & O. location beyond Frederick crossed the Potomac at Harpers Ferry and made its way thence through Virginia up the north fork of the river.[3] Under the allure of the promise of cheaper transportation to market their wheat, which this railroad held out, the Valley grain farmers, who until then had largely looked to Alexandria, procured, in 1831,[4] a charter for the 'Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company' to build from Winchester to a connection with the B. & O. at Harpers Ferry. That connection was duly effected in 1836 and the wagon trade to Alexandria, across the Blue Ridge, at once came to an end. There was bitter criticism of the Assembly for thus permitting the diversion of Virginia's richest trade into the lap of Maryland; but in defense it was argued by the jealous James River men that that was the price Alexandria must now pay for her will to be included in the District of Columbia.

In this tragic situation there were still at Alexandria stout

hearts who were not content to accept defeat and solace themselves with mere recriminations. As soon as they caught their breath they planned to build a railroad of their own which would connect with the Winchester and Potomac at Harpers Ferry, and there intercept the flow of its traffic to Baltimore. To that end, after Alexandria had renewed her allegiance to Virginia, they procured, in March, 1847,[5] a charter for the 'Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad Company,' with power to consolidate with the W. & P. The plan was a brave and far seeing one, but if the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak. The B. & O. retorted by acquiring control of the voting stock of the W. & P., as had been authorized in the first flush of Virginia's welcome of the Maryland company,[6] and so prevented the proposed Alexandria consolidation. The Alexandria plan was stunned into insensibility and for some years nothing more was heard of it.

Meanwhile, as soon as the community recovered its nerve after this first disappointment, it turned its railroad building energies in the direction of Fredericksburg's traditional trade preserve, the valley of the Rapidan.

Orange and Alexandria

By 1847 a vigorous, if still incipient, rail system was radiating from Richmond. Among the projected lines the Louisa Railroad, chartered in 1836,[7] was at last beginning to push forward, from a connection with the R. F. & P. north of Richmond, through Louisa and Orange towards the base of the Blue Ridge. Its infant purpose was no more than to intercept and control in the interest of Richmond the Augusta wagon trade which crossed the mountains at Rockfish Gap. Although not included in it, this project stimulated the imagination of the farmers of the rich lands lying in the Great Fork of the Rappahannock. Since that region was seated they and their ancestors had been limited to a wagon market at the falls of the Rappahannock; now they saw the opportunity to reach also the falls of the James. They sought to divert the Louisa Railroad to cross the Rapidan and, failing in that proposal,

planned to build a branch to tap it. At this stage of the discussion someone at Culpeper, who may well have been the able John S. Barbour (then known as 'junior') made a suggestion which was the germ of the present railway system of northern Virginia. 'If we are to have a railroad at all,' he said, 'why should we be content with a branch line, when by enlisting the co-operation of the other piedmont counties we may achieve a trunk railroad of our own? Does not 'Extra Billy' Smith's stage line point to our real opportunity?' These were pertinent questions in 1847 for the community above the Rapidan had then a daily ocular demonstration of how, successfully and profitably, a Culpeper man had undertaken to carry passengers to the far South in direct competition with the original mail route via Fredericksburg. The advertisement[8] of the later Governor William Smith's 'Piedmont Stage Route' shows that in 1830 he had linked up and unified a series of local stage lines until he operated, under one management, a scheduled continuous line reaching across Virginia from Alexandria via Lynchburg and Danville to Salem, North Carolina; and by means of it maintained regular connections with similar lines which extended his facility (1) to the 'Southwest' through Tennessee and Alabama, and (2) to Georgia through the Carolinas. The specific statement of what Smith offered is interesting as a complete foreshadowing, down to the last detail, of the ultimate railroad development.

Leaving 'Washington at noon on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday,' Smith's line passed

> 'through the counties of Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier, Culpeper, Madison, Orange, Albemarle, Nelson, Amherst, to Lynchburg; thence through Campbell and Pittsylvania to Danville, and thence to Salem, North Carolina—at which place it intersects the Line to the Gold Region, and the Line to Columbia, Augusta, Milledgeville, &c. . . .
>
> 'This route branches at Lynchburg, and runs to Salem, Va., at which place it intersects the Valley Line to Tennessee, Alabama, &c. . . .
>
> 'From Lynchburg the subscriber also owns a line to the Virginia Watering Places. . . .

'From Washington to Columbia, by my route, the distance is 524 miles—by Richmond 517 miles. To Augusta, to Milledgeville, &c., the distance by my route is nearer than that by Richmond.'

Though realization was long delayed, this document indicates what were the ultimate plans of the little group of men who made application to the Assembly in March, 1848,[9] for a charter for an 'Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company' to build from Gordonsville, whither the Louisa road was headed, via Orange and Culpeper Court Houses, to the City of Alexandria.

The projectors here described only the first link in the chain they imagined; but, comparatively short as that was, they found themselves unable to compass it. For this reason they soon made application to Alexandria for help. That community at once rose to the bait and took over the enterprise.

At the organization meeting[10] on May 9, 1849, George H. Smoot of Alexandria, who had been one of the leaders in the Harper's Ferry project, was elected President, the other directors being William L. Powell and Henry Daingerfield on behalf of the private stockholders, with Charles Hunton, John S. Barbour, jr., and Charles J. Stoven on behalf of the State, which had subscribed to the stock under the current 'internal improvement' practice. Thomas C. Atkinson was appointed Chief Engineer, and surveying parties were started out from both ends of the authorized route.

The engineers soon determined that the line should cross the Rappahannock at Martin's Mill (since known as Remington) but between Alexandria and that crossing the conflicting forces which always affect the location of a railroad had full play. The ambition of the county seats of Fairfax and Fauquier to be on the railroad, as already they were on the stage line, contended with the natural topography and the problems of distance and cost. Several lines were run. From Alexandria they all followed the valley of Cameron run and diverged at its head waters. One route turned up Accotink and thence crossing the ridges, via Fairfax Court House and

Centreville, reached Bull Run below the Warrenton turnpike. The other, which had already been surveyed for a proposed extension of the R., F. & P. north from Fredericksburg, crossed through Ravensworth from Accotink to Pohick and, passing below Payne's Church, reached Bull Run via Pope's Head. These rival lines crossed Broad Run at Milford and Prince William Court House (Brentsville), respectively, one going by way of Germantown and the other as far south as Weaversville. The decision between them was made at a meeting of the stockholders on December 28, 1849, by a characteristic Anglo Saxon compromise. Everybody was satisfied except the engineers, who protested against that Fairfax grade which, from that day to this, has been the *bete noir* of every crew which has taken a train over the road as it was constructed. Another immediate result was a demand for branches to the three court houses, which had been passed by; but Warrenton, being left most remote from the line as finally located, was alone assured of this convenience.[11]

Construction began at Alexandria early in 1850. The line was opened to Tudor Hall (then become Manassas Junction) in October, 1851, and to Culpeper in November, 1852. The branch to Warrenton was completed in 1853 and the connection at Gordonsville with the Louisa Railroad (then become the Virginia Central) was finally accomplished in March, 1854.[12]

Manassa's Gap

On March 9, 1850,[13] as the Orange and Alexandria was beginning its construction, the Assembly chartered also the 'Manassa's Gap Railroad Company' to build from a connection with the O. & A. through the thoroughfare of Broad Run and Manassas Gap of the Blue Ridge; and thence via Strasburg to Harrisonburg. This new bid, on behalf of Alexandria, for the trade of the upper valley, seems at first to have had only lukewarm support in that City and, indeed, in the Assembly, for no state aid was promised. Although none of them was named in the charter, the project was, however, at

once vigorously taken in hand by a group of upper Fauquier men whose County would be the first to benefit by the construction. These men had seen turnpikes built to the north and the south of them, through Ashby's Gap and Warrenton, and were now stimulated to action by what seemed to be a promise of commercial isolation; for their own projected turnpikes between Thoroughfare and Manassas gaps had not materialized. It was due to the energy and courage of Edward C. Marshall, James W. Foster, Alfred Rector, and Thomas H. Boswell, all of Fauquier, that the Manassas Gap railroad was achieved. They organized the company, elected Mr. Marshall President, employed J. McD. Goldsborough as Chief Engineer; and, with his aid, located a line from a junction with the Orange road in Prince William through Thoroughfare Gap, and via The Plains, Salem and Markham, up the drains of Goose Creek, to its source in the gap which gave its name to the company. Demonstrating that the Blue Ridge crossing was feasible without prohibitive cost, they made up private stock subscriptions of $60,000 and, with that guaranty, demanded and secured equality of treatment in the matter of state aid. At the first annual meeting, held at Salem on September 2, 1851, it was reported that construction had begun at a junction with the O. & A. Thenceforth the work was pushed diligently, so that trains were running to The Plains in May, 1852, to Rectortown in August, and to Markham on December 10th of the same year.[14] The 'top of the Ridge' was reached a year later (November, 1853) and finally, after distressing delays by reason of the heavy earth work west of the Blue Ridge and the necessity of building bridges over both branches of the Shenandoah, Strasburg was attained on October 19, 1854. Then, as President Marshall triumphantly reported to his stockholders, 'the iron horse of Manassa this day takes his first draught of limestone water.' It was a real achievement. In four years a group of farmers had built 60 miles of railroad and could claim to be the first Virginians who had transcended the barrier of the Blue Ridge with that modern convenience. They are entitled to places in

Valhalla beside Spotswood's Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.

If only to pay them a small tribute which is due, it is not amiss here to recall the pleasant impression this road and its builders made upon the editor of the Washington newspaper of the time:[25]

'Our readers have heard within a twelve-month past—not more we think—of the projection of certain railroads at the neighboring city of Alexandria to penetrate away off to the west across the Blue Ridge and to the southwest indefinitely; then that they were commenced; that one was called the *Manasses Gap* and through that pass in the Blue Mountains to penetrate to the great fertile 'Valley' of Virginia; the other the *Orange* railroad, designed to run through the counties of Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier, Culpeper and Orange to Gordonsville, there to unite with the Richmond and Staunton railroad and so on to Tennessee and the Mississippi, and even beyond for aught we know. We next heard that both roads were in progress, that miles were finished, that locomotives and cars were running, and loads of flour and grain and fuel and passengers daily arriving.

To ascertain the facts in a matter in which as neighbors we feel a lively interest, a number of our citizens, including several members of our Corporation, determined to pay a visit to Alexandria and ascertain what had really been accomplished towards work so honorable to the enterprise of that ancient town. They accordingly went down on Friday last and on arriving at the depot in the suburbs of the town found an extensive establishment, with ample engine houses, offices, passengers' rooms with all conveniences for comfort, attentive officers and abundant indications of an active business. A train of really superb cars was in readiness, attached to a powerful locomotive of peculiar construction and high finish; and the Washington company with many other passengers were soon under way over a road well laid with a very heavy rail of fifty-five pounds to the yard, which rendered the motion smooth and pleasant. The first twenty-five miles were over a main stem common for both roads that distance and from which they diverge—the Manasses to the west the Orange to the southwest. Our visitors kept the former road; and at the end of some twenty-five miles more arrived at the station called 'The Plains,' beyond which the road is not completed; though in

vigorous progress and will in the course of next month reach the town of Salem, five miles farther and only twenty from the Blue Ridge, where it will pass into the 'land of Promise,' the great valley of fruitful fields but we are sorry to say of political darkness.

The road passes through a fine agricultural country, especially after it enters Fauquier, and its present terminus at The Plains in the midst of a very fertile district affords one of the most lovely and picturesque scenes which nature and rural industry have combined any where to create. At The Plains were numerous wagons from the neighboring country delivering loads of agricultural products for the freight trains, although a very long and heavily-laden one had just been met on its way to Alexandria. At The Plains also the visitors had the good fortune to meet the President of the Company, Edward Marshall, Esq., and Mr. Goldsborough, Engineer-in-Chief, and some of the gentlemen of the neighborhood, whose politeness added much to the pleasure of the excursion. After an hour or two spent at this agreeable station the company re-entered the cars and returned to town, with every attention from the polite conductor, Mr. Fossett, and the agent, Mr. Middleton, highly gratified with their trip. The rate of travel is about twenty-five miles an hour, and from the solidity of the road and the ease and commodiousness of the carriages no railroad travel can be more comfortable. The result of the visit was to realize to the full all which public report had claimed for the enterprise that conceived and the perseverance which has carried forward so unobtrusive, yet so important, a work—important indeed to the whole country, as the branch to Gordonsville will supply the only link necessary to perfect a great unbroken direct line of railroad communication from Maine to the Mississippi; for we cannot imagine that the small chasm between Alexandria and this city will be long left unfilled. The lands contiguous to the Alexandria road, both improved and unimproved, have already risen in price an average of one hundred per cent, and there is hardly estimating the value which such a work adds to the remoter districts on its line in a productive agricultural region where the only kind of transportation before was the slow and expensive wagon. And when we find such a work undertaken by the public spirit and seventy or eighty miles of it so promptly completed by the quiet energy of so small a city, aided it is true in part by the State, shall we not find enough of a like spirit in our own community to begin some similar work for our local advantage and the common weal?

While its railroad was still under construction, the Manassas Company found that in its own best interest it should maintain a terminal on tidewater at Alexandria, and, to that end, purchased property at Jones Point. A contract was then made for running rights over the O. & A. to reach this terminal. In this way the Manassas road was enabled to move its construction material in its own trains at reasonable cost; but once commercial traffic was inaugurated it was found that what had seemed a fair division of rates when the contract was made, gave to the O. & A. the cream of 'Manassa's' profits. The younger company, feeling its oats and planning several extensions,[16] then determined to construct not only its own line into Alexandria, but a Loudoun Branch.[17] 'The independent line,' as it was bravely called in the contemporary Manassas reports, was located from Gainesville to Bull Run at Sudley Mill; and thence, on the alternative, and preferable, upper survey which the O. & A. had rejected, via 'Jermantown' summit, down the slopes of Accotink and around Annandale hill to Cameron and Jones' Point. The Loudoun Branch was to spring from this extended main line at a point near the county boundary and proceed, via the Elk Lick of Cub, Aldie and Carter's Cap, to Purcellville. Prior to 1858, a considerable amount of grading was done on both these projects; but the resources of the Manassas Company being then strained to complete its charter line up the Valley to Harrisonburg, the war between the states intervened before the new construction east of the Bull Run Mountains could be completed.[18] Independence of the O. & A. was never achieved. During the post-bellum reconstruction days, the Manassas Company bowed to fate and merged its interests with those of the Orange road.

Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire

The early success of the Manassas Gap Company, despite its handicaps, had the effect of a draught of wine upon its Fauquier promoters. In 1852 they saw a vision. They secured[19] authority to extend their road from Strasburg to the coal fields of Hampshire with a terminus on the north branch

of the Potomac at Paddytown (since known as Keyser). If the Manassas Company accomplished nothing else by this proposal, it apparently stirred to new life and energy those Alexandria men who had originally promoted the Alexandria and Harper's Ferry road. George H. Smoot now resigned the presidency of the O. & A. and revived that earlier project. Under the new name of Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire, the company secured authority to build across the Blue Ridge, and through the Bloomery Gap of Cacapon, to Paddytown.[20] An organization was effected on May 24, 1853, with Lewis McKenzie, of Alexandria, as President; James McIlhany, of Loudoun, and George H. Smoot, of Alexandria, being the Directors. As Chief Engineer, Charles P. Manning, formerly of the B. & O., was employed and glowing reports were published rehearsing the possibilities of coal traffic through Alexandria in competition with the B. & O. Two lines were surveyed across the Blue Ridge. Both followed the valley of Four Mile Run to the summit of 'Fairfax old Court house,' where they diverged, one (a) to follow the route of the old Vestal's gap road, via Dranesville, Leesburg, Clark's gap and Hillsborough, and the other (b) to strike a new line to the west, down the Horsepen of Broad Run and thence through the Catoctin hills at Carter's gap (where the Loudoun Branch of the Manassas road was to be crossed), and under the Blue Ridge by a tunnel at Snicker's gap. Construction was begun at Alexandria, but the work dragged while the resources of the company were dissipated in surveys beyond the Blue Ridge. It resulted that the war between the states found the Hampshire Company with no more than a grade to Clark's gap and trains operating to Leesburg;[21] and it was not until after that war that the railroad was extended from Clark's gap on a new survey which followed the Leesburg and Snicker's gap turnpike, until ultimately it reached the foot of the Blue Ridge at the access to Snicker's gap, which has since been known as Bluemont.

Thus was the modern map of the transportation facilities

of old Prince William practically completed prior to the great events of 1861.

The development of the successive turnpike and railroad systems is evidence of an interesting social phenomenon of life in old Prince William following the Revolution. Throughout the eighteenth century the large currents of traffic had flowed north and south; the community was linked by trade and travel with the older settlements of Virginia. But, when, immediately after the American Revolution, the town of Alexandria, instinct with a vigorous commercial life, began that crowded half century of self-assertion of which only the memory now remains in her quiet streets, Fauquier and Loudoun, as well as the lower Valley, were stimulated to unprecedented community sensibility, with resulting efforts towards economic development. It was chiefly by the promotion of improved highways that Alexandria made this influence felt—at first with turnpikes and eventually with railroads. Under that influence the currents of traffic in northern Virginia changed and set in definitely east and west. This was an emphatic manifestation at the first commercial opportunity of the historical separation of the interests of the Northern Neck and the lower tidewater.[22] Throughout the eighteenth century the two sections had been gradually hardening in their political relations. Now, after the revolutionary weakening of the colonial influence of 'James River,' when the 'back trade' suddenly became the strength of the Commonwealth, like Venice and Genoa, the sections sat back to back looking out on the world from different points of view. That the statesmen of the lower country saw this is apparent throughout the debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1829, when they made their last stand. But there are earlier evidences of such appreciation of an opportunity. In 1786[23] the lower tidewater had reached out a hand towards the lower Valley, with a plan to construct a road from Richmond through Chester Gap; but the movement was arrested at the Rappahannock river and spent itself for the time being in

support of the ambitions of Fredericksburg in relation to the upper Valley. The construction of the James River canal, followed by the Richmond and Alleghany railroad were the ultimate expressions of the same purpose. Vigorous as they were, they came too late to control the northwest.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Alexandria, free from domestic control of the Virginia Assembly by being included in the District of Columbia, was enabled to assert her individuality in the lower Valley. Her merchants wooed the Valley men away from any loyalty they may have felt towards Richmond. As it turned out, Alexandria was unable to hold what she was the first to win. Granting that statesmanship was justified in giving her a free hand so long as she mewed her strength, when it was apparent that she could not control her fate the Commonwealth should have intervened in a greater interest.

The moment of destiny passed when the first railroads were built. The Commonwealth lent its credit but failed to direct the strategy of the construction of the internal improvements with a single eye. In response to the local demand of the people between the James and the Rappahannock, she fostered the construction of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad along the route of an ancient highway. In response to the demand of the people of the Shenandoah, she undertook, as a state enterprise, the construction of the Winchester and Parkersburg turnpike. The one was opened in 1837, the other in 1839. When Virginia reestablished her jurisdiction over Alexandria, that town had already lost her race with Baltimore, but there was still time effectively to link the highways we have named, by improving the communication along the pioneer travel route from Fredericksburg to Winchester. In that event a Virginia railroad would have followed a turnpike through Ashby's Gap and at last would have reached the Ohio. By its means the trade of the lower Valley and of the South Branch, as well as the coal of the Monongahela, all of which became the heritage of Baltimore, might have been concentrated on Richmond, as the trade of the Kenawha Valley

later was. Certainly, the territory of old Prince William would, under that stimulus, have centered its commercial and its social interests on Richmond; and it is even possible that there would have been no West Virginia. As it was, however, the Commonwealth lent her credit to Alexandria's ambition to retrieve her place in the sun; and, in doing so, made possible the opening of a new avenue through the piedment which, in the event, was to intercept and draw to the Potomac a large trade which might otherwise have flowed naturally to the falls of the James.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE.

[1] Acts, 1830-31, ch. 123, p. 195; 1833-34, ch. 119, p. 157.

[2] Acts, 1831-32, ch. 100, p. 153.

[3] The Virginia charter is Acts, 1826-27, ch. 74, p. 77.

[4] Acts, 1830-31, ch. 122, p. 187.

[5] Acts, 1837-38, ch. 159, p. 113; 1844-45, ch. 88, p. 71; 1845-46, ch. 115, p. 88.

[6] Acts, 1846-47, ch. 111, p. 101. The incorporators were John H. Brent, George H. Smoot, William L. Powell, Henry Daingerfield, Robert Jamieson, Benoni Wheat, Lewis McKenzie, Cassius F. Lee, Reuben Johnston and Thomas M. McCormack.

[7] Acts, 1835-36, ch. 126, p. 168. This, of course, is the germ of the C. & O. railroad.

[8] *National Intelligencer* newspaper, July 12, 1831. See also the *Culpeper Exponent, February* 14, 1924.

[9] Acts, 1847-48, ch. 157, p. 191. The commissioners were:
in Orange, Philip S. Fry, David Hume, Richard Rawlings, Lewis B. Williams, Thomas Scott, and Thomas A. Robinson;
in Culpeper, Thomas Hill, senior, George Thomas, F. J. Thompson, George Ficklin, John Slaughter, J. C. Hansborough, and W. B. Ross;
at Alexandria, Robert H. Miller L. A. Cazenove, F. L. Smith, Robert Crupper, G. W. D. Ramsay, W. L. Powell, and Robert Brockett.

[10] This meeting was held at Warrenton, apparently in order to secure the Fauquier interest. All subsequent meetings were at Alexandria.

[11] Fairfax Court House (then still the town of Providence) solaced itself with a plank road connection. By an act of March 7, 1851 (Acts 1850-51, ch. 109, p. 82), 'The Providence Branch Plank Road Company' was chartered 'for constructing a plank road from Fairfax Court House, running in a Southerly direction to some point on the Alexandria and Gordonsville railroad at or near Paine's church.' The road so build

incorporated a portion of the old Ox Road and constitutes the still existing highway between the town of Fairfax and Fairfax station.

[12] This connection profoundly affected the destiny of Fauquier. The O. & A. and the Virginia Central at once began to advertise an all-rail route between Alexandria and Richmond in competition with the pre-existing rail and water route of the R. F. & P., via Aquia. They claimed that though the distance was 50 miles greater they were free from the delays caused by ice in the Potomac. The R. F. & P. recognised this risk and proposed an alliance with the O. & A. The plan was to build a short and easily practicable rail connection from Falmouth to the O. & A., passing through lower Fauquier (Acts, 1855-56, ch. 130, p. 108). This would have been of great value to all the territory north of the Rappahannock, and particularly to the Manassas road, but the proposal was hardly made before it was blocked by the bitterness engendered during a contest between the rival routes via Aquia and Gordonsville for the contract to carry what was then called the 'Great Southern' mail. It was after this that, under the able management of John S. Barbour, the O. & A. diverted its ambitions from Richmond as a traffic goal and began to secure, by southern extensions, that through traffic of the Carolina piedmont on which the Southern Railway has since grown.

[13] Acts, 1849-50, ch. 102, p. 73. The commissioners were:

Alexandria: Phineas Janney, George H. Smoot, Robert Brockett, William H. Irwin.

Warrenton: Richard Paine (sic), Thomas M. Munroe, Hamden A. White.

Front Royal: Giles Cook, E. B. Jacobs, Charles Green, Robert Turner.

Woodstock: Green B. Samuels, Mark Bird, William Moreland.

Harrisonburg: John Kinney, Samuel Shacklett, Littleton W. Gamble.

These names do not, however, tell the true story of the organization of the road. The Fauquier men who soon took over the charter were the successors of those who in 1813 had chartered the Thoroughfare Gap Turnpike Company (Acts, 1812-13, ch. 40, p. 62) to serve the same route. Among the commissioners named in the earlier act we find such an enumeration of crepuscular worthies of the 'upper end,' as we might expect to find here, viz.:

Gibson's Store: William Gibson, Nimrod Farrow, Bryan Foley, John Ashby.

Oak Hill: James Morgan, Thomas Marshall, Augustine Smith.

Salem: Chandler Peyton, Richard Rixey, Ludwell Rector, Thomas O'Bannon.

Chapman's Mill: George Chapman, Thomas Turner.

[14] The opening of the Manassas gap railroad was the occasion for the construction of several lateral 'grade' roads, intended to facilitate access to it, all of which have remained important arteries of Fauquier, viz.: The Upperville and Manassas Gap Plank road Company (Acts, 1852-53, ch. 293, p. 207), graded the road from Piedmont station (Delaplane) to Upperville; the Salem-station and Rappahannock Turnpike Company (Acts, 1853-54, ch. 87, p. 52) graded the road from Salem station (Marshall) to Vernon Mills; the Middleburg and Plains-station Turnpike Company (Acts, 1855-56, ch. 168, p. 126) graded the road from The Plains station to Middleburg; and the Rectortown and Rec-

tor's Cross Roads Turnpike Company (Acts, 1859-60, ch. 228, p. 419) laid out and graded the road from Rectortown station to Rectortown.

[15] *National Intelligencer* newspaper, May 18, 1852.

[16] Acts, 1852, ch. 162, 163; 1852-53, ch. 74, 75, 170, 187, 192, 193.

[17] To those who like to indulge in might-have-beens, it will be interesting to recall that before this branch was definitely located it was surveyed (1) from Rectortown down Goose Creek to Snickersville and (2) from The Plains down Little River to Middleburg.

[18] The grade between Gainesville and Bull Run served Stonewall Jackson as a bulwark at second Manassas and is now covered with battle monuments. Other stretches remain as landmarks in the valley of Cameron Run. In Loudoun, where most work was done, the line of the survey may be followed on Yardley Taylor's map.

[19] Acts, 1852, ch. 162, p. 129.

[20] Acts, 1852-53, ch. 175, p. 148.

[21] The first train reached Leesburg in May, 1860. (See the *Washington Star* newspaper, May 17, 1860.

[22] See *ante.*, p. 172.

[23] Hening, xii, 375.

APPENDIX

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

The Maps and Map Makers[1]

1612. *Capt. John Smith.*

IN the December of 1608, following Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake, the Potomac and the Rappahannock the Virginia government sent to England a map drawn by Captain Nathanael Powell, who was one of Smith's companions. It is unfortunate that this draught is lost;[2] for it was probably the foundation of the famous map, engraved by William Hole and, as Purchas testified, 'in print' prior to August 7, 1612, which has, ever since, been used to illustrate Smith's writings. Although Thomas Jefferson wrote it down as 'merely a conjectural sketch,' the more it is studied the more this map proves to be a document of prime historical importance. Whoever drew the original, there is no doubt that the engraver had Smith's personal instructions for filling in the picture with the names of indian villages, hills, etc., mentioned in Smith's writings. This map was reproduced in several states with additions to and changes in the place names, some of which cannot be identified from anything Smith wrote. Purchas, in the notice of the map in his *Pilgrimage* (1612), explains this only in part: 'To speake of . . . divers places which received name by some accident, as Fetherston's Bay, so called of the death of one [of] ours there happening, and the like . . . would exceed our scope and the Readers patience.' Thus within the limits of old Prince William are inscribed three intriguing names for which there are no appropriate anecdotes, viz: 'Burton's Mount,' 'Democrites tree,' and 'Sparkes' Valley.' George Burton came to Virginia with the second supply and, although he accompanied Smith on his visit to Powhatan in December, 1608, was not with him during the exploration of Aquia Creek during the previous summer.[3] Again, Robert Sparkes was never with

Smith at all but first appears in Virginia with Argall during his two visits to the Rappahannock river in 1613. It does appear that on that occasion Sparkes was left for a time as a hostage among the indians[4] and later went with John Rolfe on an embassy to Powhatan,[5] but there is no record of him in 'Sparkes' Valley.' As these were the first English names written on the map of old Prince William, it is unfortunate that we do not know the reasons why.

1635. *Lord Baltimore.*

With the pamphlet entitled *A Relation of Maryland,* published in London by the Lord Baltimore in September, 1635, to induce emigration to his recently founded colony, was an anonymous map, bearing the legend *Nova Terrae-Mariae Tabula,* which ever since has been called Lord Baltimore's map. This was clearly founded on Smith's map but is by no means a copy of it. Its interest in relation to our present study is that it includes a large part of old Prince William within the limits of Maryland. This claim arose out of ignorance of the whereabouts of that 'first spring' of the Potomac which, under the Baltimore charter of 1632, was to determine the western boundary of Maryland, and the line dividing that proprietary from Virginia. It is obvious that in 1635 Lord Baltimore had nothing but Smith's map to go on in laying out his bounds; and that by reason of the accidental emphasis given to Quiyough (Aquia) Creek on the Smith map Baltimore assumed either that Quiyough was the main stream of Potomac or that its fountain was further west than that of Potomac. At all events, the shading of the 1635 map clearly indicates what was Lord Baltimore's understanding when that map was drawn. That he was still of the same mind fifteen years later appears from the instructions[6] he sent to the proprietary government under date of August 26, 1651, that

'for the better publication and remembrance of the Bounds between Virginia and Maryland . . . we require you . . . to encourage some English as soon as you can to take up such land as shall be due unto them . . . on or near the Bounds

of our said Province [in] that Tract of Land which lyeth between the creek or River that runneth by Potowmeck Town, called in the mapp, Patowmeck, and the River which runneth by Piscataway (called in the mapps af'esaid by the name of Piscataway River) on the north; in which last tract is included, as we are informed that place where Mr. Giles Brent now resides, called by him *Peace*[7] and also the country called there the Doages.'

Perhaps the sting of Brent's irony, in naming his refuge in Virginia, had something to do with these instructions: at all events, when Governor Stone of Maryland acted on them in 1653, Brent, who had no desire to find himself once more in Maryland, immediately invoked the protection of the Virginia government. A minute of the council meeting held March 16, 1653/4, which has survived in the Westmoreland records,[8] rehearses that

'This day Capt. Gyles Brent exhibited his peticon to the Court and represented that being seated on the South side of Petomack river und^r^ the authority and by pattent und^r^ the Goverment of this Colony, Nevertheless the Lord Baltimore hath given instructions to his surveyor and Secretary, through grants yet to issue out of Maryland, [to issue] Grants for the Land belonging to the peticon^r^ under this Colony; wch this Court conceiveth to be contrary to the plain words of the said Lord Baltimore's grant and to the knowne interest of Virginia, according to a former act of Assembly to that part;'

in consideration of all of which the county court of Westmoreland was ordered

'to take care to preserve the bounds and Interest [of] the Colony of Virginia;' and 'the Inhabitants of Westmoreland and Lancaster' were authorized 'if cause bee, to afford them [i. e., the court] assistance therein.'

In the ensuing negotiations, Baltimore withdrew his claim to cross the great river; or, at least, nothing further was heard of it. This was fortunate in his own interest for, while a western boundary from the head of Aquia Creek would have given him all of Fairfax county with a large part of Prince William and

Loudoun, it would have held Maryland to the east of the Blue Ridge at Harpers Ferry.

Considering the state of geographical knowledge at the time, Baltimore's blunder was pardonable; but, as such things inevitably must, it propagated error and confusion among others. Not only was Virginia Ferrar lead astray by it as we shall see, but when the first Northern Neck charter was formulated in 1649, its description was evidently drawn from a comparison of the Smith and Baltimore maps. The intention of that grant clearly was that the Northern Neck should be a new slice carved off of the Virginia turkey next after the slice which had been served to Baltimore; that the eastern boundary of the Northern Neck should be the already established western boundary of Maryland. The Northern Neck was accordingly described[9] as that tract of land

'bounded by and within the head of the rivers of Tappahannock, *alias* Rappahannock, and Quirriough or Pattawomecke Rivers, the courses of the said rivers as they are commonly called or known by the inhabitants and descriptions of those parts, and Chesapsyocke Bay.'

This identification of 'Quirriough,' (the name Smith gave to Aquia creek), with the Potomac itself was clearly a mere extension of Baltimore's original blunder, taken from his map, but it 'piled Pelion on Ossa.'

1651. *Virginia Ferrar.*

Nicholas Ferrar, Sr. (1540-1620), an East India merchant in London, was interested in the voyages of Hawkins, Drake and Raleigh and became a subscriber to the Virginia Company. One of his sons, William, emigrated to Virginia in 1618: two others, John and Nicholas, Jr., staying at home, successively served as Deputy Treasurer of the Virginia Company from 1619 to its dissolution in 1624. They then retired to Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, where they established a religious and industrial community based on the principles of the Anglican church. Their enterprise was fostered by Charles I, but excited great animosity from the contemporary

puritans, being denounced as a 'protestant nunnery.' In this quiet atmosphere Virginia Ferrar (1626-1688), daughter of John, passed her entire life.[10] Her father, who loved the colony he had served so well, says that she was christened *Virginia* 'so that speaking unto her, looking upon her, or hearing others call her by her name, he might think upon both at once.' With her father, Virginia Ferrar became interested in the culture of silk worms and dreamed of establishing that industry in the colony. To that end John Ferrar supplied the material for the tract *Virginia . . . Richly and Truly Valued,* which was published in several editions.[11] With one of them, that of 1651, appeared this 'Mapp of Virginia discovered to the Hills.' It was published in two states, signed respectively by father and daughter, viz: 'John Farrer, Esq., collegit' and 'Domina Virginia Farrer, collegit.' From this it may be argued that the work was a collaboration, but it has ever since borne the name of the daughter alone.

The map is characterized by Philipps as 'a curious combination of fact and fiction.' In that part of Virginia which we are studying, it emphasizes the distortion of the Potomac which had its origin in the Smith map; but, evidently influenced by the Baltimore map of 1635, labels the Potomac 'Maryland River' and Aquia Creek 'Pataomek.' To give it dignity, the fountain of this last mentioned masquerading stream is pushed back to the Blue Ridge thus accomplishing at once a confusion and combination of Aquia and the north fork of the Rappahannock. Following Lord Baltimore's map again, all the territory east of Aquia is labeled 'Maryland, the Lord Baltimore's plantation begun in 1635.' A real merit of this map is that it gives a clearer conception of the unbroken barrier of the Blue Ridge than had yet been recorded on any map.

1670. *Augustine Herrman.*

This important map of 'Virginia and Maryland, as it is planted and Inhabited this present year 1670,'[12] was drawn for Lord Baltimore in consideration of the grant of a manor of 20,000 acres at the Head of Elk, the Bohemia Manor which

only recently has ceased to exist. Herrman, Bohemian by birth, had come out to New Amsterdam in the service of some Dutch merchants, and there made his way by his own parts. He went to Maryland as an envoy from New Amsterdam and remained in the employ of the proprietor. Among its other distinctions, Herrman's map definitely recognised and named the true River Potomac: though its author did not know the location of its first spring, he knew much more than any previous map maker, including the fact that that spring was further west than the source of Aquia: Henceforth nothing more is heard of the Baltimore claim of Aquia as a boundary of Maryland.

In respect to Virginia Herrman records only the Potomac shore line, but correctly as high as the Little Falls. The eastward flowing streams 'Patomoack Cr.,' 'Ochquay' (Aquia), and 'Achquin River' (Occoquan), are all indicated in their correct proportions. He was too the first to write on any map the names of the Northern Neck counties, including Stafford; in which settlements are shown as high as Dogue neck.

1672. *John Lederer.*

The evidence for Lederer's 'Discoveries' has been discussed (*ante.*, at pp. 25, 34). The map included in Sir William Talbot's published translation of the latin text of the explorer's 'Discourse and Writings,' to which he had access, is identified only as 'Cross *sculpsit,*' but may be assumed to be founded on a draught by Lederer himself; for, while it shows the influence of the Smith and Ferrar maps, this chart reveals individual and original treatment of detail. On it the western boundary of Virginia is established at the *massif* which Lederer claimed to have mounted at two places and which he called the 'Apalataean Mountains.' As this range is shown to be separated, on the east, from a detached series of foot hills by a broad and continuous valley, labelled 'Savanae,' the name given to the mountains has persuaded some amateur geographers that the valley in question was a depiction of that of the Shenandoah: but on

study of the map it appears, what the tenor of Lederer's text confirms, that the draughtsman intended by his 'Savanae' only to exhibit the piedmont. There is no indication of a river flowing north; but, on the contrary, all Lederer's eastward flowing rivers, which he called 'Rapahanock,' 'Pamoeoncock' (Pamunkey), 'Powhatan' (James), and 'Rorenoek' (Roanoke), are shown to have their sources in his 'Savanae.' Thus it is demonstrated that the 'Mons Car. Reg.' and 'Mons Guliel. Gubern.,' which Lederer named respectively in honour of Charles II and Sir William Berkeley, were peaks of the Blue Ridge.

The route of the third march, which lead Lederer up the Rappahannock valley and through the lower end of the territory which was to be Prince William to 'Mount Charles,' is indicated on the map by a dotted line beginning below the falls at the house of 'Rob. Talifer.' The tributary rivers, later known as Hedgman and Rapidan, are shown enclosing the great fork (Culpeper) with greater accuracy of relation than on either of the earlier maps of the region; but what gives Lederer's map immediate interest in the present study is that east of the north branch of the Rappahannock river are indicated, for the first time with approximate accuracy, the hills which were to be designated by later topographers the Rappahannock and Bull Run ranges. As Lederer says that he and John Catlett crossed the North Branch above its confluence with the South Branch, they must have observed these hills in the distance, and so may be said to have been the discoverers of the highlands which contain the fountains of most of the drainage system of old Prince William.

1699. *Cadwalader Jones.*

Like Fielding's hero, Cadwalader Jones (1652?-1700?) came of a Somersetshire family. He was apparently born in Virginia, for his father, 'Richard Jones, late of London, merchant,' married there, in 1651, the widow of a Virginia planter and within a year was recited to be dead seized of lands on the Potomac. In 1677 'Cad. Jones' returned his own name as a head right twice in the same patent, indicating that he had

then been twice beyond the capes; so it is probable that he was educated in England, for all that his mother continued to reside on the Chotank plantation which she had patented in 1650.[13]

In November, 1673, when he must have been just twenty-one years of age, the future map maker took up a tract in the freshes of the Rappahannock, on the south side of the river below the falls, and here he posted himself during the anxious period of indian depredations on the Virginia border immediately following the Susquehannock war. It was there, in March, 1677, on behalf of the 'inhabitants of the upper parts of Citternbourne [sic] parish in Rappahannock' that he signed the grievances invited by the Royal Commission sent over to quench the embers of Bacon's Rebellion. A few years later (September, 1679) he appears on a highly coloured page of frontier history in command of the fort below the falls of the Rappahannock, revealing that robust and intolerant temper which was part of his equipment as a dauntless fighting man. Despite the contempt of authority which he then expressed, the Council knew his loyalty and value, for in June, 1680, they granted his petition for compensation for losses by reason of indian raids. The cedula on this occasion read:

'The Sufferings of the Petitioner are most apparent and his resoluteness to abide his plantation ag't all attempts and conspiracies of our Indian enemies for many years hath (as may well be supposed) maintained us in the seatment of the upper parts of Rappahannock for many miles."[14]

Jones' interests were not, however, confined to the Rappahannock. He apparently inherited from his mother a part of her Stafford plantation on Chotank creek. In 1677 he patented, with David Jones, 14,114 acres in the Stafford backwoods (later Fairfax) on the drains of Accotink and Pohick,[15] adjoining William Fitzhugh's 'Ravensworth.' These interests enabled the government to recognise his frontier service also by commissioning him Lieutenant Colonel of Stafford under the first George Mason.[16]

When a somewhat ruffled dove of peace returned to Virginia after the deaths of Bacon and Berkeley, she found Jones,

still in command of the fort on Rappahannock,[17] carrying on thence a trade with Occaneechi and the Tuscaroras of North Carolina. There survives an interesting letter he wrote to Charles Lord Baltimore at this time. Under date of 'Mt. Paradise, Virginia,' February 2, 1681/2,[18] Jones asked Baltimore for permission for the bearer, Thomas Owsley, to trade for him 'at Nanticoke only, for Roanoke and Peake,' explaining,

'I have an inland trade about four hundred miles from here S. S. W. This year the Indians will need Roanoke and I have a considerable trade with them. Through it I learned six weeks since of the motion of the Seneca indians about 300 miles S. S. W. from here. They took from an Indian town 35, and 4 or 5 from several small towns under the mountains near 500 miles from hence. They have so oppressed the Indians that they have made no corn this year. They are now in a full body returning home. By reckoning, they may be in your country on their return, when the turkeys gobble, by the information of those that were here.'

During the ensuing summer of 1682, Jones ranged the great fork of the Rappahannock with John Taliaferro, of Snow Creek, son of the Robert 'Talifer' from whose house on Rappahannock Lederer had set out ten years previously. It was then, as Taliaferro afterwards testified,[19] that they explored to 'the first Heads or Springs of the Two Branches of Rappahannock;' and perhaps it was then also that they anticipated the achievement of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe and crossed the Blue Ridge to camp on the banks of the Shenandoah.

In February, 1686/7, his indian trading had overstretched Jones' credit. He was then living on his Stafford plantation 'Rich Neck' and Nicholas Spencer sent to William Fitzhugh a debt to collect from him there. Fitzhugh reported, on February 18th,[20] 'I offered to buy two or three negroes of him, he assured me they were already made over to the Alderman and his Ship Merchants to whom he hath not yet paid one penny, and therefore that way there was nothing to be expected. And I have since heard that the night he went away

from my house, he went into Maryland and so conclude he is clear gone.' A month later this news is confirmed. 'As I writ in my last,' says Fitzhugh on March 14th, 'my thought of Coll° Jones his departure I find since absolutely true, but whither I can't yet learn, but I imagine (by some Discourse he let fall at my house) it is for England to get himself into his Majestys Army.' He adds that Jones' wife had meanwhile removed all his goods to Rappahannock.

Jones, himself, made his way to England and there was enabled, doubtless by the influence of those great merchants the Jeffreys, to whom he was most in debt, to enlist the interest of the proprietors of the Bahamas. On November 14, 1689, he was commissioned Governor of those islands. In this capacity he served for four years, when he was superseded by that Nicholas Trott who was later a large figure in Carolina. Jones now again returned to Virginia, and 'at York Town Jan^ry the 17th, 1698/9' indited to Governor Nicholson a paper entitled, *'Louissiania and Virginia Improved.'* From this it appears that while on a visit to Secretary Ralph Wormeley at Rosegill, Jones had seen the last new book from London, Hennepin's *New Discovery*, and was moved by it to suggest to the Virginia government a plan for opening an indian trade with the great lakes across the Virginia mountains. In support of the argument for this proposal Jones submitted what he called 'a Draught of mine, part of the Father joynd as [well] as I can remember, having seen the Father but one day.'

The historical interest of Jones' map lies in the advance it marks over Lederer.

Beginning at the head of navigation, Jones sketched the upper courses of six great rivers of Virginia (Potomac, Rappahannock, York, James, Appomatox and Roanoke) with their several branches, showing them all heading in the Blue Ridge except the James and the Potomac. No attempt was made to fill in the results of Batt's exploration of the James beyond the Blue Ridge, of which Jones was undoubtedly advised; but in the north, where he, himself, had explored, and whither he wanted to draw attention, the Shenandoah and the

Cacapon are both shown, indicated respectively as the 'South' and 'North' forks of Potomac. Neither the true North Fork (Cohongarooton) nor South Branch (Wappocomo) is suggested. Probably Jones held the current Virginia opinion that the upper branches of Potomac locked with the Susquehanna; but in any event the failure to introduce these streams shows the limits of his actual knowledge. After indicating and naming, as foot hills, the 'Ocoquon Mts.' at the head of Occoquan, and, without giving them a name, the Southwest Mountains at the head of Pamunkey, the map proceeds to show that back of the Virginia piedmont and separating it from the drainage area of the Great Lakes were three parallel and continuous mountain ranges. The Blue Ridge is called by different names in different localities, 'Cawcasus,' 'Taweasus,' and 'Occonachie.' At a distance of 20 miles to the west, the second range is marked 'Potomack Mountains' in the north and 'James River Mountains' in the south. Still further west, at a distance of 40 miles, are ranked the 'great last mountains,' labeled 'Appalatinian Mountains, but indeed they are but Potomocke-James River Mountains.' Finally, the nearest lake shore, that of Lake Erie, is stated to be 90 miles northwest of the ultimate mountain barrier.

Having shown the general topography, the map next proceeded to support the argument of the accompanying 'Essay' that there was a practicable trade route from the falls of Rappahannock to the Lakes, through the three great mountain ranges. With all the emphasis of what a modern newspaper calls a 'box,' this route is prescribed by the following, not altogether lucid, inscription:

'They [the Appelatinian Mountains] are laid off so far, for the better apprehension of distance through, vizt. from Cape Henry to the Mt. Homer, 180 miles, W. N. W. to Caucasus 90. Pass So. 10. Through 20. Potomack Mts. 40. Through So. 20. W. N. W. 40. Lake Huron. W.'

This northwest route was traced on the map with certainty only through the Great Fork of the Rappahannock (the 'Vale

of Scuvion' of the essay and Lederer's 'Savanae') and thence across a bent indicated in the Blue Ridge between the springs of the north and south forks of the Rappahannock, which we take to have been Chester Gap. Jones had apparently himself explored that far. He recorded his ranging activities in the years from 1677 to 1686 by a series of seventeen cross marks, indicating 'where the Author Camp'd.' These camp sites extend south in a great curve from the Falls of the Rappahannock, through the piedmont and across the rivers, back of the inhabitants, to the falls of Appomattox. But the most interesting of such testimonies is the eighteenth and final cross mark which is placed *on the Shenandoah* below that Blue Ridge Gap, which he was recommending.

The more one studies this map, the more one is persuaded that if Spotswood did not have a copy of it in his possession in 1716,[21] he had the tradition of it; and that when he crossed the Blue Ridge he was following in Jones' footsteps, and seeking that worthy's road to the Lakes.

Incidentally, Jones' map carries two testimonies of local significance. 'Brent Town' is shown below the 'Ocoquon Mts.;' while on the Shenandoah, some miles below the place where Jones camped, an indian village is indicated with the erroneous statement: 'Piscataway Indians now in the fork of the Potomac. To the Indyans 60 miles.' The migrations of the Piscataways had taken place during Jones' absence from Virginia and he did not know, as Governor Nicholson did, that in 1699 they were already established on Conoy Island.

1707. *Franz Louis Michel.*
1712. *Christopher de Graffenried.*

One of the most poignant stories of modern history is that of the wasting of the Lower Palatinate at the end of the seventeenth century, first by the wars of Louis XIV and then by religious persecution of a Protestant people at the hands of a Catholic Elector. The consequence in America was the immediate migration thither of at least ten thousand Germans under the auspices of Queen Anne. This population laid the

foundation of the German element in Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas which is still marked in all those states.

Graffenried (1661-1743), and Michel were members of a Swiss syndicate which played an important part in this movement. While the New Bern colony in North Carolina was Graffenried's main project, he also hoped to accomplish the establishment of a frontier colony in Virginia. To that end he obtained, in 1709, an order of the Privy Council for a land grant on the Shenandoah.[22] Michel then explored the lower valley of that river and drew his map of it.[23] He reported that there was a silver mine in the Massanutten mountains. In 1712 Graffenried went up the Potomac as high as Conoy Island to confirm this and then drew his map.[24] His observations encouraged him to get together a band of miners from the iron region of Nassau Siegen and to arrange for their transportation to Virginia with the intention of mining silver in the Valley; but his disaster in North Carolina so shattered his fortunes that he had to abandon also his Virginia plans. The immediate consequence was that Governor Spotswood took over the German miners on their arrival in Virginia and accomplished with them the original settlement at Germanna on the Rapidan.

Graffenried's eldest son, another Christopher (1690-1739), married, in 1714, Barbara Tempest Needham of Carolina and, in 1720, settled in Williamsburg. In 1738 he took out patents for large bodies of land in Brunswick and Amelia Counties.[25] In the same year at Stanstead he recorded his name in William Fairfax's guest book with the motto *'point d' argent, point de Suisse.'* After his death his widow was a well known figure in Williamsburg. He left many descendants in Virginia.

?1730. *Jacob Stover (Sir William Keith,* 1738).

Sir William Keith (1680-1749), son of a Scots soldier of fortune who rose to be a major general on the Danish establishment, began life a follower of the Old Pretender; but, before he had committed any overt act, the death of Col. Robert Quarry gave him an opportunity for preferment under Queen Anne's government. In the spring of 1714 he was

appointed Quarry's successor as 'Surveyor General of the Customs for the Southern District of America.' With this commission he arrived in Virginia in August, 1714, and on the accession of George I took the oath of allegiance before the Governor of Maryland. After making a progress through Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, he went about his business to Jamaica. In June, 1715, he was in Carolina, and was then notified that he had been superseded. Evidently his politics were suspect. Returning to London he apparently cleared himself; for he had the approval of the Crown on his appointment as the proprietary lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, which office he served from 1717 to 1726. He lost this post at last by reason of his arrogance in dealing with the people of Pennsylvania and thenceforth spent the remainder of his life in London struggling obscurely to recoup a shattered fortune, under the lash of his creditors, the Virginia merchants, Micajah Perry the second and Robert Cary.[36]

It was during this last period that Keith published, in 1738, his *History of the British Plantations in America* which Mr. Jefferson characterized as 'agreeable enough in style and passes over events of little importance.' In this book appeared 'a new map of Virginia humbly dedicated to the right honable Thomas, Lord Fairfax, 1738.' As the dedication suggests, this map is most original in respect to northern Virginia. On study, it proves to be a picture of that territory as a wilderness just at the moment when the first pioneers were beginning to seat it, having no reference, as the date would lead one to expect, to the explorations of 1737. Whenever it was drawn, it therefore belongs in the historical series immediately following Michel and Graffenried.

On the face of the map there is no clew to the draughtsman, or the source of his information. Keith, himself, cannot have drawn it. He undoubtedly had a vision of the democratic future in America and, equally undoubtedly, he had all the general information then current of our piedmont as well as of the Valley beyond the Blue Ridge; but there is no evidence that he was in any way qualified himself to draw a map. On

the other hand, a study of the Keith map reveals the fact that it is printed from a plate palpably adapted for a purpose which the engraver had not expected. The conspicuous evidence for this is that in the upper left hand corner room is made for the legend only by deleting a carefully elaborated depiction of the lower Shenandoah valley. Assuming, then, that Keith used a plate which had been engraved for another purpose, a further study of the style of the drawing suggests a German hand. This will be evident on comparison of the Keith map with any of the products of the early eighteenth century school of German copper plate engravers whose beautiful coloured maps are familiar to every amateur of cartography.[27] Considering this deduction in connection with Keith's known and recorded associations in London between 1731 and the publication of his book, one is persuaded that his map was a German engraving, based, in so far as it was new, on sketches of the Shenandoah Valley brought from America by Jacob Stauber, *alias* Stover.

This Stover was the Swiss German well known in the early history of the Valley as the first American 'land grabber' of the type since familiar in the distribution of our public lands west of the Mississippi. The story has been often told, from Kercheval's *History of the Valley,* of how Stover returned his cows and other live stock by human names, as compliance with his obligation to seat 'families' on the land granted to him by the Virginia government.

In March, 1731, Stover testified in London that he had been living in Pennsylvania for twenty years engaged in husbandry, but had recently spent three months exploring 'west of the great mountains' in Virginia to spy out uninhabited lands suitable for a new settlement. With John Ochs, Ezekiel Harlan and a London merchant, Thomas Gould, he then joined in a petition to the Lords of Trade for a grant 'behind the mountains of' Virginia on which to plant a Swiss colony of German-speaking protestants, urging the imperial advantage of such a settlement to prevent the joining of the French settlements in Canada and Louisiana.[28] The Lords of Trade asked

Keith's opinion[29] on the proposal and he recommended compliance on the ground that such a settlement

'carried on at the General Expense of the Setlers themselves and not out of the Estates of the Persons to be named in the Patent. The Success will probably Depend on its being evidently the interest of the Patentees to invite the Setlers on much easier Terms than would in all likelyhood be obtained from Persons of overgrown Estates and opulent Fortunes: for it is a certain Truth that where large Quantities of Land in America have fallen into the Hands of such Proprietors they have been rarely Sought after and Commonly very slow in Improvement; besides Persons of a low Degree in life who are known amongst their equals to be morally Honest and Industrious will sooner persuade a Multitude into a Voluntary expedition of this Nature than those of greater Wealth and Higher Rank who are ever liable to the Suspicion and Jealousy of the Vulgar.'

In gratitude for this aid Stover and his associates thereupon supplemented their petition with a request that Keith be put at the head of the list of the grantees. Thenceforth Keith alone conducted the 'Swiss' negotiations, gradually swelling it into a plan for an entirely new government to be called *Georgia*. In the end the conflicting claims to the territory in question by those Proprietors at whom Keith had shot his shaft, viz: Fairfax, Baltimore and Penn, and Governor Gooch's objection to setting up a new government, combined to bring Keith's ambitious plan to naught. What is here of interest is that, among the papers supporting his claims, Keith submitted to the Board of Trade a map which purported to be a record of actual explorations in the Valley. This map is missing from the Public Record Office, but there is a reference to it in a surviving document.[30] Clearly it was based on Stover's notes. It seems altogether probable then that this was the original of Keith's published map.

While Keith and Stover failed, the soul of their project went marching on. In 1747,[31] after the establishment of the Northern Neck boundaries, the London merchant, John Hanbury, brought forward, with strong Virginia backing (includ-

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1787.

ing, with Thomas Lee, several young men of old Prince William, John Carlyle, Lawrence Washington and George William Fairfax) a new plan for a land grant and colony west of the Alleghanies. Out of this grew the Ohio Company, whose activities brought on the French and Indian war and gave George Washington his opportunity. It may well be that Hanbury's plan was no more than a revival of Keith's.

1731. *William Mayo* (?)

Governor Gooch sent to the Lords of Trade, with his dispatch of May 10, 1731,[32] an official sketch map of Virginia, describing it as 'a map of the country, not exact, but the best that could be drawn with little expense.' The only legend it bears is 'A General Map of the known and inhabited Parts of Virginia,' without date or the name of a draftsman. Apparently the primary purposes were to depict the North Carolina boundary which had been surveyed in 1728 and the development of new counties. In that respect Goochland (1728) is shown; but what is of particular interest in relation to the present study, and, incidentally determines the date of draughting, is that this is the earliest chart on which the name Prince William is inscribed.

The lower bounds of the county are duly depicted but beyond the Blue Ridge no limitation is attempted. The widening of the known frontier in the decade following Spotswood's consulship is, however, indicated by laying down, for the first time correctly as may be seen by comparison with the Michel map, the drainage system of the upper Shenandoah Valley. At the same time, the meagreness of the official knowledge of the lower valley is revealed by cutting off the Potomac just above the mouth of the Shenandoah with an inscription, significant of the necessity for the exploration of the upper reaches of Potomac which was accomplished in 1736, viz: 'The Course and Length of this River is not certainly known, but 'tis said to lock with Susquehannah River.' The draughtsman did not have the benefit of Stover's notes.

A comparison of this map with acknowledged examples

of the art of William Mayo is persuasive that he drew it. No other work of that standard was produced in Virginia at the time.

1737-1747. *The Northern Neck.*[33]

In the summer of 1733 Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax (1693-1781) was roused, from the serene life of a country gentleman at his seat Leeds Castle in Kent, to an alert interest in his inherited proprietary in the Northern Neck of Virginia. The compelling cause was the coincidence of the news of the death of his resident agent, Robert Carter of Corotoman, and of the launching of the fifth and most determined attack upon the proprietary by the Virginia Assembly. Lord Fairfax now began his Virginia career by petitioning the Crown to interpret the Culpeper charter of September 27, 1688, under which he claimed, to the end that the bounds of the estate might be ascertained. He thus precipitated a bitterly contested litigation which was to be protracted before the Privy Council for fourteen years.[34] Among the notable consequences were the definite establishment of the long disputed proprietary right, followed by the emigration of the Proprietor himself. What is, however, now more important is that, in the course of the proceedings, two surveys were made from different directions to the previously unknown source of Potomac River, and these surveys were recorded in a series of six maps which remain of the highest value for the study of Virginia topography.

The early stages of the litigation were narrated by that master of polemical irony, William Byrd, in a paper which has remained a classic of Virginia literature.[35] It is, therefore, unnecessary here to tell the preliminary story in detail. It will suffice to set down that under an order of the Privy Council, entered November 29, 1733, which required a survey of the mooted territory, Governor Gooch appointed Messrs. William Byrd, John Robinson and John Grymes as Commissioners on behalf of the Crown, and Lord Fairfax appointed Messrs. Charles Carter, William Beverley and William Fairfax as his Commissioners.

Most of the surveyors then practising in Northern Virginia were employed in this work by one side or the other. The Crown Commissioners selected William Mayo as their chief engineer and Lord Fairfax matched him with James Thomas, the elder. The most important detail of field work, the exploration of the Potomac, was entrusted to William Mayo and Robert Brooke on behalf of the Crown, and Benjamin Winslow and John Savage on behalf of Lord Fairfax. A similar survey of the Rappahannock was undertaken by James Wood and James Thomas, the younger.

When the several surveyors brought in their reports and field notes (which, unfortunately, are now lost[36]), some of them were set to work to mapping the two rivers. Of the preliminary charts so produced only one has survived. Among the records of the United States Coast Survey[37] is a MS. map of the Potomac from the Little Falls to the lower limit of Prince William County at Chipawansic, which bears the following legend, indicating that it is but one sheet of the entire chart so made, viz:

'A Plan of Patomack River from the mouth of Sherrendo down to Chapauamsick. Surveyed in the year 1737.
Ro. Brooke.'

The Commissioners next attempted to agree on a draughtsman to join the preliminary charts into one conspective illustration of the entire survey, but, differing on principles, each side eventually deemed it expedient to order its own elaborate map.

Of the Crown map so produced Col. Byrd recorded a just compliment. 'According to the order of the Virginia Commissioners,' he said, 'Majr Mayo formed a very elegant Map of the whole Northern Neck by joining all the particular Surveys together.' The map so identified was 32 x 32 inches in size, drawn on a scale of 5 miles = 1 inch, and bore the following legend:

'A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia, The Territory of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, Situate be-

twixt the Rivers Patomack and Rappahannock, according to a late Survey.

'Drawn in the Year 1737 by

W. Mayo.'

The report of the Fairfax Commissioners, dated August 11, 1737,[38] in turn described their map, and its sanction, as follows:

'We did attend His Majesty's Commissioners in April and June last at Williamsburg at their Request, in Hopes of preparing and concluding a General Plan and Report, but upon their Disagreement with us, they by their letter declared their resolution to act in future without us. We were, therefore, under the Necessity of making a separate Plan and Report and begun in employing Mr. John Warner, a noted Surveyor, to form the General Map; which being correctly drawn we recommend it to your Lordships not doubting but it will give your Lordships a better Idea of the points in controversy than any Plan or Representation hitherto offered.'

This map was no less than 42 x 80 inches in size, and represented a scale of 2½ miles = 1 inch. On its face it was ascribed as

'Drawn by John Warner, Surveyr.'

Moreover, it carried the following certificate:

'A true and accurate Survey of the Rivers Rappahannock and Patowmack to their first heads or Springs, done by order of the Commissioners as well on the part of His Majesty as the Lord Fairfax.

Ch. Carter,
W. Beverley,
W. Fairfax.'

When these two rival maps reached London it was apparent to Lord Fairfax's advisers that the smaller size, and superior artistry in draughtsmanship, of the Mayo map gave the Virginia case a practical strategic advantage. The members of the Privy Council could handle that map with convenience and might humanly be expected to be influenced by

its beauty. Lord Fairfax accordingly had the great Warner map 'printed' in a severely reduced size, 12 x 14 inches. The first state of this engraved map bore a legend reading:

'The Courses of the Rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack in Virginia, as surveyed according to Order in the Years 1736 & 1737.'

It was this first state of the 'printed' Fairfax map which was put in circulation and in consequence has been familiar in the modern studies of Virginia cartography, though erroneously attributed as the Mayo map of Col. Byrd's narrative. A comparison of the 'printed' map with the originals of Mayo and Warner is, however, conclusive of the source of the engraver's work.[39]

As it happens, such a comparison was made immediately after the rival maps reached London, by an interested and astute, if unofficial, observer. From a paper surviving among the colonial archives of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg[40] it appears that the heirs of William Penn were concerned as to the possible effect of the Northern Neck litigation upon their own uncharted western territory. They accordingly instructed their London counsel, Ferdinand John Paris, to study the record of *Virginia* v. *Fairfax,* and duly received from him the following shrewd comment on the Mayo and Warner maps:

'An exact account of Lord Fairfax's Title to Lands in Virginia and the printed map now sent, which was made up by his Comrs, together with some account of another map made up at the same time by the King's Comrs, but which being a manuscript cannot yet (if ever) be sent from hence.'

After reciting the descriptions in the several Northern Neck charters and that of Pennsylvania, the Order in Council of 1733 for the survey of the Northern Neck, and the appointment of the Commissioners, Paris proceeds:

'The King's Comrs. appointed Mr. Mayo, Mr. Brooke, Lord Fairfax's Comrs. appointed Mr. Winslow, Mr. Savage, to survey the main branch of Patomack called Cohongorooton

and they were sworn thereto. When Potomack and the rest had been surveyed Lord Fairfax's Comrs. refused to joyn with the King's Comrs. in naming a fit person to form the general map, but declared they would have a distinct map drawn by their own surveyors; so the King's Comrs. directed Mr. Mayo to join the Field Notes and make a general map, which he did. . . . Lord Fairfax's Comrs. appointed Mr. John Warner, a noted Surveyor, to form a General map which is printed. . . . Both maps agree in the Course of the River Potomack as near as may be and make it extend from Chesapeak Bay to the Spring head, between 4 and 500 miles upon the several Turnings and Windings. But the great difference between them is that whereas Lord Fairfax's Comrs. by their printed map make the southeast point of the Northern Neck which shoots into Chesapeak Bay to be in 37 degrees 40 Minutes, the King's Comrs. make it to be in 37 degrees, 34 Minutes only.

'Again, as Lord Fairfax's Comrs. by their Printed map make the place where the Waggon Road from Philadelphia crosses Potomack River to be 39 degrees, 40 minutes, the King's Comrs. make it to be in 39 degrees, 23 minutes.

'Again, as Lord Fairfax's Comrs. make that part which is most northern of any part of what they call Potomack to lye in 39 degrees, 55 Minutes, the King's Comrs. make it, by their Manuscript map, to be in 39 degrees, 40 Minutes.

'So that Lord Fairfax's Comrs. make these several places to lye 14, 15 or 17 geometrical minutes more north than the King's Comrs. make theirs.

'Such a difference between them there is in the Latitude.

'But by both maps a vast part of Lord Fairfax's new and extravagant claim lyes more north than the beginning of the 40th degree.

'Lord Fairfax's Comrs. you'll observe describe the upper part of the River thus, 'Potomack River called Cohongoroota by Col. Lee since the date of the patent.'

'But on the other hand the King's Comrs. describe it thus, 'Cohongarooto River so called from its head to the mouth Shenondoa.'

'The King's Comrs. Map is an exceeding fair manuscript on a large scale, 4 large sheets of paper pasted together.'

Paris adds pleasantly:

'Lord Fairfax calls his Territory what every body else calls it, the Northern Neck, but it appears that under pretence of going to the first heads he claims neck and body also, and such a quantity as amounts to 5,200,000 acres.'

Paris' observations on the differences in latitude indicated by Mayo and Warner suggests a check of them both by the calculations of modern geometry. On the basis of the 'North American Datum,' which was established in 1908 by international agreement after new observations with the latest instruments of precision, it appears that Mayo's determination of the latitude of twelve locations varies on the average only two minutes and twenty seconds from the present day standard, while Warner's determination for the same locations varies as much as thirteen minutes and twenty-eight seconds. Considering the instruments these eighteenth century geometricians had at their disposal, such small variations are high testimony to the science of both Mayo and Warner; but in Mayo's case the approximation of coincidence is truly remarkable.

If Mayo was stronger on his geometry than Warner, a further comparison of the maps will show that Warner has done more for posterity in preserving features of interior topography which Mayo neglected. Notably, we find laid down by Warner the contemporary county boundaries and the location of the several court houses, of which no other such definite testimony survives. The original Warner map remains the more significant because it was not deemed necessary to transfer those details to the 'printed' map.

Important as they were to Virginia, the Mayo and Warner maps, as well as the Commissioners' reports with which they were exhibited, were destined to lie *perdu,* without official consideration, for nearly eight years after they reached London.

It seems that Lord Fairfax, bred in the principles of the 'glorious revolution' of 1688, had consistently given his political interest in Kent to the self-styled 'patriots' who were then in noisy opposition to the government of Sir Robert Walpole; and for this consideration, as William Byrd acutely recorded, Fairfax's suit dragged. It was not until after Walpole's fall, when Byrd, too, had passed off the stage, that the Privy Coun-

cil took up and adjudicated the cause of *Virginia* v. *Fairfax*. The decree, entered at last on April 11, 1745, found that the Northern Neck proprietary included all the lands between the rivers Potomac and Rappahannock lying east of a straight line from the head spring of Potomac, as established by the survey of 1736, to the head spring of Rappahannock, which was now adjudged to be the source of the Conway (Rapidan) River.

To end the litigation it thus became necessary to survey the back line so defined, and such a survey was accordingly ordered by the Privy Council. For this new duty Governor Gooch appointed Messrs. Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax and Peter Hedgman, Commissioners on behalf of the Crown, while Lord Fairfax reappointed Messrs. William Fairfax and William Beverley.[41] The Commissioners in turn deputed as surveyors Peter Jefferson and Robert Brooke (son of the earlier surveyor of that name) on behalf of the Crown, and Benjamin Winslow and Thomas Lewis on behalf of Lord Fairfax.

While this second survey has also left its record in Virginia literature, its details are not so well known as those of its predecessor, for in this instance the witty pen of William Byrd was lacking.[42]

On September 15, 1746, the Commissioners, the surveyors, 'their aides de camp, batmen and valets de chambre,' making up a large expeditionary force, assembled at Henry Downs' house, near the Orange Court House of the day, and, proceeding to the source of Conway in the Blue Ridge, pushed on thence, arduously, to the northwest, through primeval wilderness. On the October 22nd following, the surveyors had the satisfaction of running out their line at the very marked trees which then still stood to testify for Mayo's discovery in 1736 of the head spring of the Potomac. On the following day the Commissioners themselves marked 'Fx' with a baron's coronet upon 'a Stone standing by the corner pine between the Springs' and so established that 'Fairfax Stone' which henceforth was a capital landmark. On November 13th the party once more reached the head of Conway and there planted another 'Fx' stone.[43]

In January, 1746/7, the four surveyors met again at Tuckahoe on James River, where Peter Jefferson was then in residence, and, after a continuous session of a month, produced a new map, drawn after the Mayo original, like it on a scale of 5 miles = 1 inch, but of slightly greater size (36 x 40 inches). Here was laid down the results of the survey of the back line. This map was transmitted to England by Governor Gooch with his dispatch of June 10, 1747, bearing the following legend:

'A map of the Northern Neck in Virginia according to an actual survey begun in the year MDCCXXXVI and ended in the year MDCCXLVI.

'Drawn by Peter Jefferson and Robert Brooke, Surveyors.'

To this was added a certificate by the Commissioners:

'Having Examined and Compared this Map with one Drawn by the former Commissioners, We do Certify it to be truly drawn; And we have caused the line now Surveyed and marked AC to be added.

W. Fairfax,
W. Beverley
Joshua Fry,
Lunsford Lomax,
Peter Hedgman.'

A comparison of this new map with Mayo's amply bears out the certificate, but reveals it to be much more than a copy of its predecessor. Below the Blue Ridge and up 'Cohongarooton' to its fountain there was, indeed, no attempt at originality: the differences from Mayo were only a few variations of the names of the landholders on the great rivers. There is nothing on the map to suggest that its compilers had access to the great Warner map, and it seems likely for that reason that no copy of Warner had been retained in Virginia. The originality of the Jefferson and Brooke map was in its depiction of the Valley of Virginia. In order to identify the calls of

the back line enough new topography was introduced for the territory between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies to make this, too, a source record. It is as necessary for the student of the Valley to peruse Jefferson and Brooke as it is for the historian of the tidewater to have access to Mayo and Warner.

We have now accounted for five maps included in the canon of the Northern Neck surveys of 1736 and 1746. There remains one other testimony to complete the tale.

As soon as the 'back line' was officially registered, Lord Fairfax had prepared in London a second state of his 'printed' map, to illustrate his victory.[44] To that end several new inscriptions were added to the original plate. Above the legend of the first state, left undisturbed, was placed a new one, reading as follows:

'A Survey of the Northern Neck of Virginia, being the lands belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, bounded by and within the Bay of Chesapoyocke and between the Rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack with [here follows the original legend].'

The newly established boundary was identified by a text, spread along its length, which read as follows:

'The Boundary Line of the Northern Neck in Virginia, from the Head Spring of the River Conway, a Southern Branch of the River Rappahannock, to the Head Spring of the River Potowmack arising in the Allagany Mountains, as Ordered by his Majesty in Council 11th April, 1745, unto the Rt. Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Proprietor thereof."

Other badges of possession were also inserted on the plate. The word 'Belvoir' indicated the location of the proprietary office at the residence which William Fairfax had established on the Potomac in 1741; and between the Blue Ridge and the Coblers, in what was later to be Fauquier, was laid down the Proprietor's 'Mannor of Leeds.' Finally, and to cap the whole, in the upper left hand corner on the broad acres of the Shenandoah Valley in which the Proprietor was soon to make his residence, was displayed an achievement of the Proprietor's

coat armour, Fairfax impaling the 'bloody bend engrailed' of Culpeper.

All too little can be collected of the personal histories of the makers of this important series of maps.

Of William Mayo (1684-1744) the most is known. He was born at Poulshot, co. Wiltshire, and emigrated to Barbados prior to 1712, where he made a map of that island. In 1723 he migrated to Virginia and established himself on the upper James in Henrico. On the organization of Goochland in 1728 he was its first county surveyor. In 1729 he was with Col. Byrd on the survey of the 'Dividing Line' with North Carolina and in 1733 on 'The Journey to the Land of Eden.' In 1737 he laid out, at the falls of James River, Col. Byrd's proposed town, which was destined to become the City of Richmond.[45]

The Robert Brooke who accompanied Mayo in 1736 to the source of the Potomac and subsequently drew the map of the lower reaches of that river, which was the original of all the succeeding maps of that portion of Virginia's shore line down to the Nine Sheet map of 1827, was, in his day, the head of the Essex family of Brooke, which has consistently distinguished itself in Virginia affairs.[46] He began life as a county surveyor and came into practice at the time when the frontier had suddenly become elastic; in consequence he specialized in laying out frontier land grants above the falls of the Rappahannock. Spotswood employed him and thus he had the honour to be of the company who accompanied the Governor on his transmontane expedition in 1716, and to be enrolled a Knight of the Golden Horseshoe. In addition to his Potomac map of 1737, there are less important examples of his skillful cartography in the earliest county records of Spotsylvania and even beyond the Blue Ridge. In that last named territory it appears that the Council employed him in 1734 to 'Prepare a Mapp of the Lands lying on the said River Sherando,' which, unfortunately, is lost.[47] The will of this Robert Brooke, dated April 25, 1736, as he was starting out on the perilous Potomac survey, was proved in Essex March 19, 1744.[48]

It was the son of this first Robert Brooke, mentioned in his father's will as not yet of age in 1736, who was employed on the survey of the Northern Neck back line in 1746 and gave his name, in association with Peter Jefferson, to the map of 1747.[49] Because his father was then in broken health, it was probably this younger Robert Brooke who was the county surveyor of Prince William in 1741, and the draughtsman of the well known plat of Mt. Vernon which bears that date.[50] There are many examples of his later work in the Augusta records. He survived until 1790.[51]

Of John Warner, whom Lord Fairfax's Commissioners called 'a noted surveyor,' and to whom Thomas Jefferson referred, by tradition from his father, as 'an able mathematician,' there are fewer remains. Jefferson's information was that he had been 'brought over from England' by Lord Fairfax, but this seems an error; for on April 7, 1727, or nearly ten years before Fairfax had awakened to interest in his proprietary, the King George Court appointed John Warner surveyor of that county.[52] The surviving minute book of the Trustees of Falmouth shows that he laid off that town in 1728;[53] while of his artistic map making, in addition to the great Northern Neck chart of 1737 (for which he was paid 'Eighteen pounds, eight shilling and eleven pence')[54] there are a few other examples in the Northern Neck Grant Books, notably the maps of Leeds Manor and of Belvoir, dated respectively in 1737 and 1741.[55] The King George records do not record his will and there is no testimony for him after 1741. He may have removed from Virginia after his work for Lord Fairfax ended.

By reason of his fortune as a sire, Peter Jefferson (1708-1757) is the best known of this group of map makers. He was born in that part of Henrico which became Chesterfield.[56] Although his education was 'quite neglected,' in 1735 he appeared on the frontier of the James River valley as a surveyor and justice in the new county of Goochland. There he patented, and otherwise acquired for the consideration of a 'bowl of arrack punch,' the lands in the Rivanna water gap, later included in Albemarle, on which Monticello was eventually to

arise. In 1738 he married a daughter of Isham Randolph of Dungeness and then built on the Rivanna the house he called 'Shadwell' in which his son, the great Democrat, was to be born (1743) and in which he was himself to end his days. But between 1745 and 1754 Peter Jefferson resided elsewhere. An intimacy with William Randolph of Tuckahoe lead to an appointment as his friend's executor; and, the better to administer this trust, he occupied the testator's house for seven years.[57] Thus it was that the Northern Neck map of 1747 came to be drawn at Tuckahoe, as recorded in Thomas Lewis' *Journal.*

The constructive influence of Peter Jefferson's career was that of Joshua Fry. From his appointment in 1745 as a deputy county surveyor of Albemarle under Fry, the remainder of his life work was a complement of that of the former professor of mathematics. Thenceforth it was 'Fry and Jefferson,' not only at home in Albemarle and in the Northern Neck survey of 1746, but in the westward extension of the North Carolina boundary in 1749, in the compilation of the 'Map of the Inhabited Parts of Virginia' in 1751, and, finally, in Jefferson's succession to Fry's offices as County Lieutenant and Burgess for Albemarle.

1751 *and* 1755. *Fry and Jefferson.*

A glance at the commercial maps of Virginia, current at the beginning of the eighteenth century, reveals the astonishing fact that there had been practically no progress in the cartography of the colony since the days of Capt. John Smith.[58] For a century the earliest depiction of the tidewater had been made to suffice. It was not until the Virginia frontier began to widen and new inland counties were seated that the government in London appreciated that it was sadly to seek in intelligent interpretation of the dispatches of the Virginia administration. Spotswood knew the need of an adequate map of the colony and, as early as 1710, undertook to supply it,[59] but his government came to an end before he had achieved that among other ambitions of a restless mind. Thereafter the

Lords of Trade filed a standing order that the colony should produce a map. It was with this order that Gooch complied tentatively in 1731. He did not, however, seek the acceptance of the sketch he had sent home, as the satisfaction of an obligation. At the meeting of the Council, November 2, 1732,[60] the following resolution was adopted:

'Whereas by his Majesty's Instructions to the Governor of this Dominion a Map of this Colony hath been required to be prepared and transmitted to his Majesty, for the better Complying with his Majesty's Commands, It is Resolved that John Robinson, Esq.[61] be and he is hereby Appointed to have the Direction and Care of preparing a General Map of this colony from the Sea to the Utmost Extent thereof now Inhabited, and that as soon as Conveniently may be he lay before this Board a Scheme for the better Accomplishing this work, together with a computation of the Expense thereof.'

Nine months later (July 18, 1732) Gooch reported to the Lords of Trade the result of this effort:[62]

'I must also aquaint your Lordships, for some time past I have had it in my thoughts to procure a General Survey of Virginia as far as 'tis inhabited, taking in the Mountains and the river Sherrando on the west side of them: a work long recommended by His Majesty's Instructions, and would prove not only of use towards the discovery of concealed Lands and be of Service in the Dispute about the Bounds of the Northern Neck, but of great Benefit to the Shipping, by laying down the Soundings of the several Rivers and Bay, the Bearings of the Headlands and many other things fit for a Geographical and Hydrographical Chart. And that it might be done in the cheapest as well as best manner I proposed that the Surveyors of the several Countys should give in an exact Plan of each County, and accordingly, with the Advice of the Council, last October appointed Col° John Robinson under the character of Surveyor General[63] to consult the other Surveyors (withal acquainting them though that they should be paid for their trouble, yet I expected something from them ex officio) to prepare a Scheme for the doing of it, with a Computation of the Charge. But finding by his Report that the Expence of an accurate Survey of the whole Colony will amount to at least £5000, I have put a Stop to the Design until I know

your Lordship's Sentiments and the opinion of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; continuing in the meantime the Sallery of £150 per annum appointed Mr. Robinson, because it is Intended that he shall do something for it: which is, if the Charge of an exact Map be thought too great, and 'tis pity my Lords it should, we may at least gett such an one as will give His Majesty a true Idea of the extent of this Dominion and be of great use and Service to every Body concerned in the Affairs of this Country.'

This was a convincing enough argument of the need for a map, but the estimated cost (£5000) was truly appalling.[84] The Lords of Trade thenceforth discreetly allowed the proposal to sleep for nearly twenty years to come. The Governor himself was not disheartened. In December, 1738, there was brought forward, doubtless at Gooch's instigation, a private proposal to supply what the government had muffed. On the basis of the success of the Northern Neck map of 1737, William Mayo and Robert Brooke enlisted the aid of Joshua Fry, Professor of mathematics at William and Mary College, and together the three proposed to the Assembly that they would produce a general map of the colony if they were supported. Although the *Virginia Gazette* remarked at the time that 'there is no doubt that so useful an Undertaking, hitherto so much wanted and desired, will meet with suitable Encouragement,' the petition was definitely rejected.[85] Apparently the Assembly felt confident that, as the government at home had the greatest interest in securing a map, the Crown would assume the cost; and so it turned out.

It was the imperial politics of the contest with France for the Ohio valley which finally accomplished the long delayed undertaking. In January, 1750/1, President Burwell, acknowledging a new order for a map, advised[86] the Lords of Trade that he had 'employed the most able Person to perform it;' and some months later specified to the Council that he had selected 'Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, Gent[n] . . . whom he thought the most proper and best Qualified Persons to be employed.' The demand from London now grew insistent. By pushing his map makers, Burwell was enabled to transmit a preliminary

drawing with his despatch of August 21, 1751,[67] and then described the work as follows:

'Agreeable to your Lordship's Directions, I herewith transmit you a Map of this Colony with the best Accounts and Vouchers I can obtain to support the same. These matters I refer'd to a Gentleman very eminent for his skill in mathematicks, who was formerly a Professor of it in our College of William and Mary, and since his quitting that Place has retired to the back settlements in Order to raise a Fortune for his Family.[68] This situation of his, together with his having been employed by the Government to run the North-West boundary of Lord Fairfax's Grant and likewise the Boundary between this Province and North Carolina[69] has given him many Opportunities of acquainting himself with the Geography of this County: and considering that we are yet a Country of Woods, it is surprising how he Could draw so beautiful a map of it. The Vouchers he has principally[70] extracted from Mr. Stith's *History of Virginia,* a Book that was published about four Years ago by a Clergyman here who, from his acquaintance with Col° Bird, a Gentleman of great learning and Curiosity in this Country, had obtain'd a Collection of all the memorials relating to the Settlement of this Colony, that he and his Father had made. And in hopes it may be agreeable I herewith send your Lordships one of his Books,[71] as it may be of Service in directing you to the Authentic Records upon which it depends.'

Posterity has concurred in Burwell's praise of the Fry and Jefferson map; but it was not without limitations. So hurriedly was the first drawing put together that the original engraving which was published in London at the end of 1751 was open to serious criticism from those who knew the backwoods better than the President of the Council. There has survived an interesting contemporary expression of such comment. At once, upon publication, a copy of the map came into the hands of Dr. Moses Fontaine, who sent it out to his nephew, James Maury, and asked him to mark upon it the places of Virginia residence of the various members of that prolific Huguenot connection. The parson of Frederickville parish at the foot of the Southwest Mountains, who was soon

to be Thomas Jefferson's schoolmaster, replied directly to the point:[72]

'I am sorry the engraver had not the most accurate copy. He has copied from that which was transmitted to the Board of Trade and Plantations who it seems wrote so expressly for it that the government thought proper to send them one before it had received the finishing touch. Since that the fuller draughts have been sent over sea by the compilers as presents, one to the late pius Bishop of Man, Dr. Wilbur, the other to a clergyman in Bristol.'

Again, in January, 1756, he added more in detail:

'Had it not been for the present troubles, which have rendered it unsafe for our people to make such long peregrinations into the backwoods as they used to do before their commencement, many other inaccuracies would doubtless ere this have been discovered in the western parts of it, where the courses of many considerable streams, several ranges of hills, and other particulars must have been laid down partly on conjecture and partly on but imperfect information; which will ever be the case with one who undertakes to publish a map of a country not yet thoroughly explored or actually surveyed.'

Such criticism was recognised to be just and the authors of the map set about the preparation of a new and corrected edition. They were delayed by the developments on the frontier, but when the new edition was ready it had benefited by the delay.

In 1754 Col. Fry was at Winchester in command of the Virginia regiment mobilized for Governor Dinwiddie's campaign against the French, and died in that service, thus giving the young George Washington his immediate opportunity to begin a great war as well as a great career. Under Fry's command, engaged in quartermaster's duty which took him all over northern Virginia, was a young Scots officer, John Dalrymple.[73] He returned to England in the summer of 1754, after Fry's death; and then, doubtless in pursuance of some previous understanding with Fry, arranged for the publication in London of the

1755 edition of the map. The moment was opportune, for the preparations for Braddock's campaign, then pending, made such a map an obvious 'best seller.'[74] This new edition bears a notation:

'*Table of Distances.* These distances, with the course of the roads on the map I carefully collected on the spot and entered them in my journal from whence they are now inserted. J. Dalrymple, London, Jany. the 1st, 1755.'

A study of the two editions of the Fry and Jefferson map shows how much we owe to Capt. Dalrymple. The original edition (1751) was, so far as concerned northern Virginia, little more than a tracing of the Jefferson and Brooke map of 1747. Only a few items of new topography were introduced and those were in the Valley, e. g., 'Frederick T' marked the site of Winchester, and the Potomac crossing of the 'Waggon Road' to Philadelphia was indicated. On the other hand, the edition of 1755, after Dalrymple had revised the plate, presents an enduring picture of old Prince William, with a complete equipment of towns, ordinaries and roads.

1770. *John Henry.*

John Henry, the father of Patrick Henry, emigrated to Virginia from Aberdeen in Scotland before 1730 and established himself in Hanover County. He was bred of a family 'more respected for their good sense and superior education than for riches'; and was, himself, described as 'more familiar with his Horace than with his Bible.'[75] He became county surveyor and colonel of the Hanover militia and was, as every reader of Mr. Wirt's famous book remembers, the presiding magistrate at the trial of the Parson's cause in 1763 when the unexpected eloquence of that 'forest born Demosthenes,' his son, had an often quoted effect on him: 'As for the father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting where he was, and the character he was filling, tears of extasy streamed down his cheeks, without the power or inclination to repress them.'[76]

In November, 1766, John Henry submitted to the Assembly a proposal to undertake 'an accurate survey of this colony.' From our modern point of view his argument was convincing enough. He urged not only the current domestic need of a road map, but a continental vision of the trans-Ohio country, then recently secured to the Anglo-Saxon: a map of the approaches to that country, he said, must prove an aid to 'the more speedly settlement of the late acquisitions upon this continent.' Although this proposal was rejected flatly, as had been that of Mayo and Fry thirty years before, Henry went ahead with the work as best he might. By 1768 his map was finished and he then applied to the Assembly again, to advance at least the cost of getting it engraved, but still the burgesses were obdurate.[77]

In this situation, although Henry secured a long list of private subscriptions, the lack of public encouragement prevented his making any original surveys. In the legend he claimed that the map was 'new and accurate;' but, as published, it was far from being what was planned in 1766. Its value lay in its indication of the boundaries of the counties, worked out from the statutes, in which respect it was then unique; but, having said this in commendation, it must be added that Henry's map recorded many errors of ignorance, particularly in the location of the court houses. The peculiar merit of the map historically is that Henry was at pains to locate the residences of his subscribers on the great rivers. On the James and the Rappahannock this information is full, but when the territory of old Prince William is reached it is meagre. Perhaps, like Kinglake's conventional English servant travelling through the Arabian desert with the author of *Eothen,* Henry would have found the northern Virginia of his day more interesting if he could have found in it more 'gentlemen's country seats.' Only a few such names are there recorded.

The failure to lay down the roads is particularly unfortunate, but there is a compensation of curiosity in the statistical statement which Henry included in his legend, 'a concise account of the number of inhabitants, the trade, sale and produce of the Province.'[78]

The epitome of contemporary public opinion in respect to Henry's map lies in the fact that it soon disappeared from circulation and has now become a collector's item. Examples of the original are in the libraries of the Virginia Historical Society,[79] the Library of Congress and Harvard College.

1779. *Thomas Anburey.*

Anburey's map, which we have already discussed,[80] is an important document for the local history of old Prince William, and warrants study. While apparently drawn in England just before the publication of the *Travels,* it was undoubtedly based on Anburey's own notes of 1779-81; for it shows original departures from the older maps, and, if not free from incidental errors (*e. g.,* in the scale of distances), has the distinction of being the first map to record a notable highway, the Carolina road east of the Bull Run Mountains.

1787. *Thomas Jefferson.*

When, in January, 1747, Peter Jefferson's colleagues on the Northern Neck boundary survey of the previous summer assembled at Tuckahoe and for a month were there engaged in writing up their field notes and plotting their agreement on the map since known as Jefferson and Brooke's, a red headed boy, not yet four years of age, watched them with large eyes and listened to their talk with alert curiosity. It must have been this experience which implanted in that boy's mind the interest in maps which was to be a characteristic of a long and distinguished career. Thomas Jefferson not only was a diligent reader of maps but, himself, practised the art of map making for political[81] as well as scientific purposes. His general map of the territory between the great lakes and Albemarle Sound, put together for publication with the *Notes on Virginia,* is the best known, but not the best, of the eighteenth century maps of Virginia.

The topography east of the Blue Ridge was founded on Fry and Jefferson, but is by no means a mere copy. So far as concerns old Prince William, this map records some en-

tirely original blunders. Of conspicuous natural features missing on Fry and Jefferson, it supplies Manassas Gap and the Rappahannock Range. The last named hills may be identified not only by their position relative to the Rappahannock River but by the 'Great Anne' (sic) flowing from their southern terminus. They are, however, marked 'Bull Run Mountains,' while neither the true Bull Run Mountains nor Thoroughfare Gap is indicated at all. This mistake would be bad enough to condemn the map locally, especially as it has lead to several literary *culs-de-sac;* but, what is worse, is that Mr. Jefferson includes the territory of Fauquier in Prince William and Loudoun,[82] and assigns the name Fauquier to the Little Fork of the Rappahannock, i. e., the territory which, in 1787, was the upper end of Culpeper, most of which became Rappahannock County in 1833. No greater geographical crime than this was perpetrated on a whole people at the Versailles Conference in 1919!

No roads are laid down on this map, but as a consequence of the distortion of the entire territory 'Nevil's Oy.,' transferred from Fry and Jefferson, is made to illustrate that desideratum of the military art—being in two places at the same time—at once on the head waters of 'Bull Run' and at the north end of those 'Bull Run Mountains' which were really the Rappahannock Range. Pushing the *reductio ad absurdum,* 'Watt's Oy.' and 'West's Oy.' logically appear north of and bearing the same positions relative to Neavil's and one to another they did on the map of 1755, but they are hopelessly out of drawing with the natural topography. Fauquier Court House, which, if not in Hening, had been in 1787, definitely located for nearly thirty years, is not shown, but 'Red House' (Haymarket) and Newgate (Centreville) are introduced as place names.

Mr. Jefferson was in France when he put this map together. He was fully conscious of its possible defects. In a letter from Paris, February 22, 1786, addressed to Edward Bancroft in London, he[83] describes himself as then engaged in drawing this map,

'taken from Scull, Hutchins,[84] and Fry & Jefferson. . . . I shall finish it in about a fortnight, except the divisions into Counties of Virginia, which I cannot do at all till I can get Henry's map of Virginia. . . . I do not propose that my name shall appear on the map, because . . . I do not wish to place myself at the bar of the public.'

The precaution was wise but not effective. It is evident that he did not get Henry's map in time to avoid his mistake as to Fauquier. This is annoying, even at the present day; because, while Mr. Jefferson's mistake was soon discovered and corrected on most of the commercial maps which followed him in other respects, one of them, which renewed the blunder,[85] has been given, quite recently, a new and wider distribution in the reprint (1908) by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, of the *Records of the Virginia enumeration,* 1782-1786.

1807 *and* 1818. *Bishop Madison.*

James Madison (1749-1812), born in the Valley when it was frontier, a cousin of the statesman of the same name, was a link between the old and the new in Virginia. The last incumbent of Jamestown parish, he was, in 1790, consecrated at Lambeth the first bishop of the Commonwealth. In 1773 he had won Lord Botetourt's prize medal as the best Virginian scholar in philosophy; and so became professor of mathematics and, in 1777, President of William and Mary College, a function he exercised to the end of his life. Dr. Tyler records[86] the pleasant tradition that he was so strong an adherent of the Revolution that he would never speak of heaven as a kingdom but in his sermons referred to it as 'that great republic where there was no distinction of rank and where all men were free and equal.'

Through the eighteenth century, though with gradually diminishing importance, William and Mary College had an official relation with the County Surveyors.[87] This contact with practical field work brought home to Bishop Madison a realization that at the beginning of the nineteenth century more than ever before there was need of a scientific map of Virginia.

As the Assembly still refused to provide it, he now, as Henry had done, undertook the work himself. His proposals[88] were issued in 1805 and show that he took great pains with his trigonometry, and that he had the active assistance of William Prentis in the collection of local material, as well as the moral support of Thomas Jefferson. The map was originally published in 1807 but, being found full of minor errors, was redrawn by William Davis and republished in 1818, after Bishop Madison's death. Until the publication of the Nine Sheet map which it stimulated, this last edition was standard authority. The historical distinction of this work is that it accomplished what John Henry dreamed and became the first road map of Virginia. In that respect a comparison of the two editions is of interest for it reveals the beginnings and development of the turnpike system during the interval betweeen the several dates of publication.

Thus 'Warrenton' appears on the 1818 map as a highway hub, justifying Martin's observation (in his *Gazetteer,* 1836) of that county seat before the days of railroads: 'The Winchester, Fredericksburg, Alexandria and Charlottesville post roads intersect each other at right angles in Warrenton, which makes it quite a thoroughfare. Many travellers going South prefer this route as it gives them an opportunity of viewing the rich counties at the foot of the Blue Ridge.' While Bishop Madison lays down the Carolina road, it is to record its obituary as a through route. Several landmarks of old Prince William were added in the 1818 edition. The 'Norman's Ford' of 1807 had become 'Norman's Bridge.' 'Matildaville' is on both states of the map; but Noland's Ferry, Vestal's Gap, Aldie and Upperville are all introduced for the first time in 1818. It is curious that on both editions Fairfax Court House is shown at its original site on Freedom Hill.

1827 *and* 1859. *The Nine Sheet Map.*

In 1816, at last, the Assembly authorized the preparation of 'an accurate chart of each county and a general map of the territory of this Commonwealth.'[89] With the aid of Thomas

Jefferson, this was accomplished by Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas. Mr. Jefferson's letter,[90] outlining the work, was one of the most enlightened he ever wrote, and persuades us to forgive the blunders of his own map.

The work was carried on by the county surveyors under the general direction of a Scots schoolmaster, John Wood;[91] and, after his death in 1822, of a German engineer, Herman Böye. In 1827 a general map was published in 'nine sheets' on a scale of five miles to the inch; and with it a popular edition on a single sheet on the reduced scale of ten miles to the inch. In 1859 new editions were published of both scales with additions and corrections engraved on the original plates.

This map is altogether a credit to the Commonwealth. Not only does it show the physical features of the country, mountains, streams and roads, but it shows them correctly for the first time on any map.[92] Historically, the most conspicuous feature is, however, the indication of the 'internal improvements;' on the original edition, the turnpikes which had been put in operation after Bishop Madison's map was drawn; and on the second edition, the canals and the railroads.

Although the Nine Sheet map is now nearly a century old, it has never been superseded as a depiction of Virginia (and West Virginia) as a whole.

1863. *The Confederate maps.*

The engineers of the Confederate army made a detailed survey of northern Virginia for military purposes. Capt. Albert H. Campbell, afterwards of Charleston, W. Va., who had the work in charge, says:[93] 'At the close of the contest nearly all the work was mapped from the western part of Fauquier and Rappahannock Counties. . . . It was gratifying to my pride to learn that the United States Engineer Bureau was desirous of obtaining our maps and to hear one of the distinguished officers attached thereto remark that our maps were better than their own.' These maps are here of special interest as the first to be devoted exclusively to Fauquier. They were in MS. and have never been published. Gen. J. F. Gilmer of Sa-

vannah, chief of the engineer bureau of the Confederacy at the end of the war, preserved several of them; which later his daughter lodged, partly with the Virginia Historical Society and, partly with the United States Military Academy at West Point, of which Gen. Gilmer was a graduate. In this way two Confederate maps of Fauquier have been preserved in three parts:

(1) *The Dwight map.* This consists of two quadrangles, viz: (*a*) a map of that portion of the County north and west of the 'Grade' road from Salem (Marshall) to Orlean, which here makes its first appearance on any map. The original in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society has no legend to identify the authorship; (*b*) a map of that portion of the County bounded on the north by the Salem-Orlean road, on the east by the Winchester road, on the south by the Warrenton-Springs road and on the west by the Rappahannock River and the 'grade to Orlean.' It thus includes Warrenton and 'White Sulphur Springs.' The original is No. 36 of the Gilmer collection at West Point. On comparison with the map of the upper end, just described, it proves to be its complement and to be drawn by the same artistic hand, revealed by the legend to be that of Lieutenant C. S. Dwight, C. S. A. There had been no workmanship like this on any Virginia map since the day of William Mayo, and in other respects it fully justifies Capt. Campbell's pride. As this was essentially a military map, the roads are worked out in the greatest detail, laying down many cross ways not indicated on any previous map. Most of the larger land holders in 1863 are named. The scale is 1:4000.

(2) *The Boswell-Hotchkiss map.* This is No. 37 of the Gilmer collection at West Point. It is supposed to cover the entire County; but as it has been mislaid in the library at West Point, there has been no opportunity to examine it. The scale is 2 m.-1 in. and the legend reads: 'Map of Fauquier County, Virginia, compiled from various sources, including a reconnaissance by Capt. J. K. Boswell, Chief Engineer, 2d Corps, Surveys of the Orange and Alexandria and Manassas

Gap railroads, state maps, etc., with personal reconnaissance by Jed Hotchkiss, acting Topographical Engineer, 2d Corps, Army of Northern Virginia.'

1884-1887. *The Topographical Survey.*

The United States Geological Survey, engaged in the compilation of a topographical atlas of the United States, began work in Northern Virginia in 1884; and during the ensuing three years covered the territory of old Prince William. The pioneer local work was done by W. T. Griswold and E. C. Barnard. The progressive publication of this survey some years later, in maps, on a scale of 1:125000, provided for the first time a scientific record of elevations and contour lines; but it is interesting to note that in the matter of place names and other local features, most of these maps are already obsolete. It is fair to say that some of them are frankly labeled 'Reconnaisance,' but others (e. g., the revised studies of the neighbourhood of the national capital) are issued as definite. By reason of its irregular shape, seven sheets of the U. S. Topographical Atlas are required to include all of the territory within the standard quadrangles. The greater part of the area is, however, on the four sheets named: *Harpers Ferry* (1893, reprinted, 1916); *Warrenton* (1894, reprinted, 1915); *Mt. Vernon* (1894, reprinted, 1912); and *Fairfax* (1915). The overflows are parts of Fauquier on *Luray* (1905, reprinted, 1915); *Spotsylvania* (1892, reprinted, 1912); and a part of Loudoun on *Seneca* (1908, reprinted, 1913).

Anyone who has had occasion to use the large scale government maps of England, France or Germany cannot complacently whistle the *Star Spangled Banner* while studying the official map work of the United States. In the Spring of 1917, when we entered the war against Germany, and Washington was full of stories of German efficiency, there was current an anecdote of a Virginian who, in 1912, had met a German general at Cannes and was shown a map of the vicinity of Washington on a scale of six inches to the mile,

which, for sheer beauty of draughtsmanship and minute detail, made him gasp; especially when he found his own house, farm boundaries and name marked upon it. Probably this tale was a *canard*, but one lives in hope that such a map may some day be produced by our own government.

The County Maps.

The first county map in old Prince William was that admirable survey of Loudoun, a work of enduring value, published in 1853 by the Quaker, Yardley Taylor.[94] This not only shows the natural features but the roads, the turnpikes, the Goose Creek canal and the proposed Loudoun Branch of the Manassas Gap railroad. With the names of property owners is supplied much local geological information. The map is embellished by plats of the towns of Leesburg, Middleburg and Waterford; and by views of Leesburg and of the most notable houses then built in the county viz: the court house, Oakhill and Belmont; and also of the monument then recently erected to Miss Margaret Mercer (1792-1846), the pius lady who reduced herself from affluence to poverty by freeing her slaves and sending them to Liberia, and ended her life as a teacher in Loudoun.

The earliest comprehensive county map of Fauquier was published after the war between the states by H. D. Garden.[95] It is a clear though, contrasted with Yardley Taylor or the Confederate maps, a painfully crude drawing. It is, however, still significant as showing the progress of change of place names. Thus while 'The White Plains' of the Nine Sheet map has changed to 'The Plains,' 'Salem' still appears where 'Marshall' now is. 'Piedmont,' which first appears on the 1859 edition of the Nine Sheet map as a railroad station, has, by 1876, become 'Delaplane.' The greatest interest of this map is, however, its indication of the names of landowners for the entire county. Compared with the Confederate maps in this respect, there are several significant disappearances of im-

portant families as a consequence of war. Another feature of the same kind is the legend (attributed to Gen. W. H. Payne, surely one of the most 'reliable parties' Fauquier ever knew) of comparative statistics of the county, intended to illustrate the devastating effect on the community of the war between the states, the burden of reconstruction taxation, and the courage of the people in resuming their agriculture, as well as the reduction of taxation when they once more secured control of local government. There is included, with other detailed statistics of magisterial districts, a roster of the county government in 1876 and the names of military companies organized in 1861.

In 1914 Fauquier produced a new and better map. This was undertaken by a few individuals under the direction of Mr. H. C. Groome, in the name of a paper organization, the Fauquier County Board of Trade.[96] Based on the government's topographical sheets, but rechecked by actual survey, this draught incorporated all the features of the government maps; and has not only superseded the topographical survey for the county, but has put together much local information of an historical character. It includes, of course, an indication of the boundaries of magisterial districts, but its peculiar value is a record of the estate names (as distinguished from the owners' names) of most of the larger landholdings in the county. The legend adds a statistical statement of the resources of the county as of 1914; and there was published with it Mr. Groome's pamphlet, *Fauquier County Historical Notes.*

The older counties have not yet produced such dignified cartography as that of Loudoun and Fauquier.

It was not until 1901 that Mr. William H. Brown published the only individual map of Prince William.[97] This did not purport to be more than a sketch; but it supplemented the government's topographical survey, on which it was based, with the boundaries of the magisterial districts and the names of contemporary property owners. Historically, its value is increased by two insets:

(a) 'Plat of dividing lines between Hamilton and Dettingen parish, surveyed by Thomas Nelson, jr., December, 1829,'
and

(b) 'Battlefield of Manassas, copied from map presented to the City of New Orleans by General G. T. Beauregard.'[98]

Last of all, Fairfax and Alexandria (County) made their contributions to local topography. In 1907 the Boards of Supervisors of both published industrial and historical sketches of their communities, designed to be a stimulus to immigration. With their pamphlets were included maps of the respective counties by Gregor Noetzel, of Washington, D. C.[99] While these draughts give necessary information not elsewhere available as to the boundaries of the magisterial districts, it must be said with regret that they are hardly creditable to a community which has made so much history. The scale is mean and the reproduction of the cheapest and least artistic modern American standard: it is, indeed, the kind of work one expects of a county in a western state which, like Topsy, has no past.

In 1910 Columbus D. Choate, of Herndon, made a gallant effort to supplement the deficiencies of the Supervisor's publications, by compiling an historical map of the same territory.[100] With the exception of a few minor errors due to misinterpretation of documents read without a background of Virginia history, and some obvious omissions, Mr. Choate did an admirable piece of work. With great diligence and sustained interest he collected and recorded the local traditions as to the names of the old roads and the sites of eighteenth century churches and other public buildings. He laid down also the locations of all the engagements fought in Fairfax during the war between the states.

As Mr. Choate's map is already rare, it is fortunate that Mr. W. T. Carter, jr., drew on it in recording his soil survey of Fairfax for the Department of Agriculture. The map thus made available, like Mr. Carter's previous work in the Leesburg area,[101] is of the highest value for the indications of

the various kinds of soil; and because it supplements, with information derived locally, the topographical maps on which it is based. The soil map thus provides a clearer and more correct depiction of streams and roads and a fuller statement of place names than are laid down on the earlier government maps. Until Fairfax shall provide the map she deserves, one must turn to Mr. Carter for a working chart of that community.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO.

[1] The necessary foundations of any study of Virginia maps are (1) E. G. Swem's *Maps Relating to Virginia,* published in 1914 as a bulletin of the Virginia State Library; (2) P. Lee Phillips' *Virginia Cartography* (Smithsonian Institution), 1896, and his later article in *Va. Mag.,* xv, 71; (3) E. B. Mathews' *The Maps and Map Makers of Maryland,* (Maryland Geological Survey), 1898.

[2] Brown, *Genesis,* i, 456; ii, 596. Mr. Brown found, however, in the Simancas archives and reproduced, a map of the Atlantic coast, drawn in 1610, which was procured in England by the Spanish Ambassador and by him sent to Spain. The similarity of the Virginia portion of this to the Smith map strongly suggests that it, too, was drawn from the Powell map, if, indeed, the outline of the Smith map was not drawn directly from it, as Mr. Brown maintains.

[3] *Smith's Works,* ed. Arber, ii, 445, 448 and cf. 109.

[4] Brown, *Genesis,* ii, 641.

[5] *Smith's Works,* ed. Arber, ii, 514.

[6] *Md. Archives,* i, 332. Bozman (i, 120) clearly identified Smith's Quiyough with Aquia, but was puzzled by Baltimore's map. (See his ii, 424, elucidated by Dr. B. C. Steiner, *Maryland under the Commonwealth,* p. 52.) Mr. A. W. McDonald (Report to Governor Letcher, February 2, 1861) was apparently the first to see the blunder in the Baltimore map itself. Curiously enough, in his description of the Baltimore map, Mr. E. B. Mathews does not refer to that blunder.

[7] The location on the north shore of Aquia at its mouth was marked on Herrman's map (1670) by the word 'Brent' and was described by the Virginia Assembly in 1680 (Hening, ii, 473), when it was proposed to found a town there, as 'Peace Point att the mouth of Aquia on the north side.'

[8] *W. & M. Quar.,* xiii, 280; xv. 176.

[9] See the recital of the Northern Neck charter of September 18, 1649, in *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1669-74, No. 63, p. 22.

[10] All that is known of Virginia Ferrar is collected in *Va. Mag.,* xi, 41.

[11] The second edition, 1650, is reproduced in Force's *Tracts,* iii, No. 11. See also No. 13 for Samuel Hartlib's *Reformed Virginia Silk Worm,* published, 1655, and containing verses addressed to Virginia Ferrar.

[12] It has been reproduced and described by P. Lee Phillips as *A Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland*, 1911. It is the source of the 'New map of Virginia and Maryland by H. Moll, geographer,' (included in the first (1708) edition of John Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, and in Moll's atlases of 1716 and 1717), still to be found in some old time Virginia libraries) which was long of prime authority for the tidewater region.

[13] See *Va. Mag.*, xxx, 323, where the present editor collected all he could find about Cadwalader Jones, including the text of his 'Essay' of 1699. To that material may now be added (1) the recital in John Haney's patent of July 29, 1652 (*Patents*, 3: 13), describing a dividend on Dividing Creek adjoining 'the late land of Richard Jones, deceased;' (2) the entry in P. C. C. *Admon Act Book*, 1659, fo. 232, of letters of administration issued June 2, 1659, upon the estate of 'Richard Jones of St. Clement, Eastcheap, but died in Virginia' to 'relict Frances Williams, alias Jones:' (3) the recital of 'Cad Jones' as a head right in the list appended to *Patents*, 6: 663.

[14] For the Sittingburn grievances, *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1677-80, No. 118, p. 45; for Jones' contempt of the Middlesex militia drafts, Bruce, *Institutional History*, ii, 106; for the resolutions of the Council in 1680, *Legislative Journals of the Council*, i, 3.

[15] *Patents*, 6: 663.

[16] *Va. Mag.*, i, 251.

[17] So Lord Baltimore testifies (*Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1681-85, p. 211). The fort was that which Lawrence Smith built immediately above the mouth of Massaponax Creek near the site of Fredericksburg under Berkeley's act of March, 1675/6 (Hening, ii, 326) and which had been renovated under the act of April, 1679 (*ibid.*, ii, 433).

[18] *Cal. State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1681-85, p. 193.

[19] C. O., 5: 1315.

[20] *Va. Mag.*, ii, 31, 121

[21] In his despatch of February 1, 1719/20 (*Spotswood Letters*, ii, 332) Spotswood says, 'I have many Mapps and Draughts drawn from my own Observations in my Travels through the inhabited parts of this Colony. I have others from the Information of the most Credible and Intelligent persons I have met with here: some from the Acco'ts of our Traders and others from the Relation of Indians.'

[22] *Acts P. C. Colonial*, ii, 608. The documents are printed in *Va. Mag.*, xxix, 11.

[23] *Va. Mag.*, xxix, 1.

[24] Both the German and French version of Graffenried's *Account of the Founding of New Bern*, including his Virginia notes, edited by Dr. V. H. Todd, have been collected into a single convenient volume by the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1920. The map is in *Va. Mag.*, xxiv, 302.

[25] *Va. Mag.*, xiv, 243.

[26] For Keith's career see Mr. C. P. Keith's study, with a portrait, in *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* (1888), xii, 1. The documentary evidence is collated in the same author's *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, 1688-1748, and in *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, iii, 123. The

part Keith played in disappointing the youthful aspirations of Benjamin Franklin supplies a page in the immortal *Autobiography*.

Sir William Keith came of the same Scots clan as the Rev. James Keith who founded the distinguished family of that name in Fauquier. It would be interesting to trace a relation between them. For the Keiths of Fauquier, see Bishop Meade, ii, 216; Paxton, *Marshall Family*, p. 27; Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, p. 267; and *ante.*, p. 558.

[27] One of the most interesting of these German maps is that of Virginia by Homann of Nurnberg, which is undated but seems to have been published about 1720. It shows in the backwoods the sites of Spotswood's two outposts against the indians, Christanna and Germanna.

[28] For Stauber and his project see C. O. 5: 1322, L. C. Transcripts, p. 193 ff, and the documents relative to this revival and extension of the plans of Michel and Graffenried collected by Mr. C. E. Kemper in *Va. Mag.*, xxix, 183, ff.

[29] He was several times consulted on colonial affairs at this time. See his paper and Col. Byrd's answer in *Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, ii, 213, and Burk's animadversions in his *History of Virginia*, iii, 142.

[30] C. O. 5: 1366; L. C. Transcripts, p. 68.

[31] *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, iv, 55.

[32] C. O. 5: 1322, p. 325. Official and amateur collectors of Virginiana have several times searched for this map among the Board of Trade papers in the British archives, only to report that it was mislaid. In the recent reclassification of those papers (for which see Andrews' *Guide to MS. Materials in the P. R. O.*) it has, however, come to light and has been transferred to the Colonial Office, whence it was reproduced for the present editor in 1921.

[33] Of the maps here discussed the three of greatest importance (Mayo, 1737; Warner, 1737; Jefferson and Brooke, 1747) have not been available in Virginia until recently, when the writer of these notes uncovered the original in the Public Record Office in London and procured photostats, of which copies have now been deposited with the Virginia Historical Society, Virginia State Library, and Library of Congress.

[34] *Virginia v. Fairfax*, reported in *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, iii, 385 ff.

[35] *The Bounds of the Northern Neck* in *Westover MSS.*, ed. Wynne, 1866, ii, 121.

[36] The Field Notes of the survey of 1746 show that the surveyors had with them the similar record of the survey of 1736, but there is no subsequent testimony for what became of these vouchers for the first scientific exploration of 'Cohongarooton.'

[37] Phillips, *Virginia Cartography* (1896), p. 47.

[38] This report survives as Fulham MS. 2d Box, No. 212.

[39] *Cf.* Phillips, *Virginia Cartography* (1896), p. 46, and Swem, *Maps relating to Virginia* (1914), No. 161. The only known example of the first state of the printed map survives among the papers filed in 1786 by Robert, seventh Lord Fairfax in support of his claim for compensation by the British government for the loss of the Northern Neck quit rents (P. R. O. Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 28, American Loyalist Claims). From this was made the reproduction now in the Library of Congress, portions of which have been several times published, *e. g.*, in Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (1911), p. 156.

[40] The compiler of the present notes is indebted for this interesting document to Mr. Albert Cook Myers of Philadelphia, who came upon it in the course of his research for his scholarly edition of the *Works of William Penn.*

[41] The minutes of the Council in which these appointments were recorded are missing, but the personnel is proven not only by the Field Notes of 1746 but by the signatures upon the Jefferson and Brooke map.

[42] The fugitive surviving literature of the survey of 1746 consists of Thomas Lewis' *Journal,* printed in Waddell, *Annals of Augusta,* 2d ed., p. 84; and the letters printed in Conway, *Barons,* chap. xi, and in *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 239. Mr. C. J. Faulkner had access, in 1832, to the original Field Notes of the survey of 1746 (Kercheval, *History of the Valley,* 1902 ed., p. 160) but on searching for them again in 1871 learned that they had disappeared from the state archives at the surrender of Richmond in 1863. Fortunately, however, a copy of this record was sent to England and has there been preserved in C. O., 5: 1344.

[43] For the subsequent significance of the Fairfax Stone, see *Maryland v. Virginia,* 271 U. S., p. 1.

[44] The copy of the second state of the printed map in the Harvard College Library is described in Winsor, *Narr. & Crit. Hist.,* v, 276, where the southern portion is reproduced. The northern part with the 'back line' and the achievement of arms is reproduced in *Va. Mag.,* xxviii, 297. There is another copy of the original print in the Virginia State Library, described by Mr. Swem as his No. 169c.

[45] Brown, *The Cabells and their Kin,* p. 168.

[46] There is a genealogical study of the Brooke family in *Va. Mag.,* xx, 99 ff.

[47] See the minutes of the Council, April 30th and June 13, 1734 (C. O., 5: 1420, pp. 54, 59), and Mr. Charles E. Kemper's comment in *Va. Mag.,* xiii, 353, 358.

[48] *Va. Mag.,* ix, 436; x, 197.

[49] This is apparent not only in the fact that the father's will had been proved before that time, but the Field Notes of the survey of 1746 testify that when the source of the Potomac was rediscovered in that year there was no one in the party who had been there before except Benjamin Winslow. The elder Robert Brooke had left his mark on the spot in 1736 so that, in view of the above statement, it could only have been another Robert Brooke who recorded a similar mark in 1746.

[50] This plat is reproduced in Callahan, *Washington the Man and the Mason.*

[51] His will was dated January 28, 1785, and proved in Essex January 18, 1790 (*Va. Mag.,* xiii, 223).

[52] *King George O. B.,* 1721-34, p. 360. The reference by Jefferson to Warner is quoted below in note 70. The explanation of the tradition of importation for Lord Fairfax's service must refer to the other 'able mathematician' mentioned by Jefferson; he seems to have been the 'John Brown from Glasgow' who on April 17, 1741, signed with Warner in William Fairfax's guest book (MS. *penes me*) in a bracket by another hand describing them both as 'philomath.'

[53] *Va. Mag.,* xxxi, 273.

[54] *Cal. Va. State Papers,* i, 224.

[55] *N. N.*, E: 28, 293.

[56] See the Jefferson genealogical notes in Brown, *The Cabells and their Kin*, p. 388.

[57] Randall, *Thomas Jefferson*, ch. 1.

[58] Compare *e. g.*, the 'Virginia' in Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1676, with John Senex's map (1719) in the *New General Atlas*, 1721. Both these drawings are obviously based on the Smith map. We have already noted how Herrman long affected the depiction of the Potomac valley.

[59] *Spotswood Letters*, i, 39.

[60] C. O., 5: 1420, p. 67.

[61] *John Robinson* (1683-1749) of Piscataway in Essex, like his father, Christopher Robinson, a member of the Council, was father of John Robinson, long Speaker and Treasurer of Virginia. See the Robinson genealogy in *Va. Mag.*, xv, 445, ff., and specifically, xvi, 216.

[62] C. O., 5: 1323, p. 87.

[63] This was not an appointment to the office of Surveyor General, as will appear from the language of the Council already quoted. That office had been vested in William & Mary College in 1692 and was exercised in its right successively by Miles Cary, William Buckner and Peter Beverley until 1728. Thenceforth it remained in commission. The relation of the college to the county surveyors is discussed in relation to Bishop Madison's map.

[64] It is of interest that when the Fry and Jefferson map was finally drawn, in 1751, the Council paid for it no more than £300 (C. O., 5: 1423, pp. 497, 519).

[65] *Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 379; 1742-49, p. 94; *Virginia Gazette*, January 5, 1738/9, in *Va. Hist. Register*, vi, 150.

[66] C. O., 5: 1327, p. 299; 1423, p. 497.

[67] *Ibid.*, 1327, p. 355.

[68] *Joshua Fry* was then resident in Albemarle where he was county surveyor and County Lieutenant. See Slaughter, *Memoir of Joshua Fry*, 1880. It seems altogether likely that it was his association with Mayo in 1738 which had induced him to remove there.

[69] The *Council Journal*, November 12, 1748 (C. O., 5: 1423, p. 348) records 'The Governor acquainting the Board with the Necessity of continuing the line between Virginia and Carolina, it is the advice of the Council that his Honour would be pleased to write to the Governor of Carolina to Request him to appoint two Surveyors to joyn with Jos. Fry and Peter Jefferson appointed for Virginia.' For the results of this survey see Hening, ix, 561.

[70] Fry had materials which Burwell does not mention. Thomas Jefferson testified in his Autobiography that Fry and Jefferson 'possessed excellent materials for so much of the country as is below the Blue Ridge;' and in his letter of April 19, 1816 (*Writings of T. J.*, ed., Lipscomb, xiv, 471) specified that Lord Fairfax put at their disposition the notes of a scientific survey of the Northern Neck which he had had made by 'two able mathematicians . . . brought over from England.'

[71] They already had a copy of Stith. In June, 1747, Gooch sent home 'the First Part of the History of Virginia lately published.'

[72] *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, pp. 378, 386.

[73] *John Dalymple* (1720-1789) came back to Virginia in the Spring of 1755 with a commission as Captain, and strong letters of introduction, but, as appears from Gov. Dinwiddie's correspondence, he was not popular and was shelved by Gen. Braddock, who appointed him commandant of Fort Johnson in North Carolina. He ultimately succeeded as fifth earl of Stair. See *D. N. B.*, re-issue, v, 423.

[74] See the comment on it in *Gentleman's Magazine,* xxv (1755), p. 47. Later in the same year, and for the same reason, two far more important maps appeared, viz.: Dr. John Mitchell's noble map of the British and French dominions in America (Swem, No. 188) was published in London and Lewis Evans' similar map (Swem, No. 187) was published (by Benjamin Franklin) in Philadelphia. While these maps are beyond the scope of our present study, it may be noted that they both indicate, on a small scale, the Virginia highways which Dalymple had laid down on Fry & Jefferson.

[75] Henry, *Patrick Henry* (1891), i, 3.

[76] William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry,* 1817, p. 26.

[77] *Journals H. B.*, 1766-69, pp. 21, 55, 144, 266.

[78] See the discussion of this legend in *The Historical Magazine* (1863), vii, 286, quoted in Phillips' *Virginia Cartography,* p. 53.

[79] This copy is the one preserved down to the middle of the nineteenth century by the Horners of Warrenton, which was used by the historian, Charles Campbell. See his *History of Virginia,* p. 521. The present editor has recently acquired in Leipzig another original of the Henry map.

[80] See *ante.*, p. 502.

[81] See Dr. Bruce's lively account (*History of the University of Virginia,* i, 218) of the 'necromantic map' produced by Mr. Jefferson at the Rockfish Gap conference in 1818, which secured the location of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.

[82] Loudoun also has cause for complaint of the great Democrat for its county seat, Leesburg, although established as a town in 1758, is not shown on the map at all.

[83] *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Memorial Asso., v. 284.

[84] W. Scull's *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania,* 1770, does not include any part of Virginia. Thomas Hutchins' *New Map of the Western Part of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina,* 1778, one of the land marks of American topography, is an important document for the history of the Valley of Virginia, but, making the Blue Ridge its eastern boundary, excludes old Prince William.

[85] B. Tanner in Winterbotham's *American Atlas,* 1796, Swem, No. 358.

[86] *Williamsburg,* p. 167.

[87] As we have already noted the office of Surveyor General of Virginia was granted to the trustees of William and Mary College by the charter of 1692 and, in that capacity, the College appointed the county surveyors until after the Revolution. Thus, on 'July 20, 1749, George Washington, Gent., produced a commission from the President and Masters of William & Mary College, appointing him to be surveyor of' Culpeper (Green, *Culpeper County,* p. 5.) In 1779 it was provided that thenceforth the surveyors should be commissioned by the

governor but on the nomination of 'the President and Professors of William and Mary College.' (Hening, x, 53.) In 1783 the nomination was transferred to the County Court, reserving, however, to the college the function of examining and certifying the ability of the nominee. (Hening, xi, 352).

[88] Printed in Swem *Virginia Maps* No. 377.

[89] *Acts,* 1815-16, c. 18, p. 39.

[90] *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Lipscomb, xiv, 471.

[91] *John Wood,* born 1775, emigrated to the United States in 1800 and lived for some time in Kentucky. He was principal of the Petersburg Academy in 1816 when Mr. Jefferson certified that 'we have certainly no abler mathematician.' He had completed the heavy work of the Nine Sheet map before he died in Richmond in May, 1822. For his books, see Appleton's *Cyc. Am. Biog.,* vi, 596.

[92] The present editor has in his possession a copy of the smaller scale edition of 1859, captured by Mr. Channing M. Smith of Delaplane from a Yankee officer who said it was esteemed the best for military purposes of any map available in the Federal army.

[93] *Century Magazine,* January, 1888.

[94] 'Map of Loudoun County, Virginia, from actual surveys by Yardley Taylor,' published by Thomas Reynolds and Robert Pearsall Smith, Philadelphia, copyright, 1853. Scale 1 m. — 1¾ in.

[95] 'Map of Fauquier County, Virginia, compiled from military surveys, made during the late war, and other data, and corrected with the assistance of reliable parties in the county, by H. D. Garden, 1876.' The scale is 1 m. — 1 in. This map was reduced and reproduced in 1912 in Alexander Hunter's collection of Fauquier war legends (*The Women of the Debatable Land*) but, unfortunately, the statistical legend was omitted, and no acknowledgment of authorship was made.

[96] 'Map of Fauquier County, Virginia, published by The Fauquier County Board of Trade, Warrenton, Virginia, 1914,' scale 1 m. — 1 in. Surveyed and mapped by Brown & Clarkson, Washington, D. C., June, 1913.

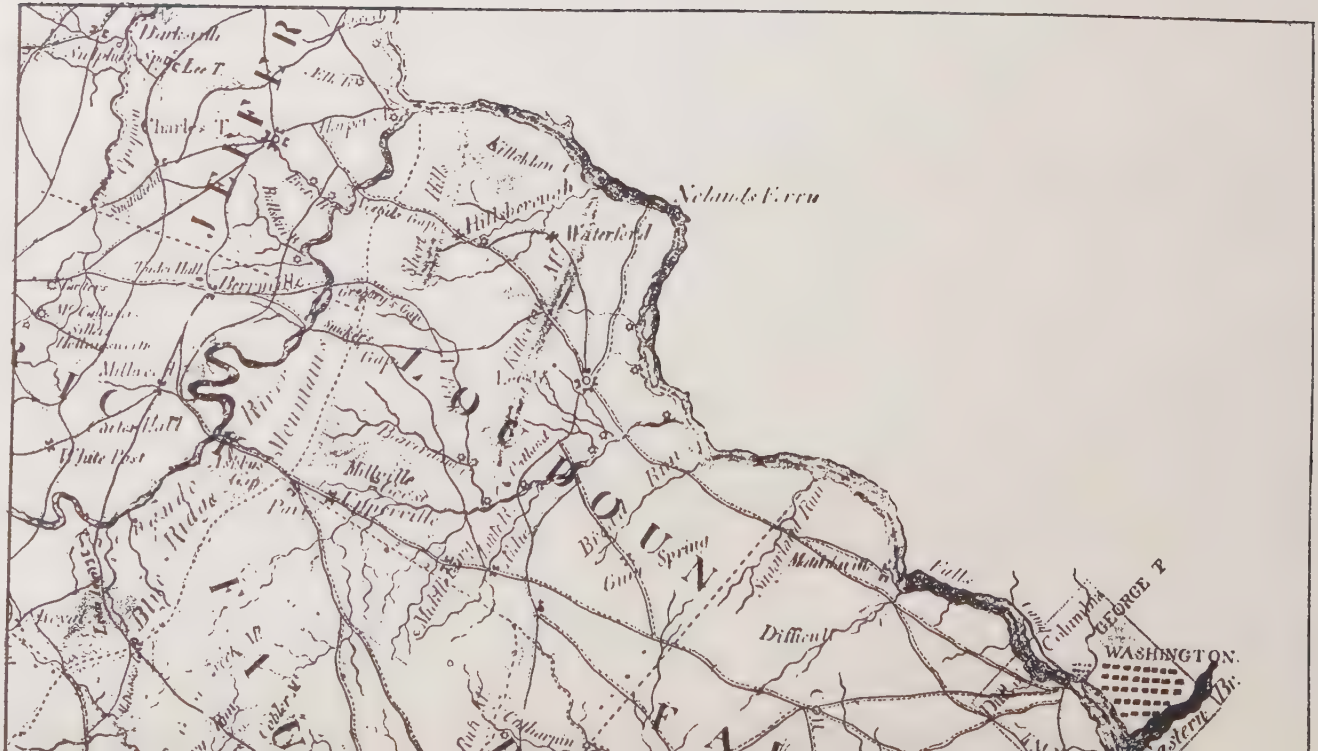
[97] 'Map of Prince William County, Virginia, 1901, compiled from U. S. Geological Survey and other maps, and corrected with the assistance of reliable residents of the county by Wm. H. Brown, Gainesville, Va.'

[98] With this should be read the beautiful map prepared in 1904 when the United States army held maneuvers on the Bull Run battle field, viz: 'Maneuver Grounds, Prince William and Fairfax Counties, Virginia, surveyed under the direction of Major Edward Burr, corps of engineers, June-July, 1904.'

[99] Swem, *Virginia Maps,* Nos. 1853, 1848.

[100] *Ibid.* No. 1941. It was from Choate's map that the Fairfax roads are named on the Fairfax Soil survey map of 1915.

[101] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, Soil Map: Leesburg Sheet, 1904: Fairfax—Alexandria County sheet, 1915.


Nelands Ferry
Hillsborough
Waterford
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White Post
Millville
Lupperville
Spring
Difficult
Columbia
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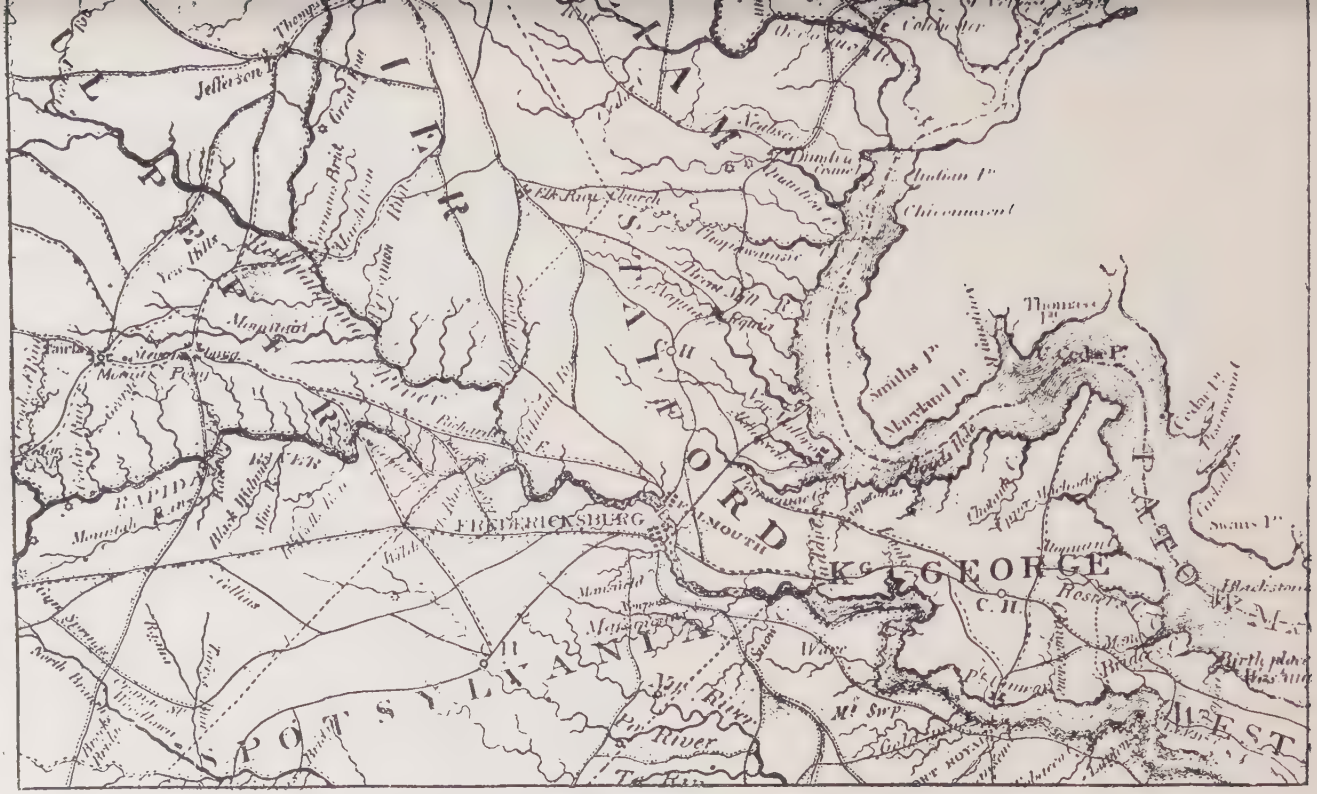
Jefferson
Great Run
Thornton's Brch
Church Run
Mountain Run
Stony Lonesome
Mount Pony
Rapid Ann River
Black Walnut Run
Mine Run
Rapidan River
Mountain Run
Rappahannock River
Hazel Run
Richland Run
Hazel Run
Elk Run Church
Thornton's Mill
Rappahannock
Dumbarton
Indian Pt
Chiswell's
Thomas Pt
Cedar Pt
Smiths Pt
Maryland Pt
Cedar Pt
Piscataway
Swans Pt
Potomac River
Chotank
Upper Machodoc
Mattox Creek
Monroe's Creek
Rappahannock River
FREDERICKSBURG
Falmouth
Marsh
Marsh Run
Mine Run
Wilds
Wilderness
Wilderness Run
Wilderness Run
Wilderness Run

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

The County Names

PRINCE WILLIAM. When George the Second was King, Virginia was a thoroughly Whig community. There were no political cavaliers left there, no 'country interest,' as in England, to criticise the policies of Walpole and Newcastle, not even such a plantation *bloc* as had plagued Spotswood. Until after Braddock's expedition, the incidence of taxation was light. During Gooch's long administration Virginians may have been provincial, but they were prosperous and content. There were no Squire Westerns among them to denounce the 'Hanover rats.' On the other hand, the loyal Assembly was alert to honour the sovereign and his family by writing their names on the map of Virginia. The multiplication of new parishes and counties during this reign, greater than in any previous period of similar length in the history of the colony, gave the opportunity. As there was already a Prince George, named for Queen Anne's husband, and a King George, named for the first of his dynasty, George II could not, himself, be made an eponymous hero, but, in 1737, Fredericksburg was named for his eldest son;[1] in 1738, Caroline, for his queen; in 1730, Prince William, for his second surviving son; in 1734, Orange, for his eldest daughter;[2] and, finally, in 1735 and 1742, Amelia and Louisa for two younger daughters.

William Augustus (1720-1765), for whom Prince William was named, was in his tenth year when he was so honoured. He was then already Duke of Cumberland and had had a famous book of verse, Gay's *Fables,* 'invented to amuse him.' When he came of age, in 1742, he was promoted to be a major general, and, as such, was present and was wounded at the battle of Dettingen, whence Dettingen parish in Prince William County took its name. In 1744 he commanded in

chief at Fontenoy; and, in 1746, wrote 'the end of an old song' at Culloden, when, in compensation, many new ones were composed in his honour. Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* is the greatest of such musical productions, but 'Misojacobiton's' ballad to the tune of *Chevy Chase* had greater currency in Virginia.[3] It is improbable that the Scots merchants on the Quantico saw the humour of such a verse as

> 'But Cumberland, that war-like Duke
> Soon brought their stomachs down.
> He hemmed them up, until raw cale
> A rarity was grown.'

Doubtless they took their revenge by broadcasting the sobriquet of 'Billy the Butcher,' which thenceforth adhered to the 'war-like Duke' as the result of the stern police duty in the Highlands so celebrated.[4]

Cumberland was later Captain-General of the British army and, as such, selected Edward Braddock for a fatal service in America; but perhaps the most agreeable memory of the remainder of his life is that he founded the Ascot race meeting and bred those two noble horses, Herod and Eclipse. During this period he occupied a position in English society and politics somewhat similar to that later held by the Duke of Wellington. As commander-in-chief of an English army in a crisis campaign, he had become *'the* Duke,' *par excellence*, a hero of the Whig politicians, who exaggerated his personality. The picture of him in *Humphrey Clinker* illustrates this:

> 'Barton then, pointing to the Duke of C, proceeded: 'You know the duke; that illustrious hero, who trod rebellion under his feet, and secured us in possession of everything we ought to hold dear as Englishman and Christians. Mark what an eye, how penetrating, yet pacific! What dignity in his mien! What humanity in his aspect! Even malice must own that he is one of the greatest officers in Christendom.' 'I think he be,' said Mr. Bramble.'

Prince William died in 1765, in his forty-fifth year, a corpulent debauché, whose ludicrous figure was Thackeray's model for Prince Bulbul in *The Rose and the Ring;* but he had made a large impression on his generation. After a critical review of his military career, Fortescue[5] is able to aver that 'it is no disparagement of other members of the Royal Family to say that he was the ablest man it has produced during the two centuries of its reign in England.' Two Virginia counties bear his name. The Prince William of his youthful promise was followed in 1749 by the Cumberland of his maturity. His memory survives elsewhere also on the American map; most important of all, in Cumberland Mountain and Cumberland River.

Fairfax: When Prince William was divided, in 1742, and Fairfax set off from it, the Northern Neck proprietary, including both counties, was vested in Thomas Fairfax (1693-1781), sixth Lord Fairfax of Cameron, and it was in his honour that the new county was named. In like manner he gave names to other landmarks in the Northern Neck, viz: (1736) Leeds Manor,[6] after his maternal estate in Kent and hence (1769) Leeds parish[7] in Fauquier; (1746) the Fairfax Stone,[8] now the corner between Maryland and West Virginia; (1748) Culpeper County,[9] after his mother's family; (1748) Cameron parish,[10] in Fairfax County; (1752) Bromfield parish,[11] in Culpeper County, after the chapel in Kent, in which he was baptized; (1752) Greenway Court,[12] in Frederick, after a Culpeper estate in Kent; (1759) the town of Fairfax,[13] in Culpeper County; (1764) Fairfax parish,[14] in Fairfax County; (1772) the town of Maidstone,[15] in Fauquier, from the name of the shire town in Kent.

Of all these place names, only those of the counties persist.

Loudoun: John Campbell (1705-1782), fourth earl of Loudoun, was, appointed Governor of Virginia in February, 1756. A month later he was named commander in chief in America. The hope that he would retrieve the disaster of Braddock stirred the Virginia Assembly to name a new county

for him and otherwise promise support.[16] But Loudoun proved a delusion: in modern expressive slang, his middle name was Indecision. His expedition from New York in the summer of 1757, for the siege of Louisburg, got no further than Halifax, whereupon Pitt recalled him, and sent out a real soldier in his place—Jeffrey Amherst. Loudoun lives in American history in the character Benjamin Franklin fastened upon him in the famous *Autobiography,* in the quotation of a witty detion attributed to 'one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia'—'he is like St. George on the signs, always on horseback and never rides on.'

Fauquier: Francis Fauquier (1704-1768) was the son of a learned Huguenot physician who left the south of France upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, migrated to England, was naturalized in 1698,[17] married an English woman, served under Sir Isaac Newton as Deputy Master of the Mint, was sometime a Director of the Bank of England, and died in 1726.[18] The early life and education of the future Governor is obscure, but it is clear that he owed his opportunity partly to a marriage into a county family in the north of England—the Dalstons of Dalston, co. Cumberland[19]—and partly to an inheritance from his father's bachelor merchant brother. This William Fauquier died in 1746, a Director of the South Sea Company and a Fellow of the Royal Society;[20] and his nephew, Francis, soon succeeded to both these distinctions. By such associations and an essay proposing an income tax, published in 1756,[21] Fauquier acquired that 'good interest' among the powerful merchants in London to which Robert Dinwiddie testified when, in January, 1758, he was appointed Dinwiddie's successor as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.[22] In his will Fauquier recorded also his gratitude to his 'much esteemed and respected patron, George Montagu Dunk, earl of Halifax,' who, as President of the Board of Trade, was responsible for his appointment. He arrived in the colony in June, 1758, and in the February following, the new county was named for him, as evidence of the good impression he had made by his first

address to the Assembly only a few months before.[23] Although in 1765 Fauquier had to dissolve the Assembly on the occasion of Patrick Henry's fiery resolution against stamp taxes, he did so with tact and good manners; when he died at his post on March 3, 1768, and was buried in Bruton Church in Williamsburg, the *Virginia Gazette* truthfully said that his administration had been 'much to his own honor and the ease and satisfaction of the inhabitants.' By his will he provided that his slaves, if sold to new masters of their own election, should go at 25% less than their value. He could, however, show teeth, when he deemed that the dignity of his office had been flouted, as witness his colloquy with the Rev. John Camm in 1760.[24] The most agreeable glimpse of Fauquier is the best known, that in Thomas Jefferson's *Autobiography* recalling student days at Williamsburg. His preceptor, Professor Small, says Jefferson, procured 'for me, from his most intimate friend, G. Wythe, a reception as a student of law under his direction and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who had ever filled that office. With him and at his table Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum,* and myself formed a partie quarree; and to the habitual conversations on these occasions I owed much instruction.'

Alexandria, now Arlington: The name which this county bore, from its creation in 1801 until 1920, was, of course, derived from that of its capital, the pre-existing town of Alexandria. Its present name has, however, a more ancient and not less interesting pedigree. The county derived it from that Arlington House which, in 1802, George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington, erected on the heights overlooking Washington City.[25] There Custis' only daughter married Robert Edward Lee and resided until the war between the states. The United States, having confiscated Arlington, made of it a national cemetery and for this reason, as well as in memory of General Lee, the county, which included the cemetery, appropriately took its name. The

Arlington House on the Potomac had in turn taken its name from that of the original home of the Custis family on Old Plantation Creek in Northampton County on the Eastern Shore. This first Virginia Arlington was built before 1676 by the second John Custis and named for his patron,[26] Henry Bennet (1618-1685), that successful adventurer at the court of Charles II who, in 1663, was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron (afterward earl) Arlington. Clarendon,[27] who was superseded by Arlington, preserves a malicious anecdote which traces the name a step further, to its original in England. When Bennet got his warrant for a peerage he first chose the title Cheney, 'which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the least relation;' but when the Cheneys objected, 'he was contented to take the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father and was sold by him and now in the possession of another private person: and so was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little Village between London and Uxbridge.'

No notice of the name Arlington in Virginia would be appropriate without the classical anecdotes of the fourth John Custis of the Eastern Shore, the father of Martha Washington's first husband. He married Frances Parke, daughter of a Governor of the Leeward Islands, and lived with her most unhappily. At last they communicated only through servants. One day John Custis sent his wife a message inviting her to drive with him. Surprised by the unaccustomed attention, she accepted. 'Instead of taking the usual route along the bay beach, the gallant whip headed his horse straight out into the bay, the water deepening very gradually near Arlington. 'Where are you going, Mr. Custis?' asked his wife. 'To h—l, Madam,' he replied. 'Drive on,' said she, 'any place is preferable to Arlington.'[28] But John Custis had the last word. Surviving his wife, by his will[29] he directed that his tombstone be inscribed with his age and the statement 'and yet lived but seven years, which was the space of time he kept a Batchelor's House at Arlington on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE.

[1] In 1738 the Valley counties of Frederick and Augusta were also named for him and his wife.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, is not a dignified figure in English history. 'He never succeeded in anything, not even to the throne.'

'Its only Fred
Who was alive and now is dead
Of him no more can now be said.'

[2] Governor Gooch, commenting upon the act creating Orange, in his despatch of November 30, 1734, (C. O. 5: 1323, p. 299), says: 'I shall only add that in Honour to the Prince and Princess of Orange the new erected County is named the County of Orange.' The royalties so honoured were the Princess Royal, Anne, and her husband, William IV (1711-1751), Prince of Orange, who were married 14, March, 1733/34. At the same session which created Orange, the Assembly sent an address of congratulation on receiving news of this wedding. (*Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, p. 230). The Prince was deformed and without fortune, but his name recommended him to the protestant interest in England. The Princess was short, fat and disfigured by smallpox. She had leave to refuse Orange but said she would marry him if he were a baboon. 'Well then,' said the King, 'there is baboon enough for you.' For a frank and entertaining discussion of the politics of the marriage, see Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*.

[3] *Virginia Gazette,* No. 526.

[4] The persistence of this epithet, originally the bitter taunt of the defeated followers of the young Pretender, seems to have been a by-product of English party politics. A picturesque phrase perpetuated by popular history seldom records the whole truth. In this case the contemporary news letter announcing the battle of Culloden to the people of Virginia (*Virginia Gazette,* July 17, 1747) suggests that Prince William's severities to the Scots were not without provocation. 'Mr. Rose, Minister of Nairn, having been instrumental in some Prisoners making their escape, was seized by the Rebels and tied to the Cross, where they most inhumanly gave him 500 lashes. The Duke as he passed his House said he felt every lash the poor Gentleman had received and would revenge it. Our men have really been pretty severe and have given little quarter, being exasperated at the Treatment our Prisoners met with, they being found in dark Dungeons at Inverness almost Naked and eat up with Vermin.'

[5] *History of the British Army,* 1899, ii, 568.

[6] The survey of 1736 is in *N. N.*, E: 76.

[7] Hening, viii, 403.

[8] *Maryland v. West Virginia,* 217 U. S., 1, at p. 30.

[9] Hening, vi, 211. For the act Robinson, *Virginia Counties,* p. 204.

[10] Hening, vi, 214.

[11] Hening, vi, 256. Dr. Slaughter (*St. Marks Parish,* p. 80) corrects Bishop Meade's spelling of the name, but did not know whence it came.

[12] The grant to Thomas Bryan Martin is in *N. N.*, H: 179.

[13] Hening, vii, 306. For the change of name to Culpeper see *ante.*, p. 343.

[14] Hening, viii, 43, 157. At the same time and for the same reason 'Cameron' because the name of a street in Alexandria; as it had previously been chosen as the name of the proposed town at the head of Hunting Creek. See *ante.*, p. 414.

[15] Hening, viii, 621. See pp. 262, 664.

[16] Hening, vii, 61, 148: *Dinwiddie Papers,* ii, 616.

[17] Ruffhead, *Statutes at Large,* iii, Private acts, William III, c. 20.

[18] The obituary of John Francis Fauquier is in *Historical Register,* 1726, p. 37.

[19] See the Fauquier pedigree compiled 1921 for the present editor by G. Woods Wollaston, Esqr., Richmond Herald in F. H. S. *Bulletin,* 1924; and Francis Fauquier's will in *W. & M. Quar.,* viii, 171.

[20] William Fauquier's obituary is in *Gentlemen's Magazine,* 1746, pp. 84, 1181.

[21] 'An essay on Ways and Means of Raising Money for the Support of the present war without Increasing the Public debt.'

[22] *Dinwiddie Papers,* ii, 723.

[23] *Journals H. B.,* 1758-61, p. 4.

[24] Perry, *Church Papers, Virginia,* p. 463, and Fauquier's dispatch to the Lords of Trade, 30 June, 1760, printed in *Journals H. B.,* 1758-61, Appendix, p. 285.

[25] *Lee of Virginia,* p. 436; Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches,* p. 371.

[26] Wise, *Early History of the Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 114. Lord Arlington had himself built the original Arlington House on the west side of St. James Park in London. Because of the animosities aroused by the grants of Virginia to him and Culpeper, the classical tradition in Virginia has been to sneer at Arlington as a 'dissolute favorite'; but he was a gentleman born, had been educated at Westminster and Oxford and proved himself a man of parts. He was not only the second 'a' of the Cabal which sometime governed England, but had previously justified the good will of his royal master. It is recorded of him in *Absalom and Achitophel* that

> 'Long with the royal wanderer he roved
> And firm in all the turns of fortune proved.'

Arlington's only child married one of Charles II's sons by Barbara Palmer and his blood and title are today represented by the Dukes of Grafton.

[27] *Life,* ii, 358.

[28] Wise, *ibid.,* p. 332.

[29] Dated November 14, 1749 and proved in James City Court, 1750, and in London, 1753 (P. C. C. *Searle,* 287). There is a full calendar in Waters' *Gleanings,* i, 393. The tombstone is quoted in Meade, *Old Churches,* i, 262 and *Lee of Virginia,* p. 456.

Nine Sheet Map, 1827.

THE most representative list of the worthies of old Prince William during the colony days and thenceforth through the transition from colony to Commonwealth and down to the abolition of the county court by the Constitution of 1850 is undoubtedly the successive commissions of the peace. Although many of the earlier county records are lost and, in consequence, a comprehensive list of justices of the peace has never been put together, it is still possible to reconstruct that polity from the Council Journal; of which the successive Governors, beginning in 1680, sent 'home' to the Lords of Trade, the transcripts which are now on file in the Public Record Office in London. It is to be hoped that the decent respect due to our ancestors may cause that record to be searched and the list in question to be indexed and published. When it is so made available, the foundation of a new hereditary society of 'Sons of Colonial Magistrates' inevitably must ensue. Such a society will be quite as respectable as those founded upon military service.

A similar record, of significance secondary only to that of the commissions of the peace, is available in the statute books. Throughout the eighteenth century, and thenceforward until the adoption of the same democratic Constitution of 1850, to which may be traced the practice of 'incorporation' of towns, the Assembly 'established' towns on the principle laid down in Culpeper's act of 1680 'for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture.' The machinery so set up was by no means democratic. It provided for the appointment, by special act, of trustees who were vested with the lands expropriated for the town site, with power to lay out those lands in streets and lots, to dispose of the latter, and to maintain a proprietary municipal government under direct responsibility only to the

Assembly. These trustees were not all residents of the towns, nor even all owners of the lands set aside for town development, though those owners were often included. The greater number of them were the local territorial magnates, who were the contemporary ornaments of the county court bench. The names of these founders are, therefore, racy of the soil of northern Virginia, and the record of them, which is here appended, is a pertinent exhibit for the local historian.

The memory of the men who took part in this work, with high hopes for the future fortunes of their achievements, is, however, the chief legacy they have left to their descendants. Except in the single city (Alexandria) which has grown out of their endeavors, there is no urban life to realize their intentions. During the century following 1740, when it was first proposed to establish a town on the Quantico, thirty-one municipalities were formally established within the bounds of old Prince William. Of these, the names of seven (Philee, Carolandville, Newport, Carrborough, Matildaville, South Haven and Turberville) have disappeared utterly from the modern map; while most of the others perpetuate the tradition of the past only as rural community centres, villages rather than towns, without pretense to the crowded life. Even in the four existing shire towns, of which three had their origin during the century in question, the commerce of banking and mercantile distribution predominates over industry; as it does also in the larger new villages which have grown up since 1840. This is characteristic of the persistently agricultural economic interests of the territory; but a more convincing proof is that several of the most ancient survivors, among the early 'towns' here enumerated, have abandoned as unnecessary for their local needs the effort to maintain a separate municipal government.

Here, then, is the list:

1749—DUMFRIES

Record: Hening, vi, 214; vii, 424; C. O., 5: 1395, No. 17.[1]

Description: 60 acres belonging to John Graham, situate . . . upon the Head of Quantico Creek . . . in the county of Prince William.

Trustees: 1749: John Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Joseph Blackwell, Richard Blackburn, Thomas Harrison. 1761: John Tayloe, Presley Thornton, John Champe, Richard Henry Lee, Richard Lee, Henry Lee, Henry Peyton, John Moncure, James Scott, Allan Macrae, John Baylis, James Douglas, Foushee Tebbs, Thomas Lawson, William Carr.

1749—ALEXANDRIA

Record: Hening, vi, 214; C. O., 5: 1395, No. 20.[1]

Description: 60 acres . . . parcel of the land of Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West, situate . . . on the south isde of Potomack River about the mouth of Great Hunting Creek and in the County of Fairfax.

Trustees: Thomas, Lord Fairfax, William Fairfax, George William Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Lawrence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerard Alexander, Hugh West, Philip Alexander.

1753—COLCHESTER

Record: Hening, vi, 396.

Description: 25 acres of land belonging to the said Peter Wagener, situate, lying and being on Occoquan river in the county of Fairfax.

Trustees: Peter Wagener, Daniel McCarty, John Barry, William Elzey, Edward Washington.

1758—LEESBURG

Record: Hening, vii, 235.

Description: 60 acres, land of Nicholas Minor, adjoining to the court house of the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: Philip Ludwell Lee, Thomas Mason, Francis Lightfoot Lee, James Hamilton, Nicholas Minor, Josias Clapham, Aeneas Campbell, John Hough, Francis Hague, William West.

1772—PHILEE

Record: Hening, viii, 622.

Description: 100 acres of land adjoining to the warehouses at the falls of Potowmack in the county of Fairfax.

Trustee: Philip Ludwell Lee.

1772—Maidstone

Record: Hening, viii, 621.

Description: The land whereon John Rictor (*sic*) now lives, in the county of Fauquier.

Trustee: John Rictor (*sic*), proprietor of the said land.

1785—Carolandville

Record: Hening, xii, 217.

Description: 50 acres, being part of a large tract belonging to Landon Carter, gentleman, lying at a place called Norman's Ford in the county of Fauquier.

Trustees: John Blackwell, Humphrey Brooke, George Fitzhugh, William Pickett, Thomas Helm.

1787—Newport

Record: Hening, xii, 603.

Description: 30 acres of land lying at the mouth of Quantico creek and in Potowmack river in the county of Prince William, the property of Cuthbert Bullitt.

Trustees: Thomas Blackburn, Alexander Henderson, William Grayson, Thomas Montgomery, William Tebbs, Burr Harrison, Jesse Ewell, John McMillan, Ludwell Lee.

1787—Middleburg

Record: Hening, xii, 605.

Description: 50 acres of land lying in the county of Loudoun, the property of Levin Powell.

Trustees: Francis Peyton, William Bronaugh, William Heale, John Peyton Harrison, Burr Powell, Josias Clapham, Richard Bland Lee.

1788—Carrborough

Record: Hening, xii, 684.

Description: 50 acres of land lying on the south side of the mouth of Quantico creek and on Potowmack river in the county of Prince William, the property of Willoughby Tebbs.

Trustees: Cuthbert Bullitt, William Carr, John Hedges, Spence Grayson, John Linton, William Linton, William Grayson, Burr Harrison, John Cannon.

1790—MATILDAVILLE

Record: Hening, xiii, 171.

Description: 40 acres of land at the Great Falls of Patowmack in the county of Loudoun, in the possession of Bryan Fairfax.

Trustees: George Gilpin, Albert Russell, William Gunnell, Josias Clapham, Richard Bland Lee, Levin Powell, Samuel Love.

1792—CENTERVILLE

Record: Hening, xiii, 580.

Description: 70 acres of land lying near Newgate in the county of Loudoun, the property of John Stewart Alexander, Presley Carr Lane, George Ralls, Mary Lane, and Francis Adams.

Trustees: Levin Powell, Joseph Lane, David Stuart, Thomas Blackburn, William Alexander, Hugh Stewart, Samuel Love, John Orr, Charles Eskridge, William Lane, junior, William Lane (the third), John Stewart Alexander, Francis Adams, Presley Carr Lane, George Ralls.

1796—SALEM

Record: Shepherd, ii, 30.

Description: 30 acres of land, the property of John Monroe, in the county of Fauquier.

Trustees: John Monroe, William Brown, John Robinson, Joseph Smith, Minor Winn, William S. Pickett, Alexander Scott, John Dearing, Daniel Flowere.

1798—BUCKLAND

Record: Shepherd, ii, 120.

Description: The lots and streets as the same are already laid off by John Love on his land lying on both sides of Broad Run and near to the mill of the said John Love in the County of Prince William.

Trustees: William Tyler, Alexander Scott, Briton Sanders, Robert Thrift, William Brooks, Richard Gill, William Hunton, Edward Carter, Thomas Hunton.

1798—Fayettesville

Record: Shepherd, ii, 120.

Description: 30 acres of land, the property of Austin Miskell, John Overall, Benjamin Bronaugh, Peter Lucas, Howson Duncan, Armistead Blackwell, in the county of Fauquier.

Trustees: Robert Lewis, William Brent, senior, James Weathers, son of Cain, John Blackwell, Robert Hunton.

1798—South Haven

Record: Shepherd, ii, 177.

Description: 90 acres of land, the property of John Mason in the county of Fairfax, lying on Potowmack River.

Trustees: Roger West, Charles Little, George Minor, Daniel McCarty, Thompson Mason.

1798—Turberville

Record: Shepherd, ii, 177.

Description: 20 acres of land, the property of John Turberville, lying near the Little Falls in the county of Fairfax.

Trustees: Corbin Washington, James Wren, Simon Summers, John Jackson, Thomas Gunnell.

1799—Hay Market

Record: Shepherd, ii, 179.

Description: The land of William Skinker, lying at the place known by the name of the Red House in the county of Prince William.

Trustees: Henry Washington, Bernard Hooe, Edward Carter, Edmund Brooke, Richard Alexander, William Tyler, George Tyler, Washington J. Washington, Matthew Whiting.

1801—Waterford

Record: Shepherd, ii, 270.

Description: The lots and streets, as the same are already laid off, at the place known by the name of Waterford in the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: James Moore, James Griffith, John Williams, Abner Williams.

1802—Hillsborough

Record: Shepherd, ii, 459.

Description: 25 acres of land, the property of Mahlon Hough, Thomas Purcell, the representatives of John Janney, deceased, Thomas Leslie, Thomas Hepburn, Joseph Tribby, Josiah White, John Foundling, Edward Conrad, Mahlon Roach, Thomas Stevens, Thomas Hough, Samuel Purcell, John Wolfcaile, Richard Matthews, James Prior, John Stevens, Richard Copeland, Mahlon Morris, in the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: Mahlon Hough, Thomas Purcell, Thomas Leslie, Josiah White, Edward Conrad, Mahlon Roach, Thomas Stevens.

1804—Occoquon

Record: Shepherd, iii, 48.

Description: 31 acres of land, the property of Nathaniel Ellicott, James Campbell and Luke Wheeler at the Occoquon mills in the county of Prince William.

Trustees: James Keith, George Gilpin, Thomas T. Page, Edward Washington, John Coffer.

1805—Providence

Record: Shepherd, iii, 177.

Description: 14 acres of land, the property of Richard Ratcliffe, as already laid off . . . at the court house of Fairfax county.

Trustees: Charles Little, William Payne, Richard Bland Lee, John Jackson, John C. Hunter, Richard Coleman, Daniel McCarty Chichester, Henry Gunnell, junior, Marmaduke B. Beckwith, Daniel Lewis, Francis Coffer, David Stuart, William Middleton, Richard Fitzhugh.

1810—Warrenton

Record: Acts, 1809-10, ch. 41, p. 37.

Description: 71 acres of land at Fauquier court house.

Trustees: Edward Digges, jun., John Scott, William Horner, John A. W. Smith, George B. Pickett, George Pickett, jr., John Kemper, Daniel Withers, Hugh R. Campbell.

1810—Aldie

Record: Acts, 1809-10, ch. 41, p. 37.

Description: 30 acres of land at the western extremity of the Little River turnpike road in the county of Loudoun, the property of Charles F. Mercer.

Trustees: Israel Lacey, William Cook, Matthew Adams, John Sinclair, James Hexon, David Gibson, Charles F. Mercer, William Noland.

1810—Paris

Record: Acts, 1810-11, ch. 61, p. 94.

Description: 60 acres of land, property of Peter C. Rust, Peter Glasscock and part of manor of Leeds, in the county of Fauquier.

Trustees: Nimrod Farrow, Andrew Churm, Isaac Settle, Peter Glasscock, Peter Cox Rust, Lewis Lemmert, Moore F. Carter.

1813—Union

Records: Acts, 1812-13, ch. 69, p. 98.

Description: 20 acres of land at the village called and known by the name of Union in the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: William Bronaugh, Benjamin Grayson, William Harned, William H. Handy.

1819—Upperville

Record: Acts, 1818-19, ch. 110, p. 153.

Description: 30 acres of land, the property of Joseph Carr at a place called Upperville, in the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: Cuthbert Powell, Sydnor Bailey, William C. Fitzhugh, John Carter, Josiah Tidball.

1822—Brentsville

Record: Acts, 1821-22, ch. 93, p. 69.

Description: 50 acres of land, the property of the Commonwealth at the court house in the county of Prince William.

Trustees: John Macrae, John Gibson, Gerard Alexander, William S. Alexander, Richard Davis, sr., John Mills, Charles Hunton, John Leachman, John Fox, William French, Benjamin Johnson, John Hooe, James Foster.

1822—New Baltimore

Record: Acts, 1822-23, ch. 81, p. 97.

Description: 25 acres of land at the village called New Baltimore, the property of William Hunton and others in the county of Fauquier.

Trustees: Owen Thomas, James Sanders, John Hampton, John Brown, James Lewis, Armistead Utterback, Martin E. Carter.

1824—Snickersville

Record: Acts, 1824-25, ch. 80, p. 86.

Description: 10 acres at entrance of Snicker's Gap, property of Amos Clayton, William Woodford and others in the county of Loudoun.

Trustees: James Cochran, Craven Osburn, Stephen Janney, Mordecai Throckmorton, E. B. Grady, Amos Clayton, Timothy Carrington.

1840—Dranesville

Record: Acts, 1839-40, ch. 170, p. 128.

Description: 30 acres of land, the property of J. B. Farr and wife, and Nicholas Farr of the place heretofore known as the village of Dranesville in the county of Fairfax, lying on the turnpike road leading from Leesburg in the county of Loudoun to Georgetown in the District of Columbia.

Trustees: William Barker, Nicholas Farr, Frederick Carper, John B. Farr, Edward Bates, John Rowzee, John T. J. Jackson.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

[1] As Hening printed the titles only of the Dumfries and Alexandria acts of 1749, and the text of the former has never been printed at all, both are here set out in full: for purposes of comparison, in parallel columns. The Dumfries act is derived from the Colonial Office records in London; the Alexandria act is taken from the copy made in 1874, by Mr. W. F. Carne, of the transcript in the original *Minute Book* of the Trustees of the town of Alexandria, which has since disappeared (See *The Charter and Laws of the City of Alexandria,* published by the City Council, 1874).

These charters (passed on the same day, as appears from the *Journal* of the House of Burgesses) are essentially similar, but vary in detail of their phraseology; the Alexandria act being a superior

example of draughtsmanship. They are significant records; as well in themselves as because they illustrate the precedent followed by the Assembly in 'establishing' towns throughout the century and a half following Lord Culpeper's act of 1680 (Hening, ii, 471; see *ante.*, p. 360).

DUMFRIES

An act for erecting a Town in the County of Prince William.

(Passed May 11, 1749)

Forasmuch as the Inhabitants of the County of Prince William have made humble Application to this General Assembly that a Town may be laid out upon the Land of John Graham, Gentleman, near the Public Warehouses on the upper side of Quantico Creek in the said County, for the cohabitation of such as are minded to settle there: whereby Trade and Navigation may be greatly increased to the Advantage of the Inhabitants in that part of the Country.

Be it Enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council and Burgesses of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority of the same, that within six Months after the passing of this Act Sixty Acres of Land belonging to the said John Graham, situate, lying and being upon the Head of Quantico Creek, near the public Warehouses in the said County of Prince William, shall be and is hereby vested in John Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Joseph Blackwell, Richard Blackburn and Thomas Harrison, Gentlemen, and their Successors, in Trust for the purposes hereafter mentioned.

ALEXANDRIA

An act for erecting a town at Hunting Creek Warehouse, in the County of Fairfax.

(Passed May 11, 1749)

Whereas it hath been represented to this present General Assembly that a Town at Hunting Creek Warehouse on Potomac River, would be commodious for trade and navigation, and tend greatly to the ease and advantage of the frontier inhabitants,

Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council and Burgesses of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that within four months after the passing of this act, sixty acres of land, parcel of the lands of Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West, situate lying and being on the south side of Potomac River, about the mouth of Great Hunting Creek and in the County of Fairfax, shall be surveyed and laid out by the surveyor of the said County, beginning at the mouth of the first branch above the warehouses, and extend[ing] down the meanders of the said River Potomac to a point called Middle Point, and thence down the said River ten poles; and from thence by a line parallel to the dividing line between John Alexander's land and Philip Alexander, and back into the woods for the

quantity aforesaid: and the said sixty acres of land so to be surveyed and laid out, shall be, and is hereby vested in the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Honorable William Fairfax, Esq., George Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Lawrence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerard Alexander and Hugh West, of the said County of Fairfax, gentlemen, and Philip Alexander of the County of Stafford, gentleman, and their successors in trust for the several purposes hereinafter mentioned.

And the said John Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Thomas Harrison, Joseph Blackwell and Richard Blackburn are hereby constituted and appointed Directors and Trustees for designing, building, carrying on and maintaining a Town upon the said Land.

And the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, William Fairfax, George Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Lawrence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerard Alexander, Hugh West and Philip Alexander are hereby constituted and appointed Directors and Trustees for designing, building, carrying on, and maintaining the said town upon the land aforesaid.

And the said Directors and Trustees, or any five of them, shall have power to meet as often as they shall think necessary; and shall lay out the said Sixty Acres of Land in Lots and Streets not exceeding half an Acre in each Lot; and also to set apart such Portions of the said Land for a Market place and public Quay; and to appoint such Places upon the Creek for public Landings, as to them shall seem most convenient.

And the said Trustees and Directors or any six of them, shall have power to meet as often as they shall think necessary; and shall lay out the said sixty acres into lots and streets not exceeding half an acre of ground in each lot; and also to set apart such portions of the said land for a market place, and public landing as to them shall seem convenient.

And, when the said Town shall be so laid out, the said Directors and Trustees shall have full power and Authority to sell all the said Lots by public sale or auction, from time to time, to the Highest Bidder, so as no Person shall have more than four Lots; And when

And, when the said town shall be so laid out, the said Directors and Trustees shall have full power and authority to sell all the said lots, by public sale or auction, from time to time, to the highest bidder, so as no person shall have more than two lots. And when any such

such Lots shall be sold any two or more of the said Trustees shall and may, upon payment of the Purchase Money, by some sufficient Conveiance or Conveiances, convey the Fee Simple estate of such Lot or Lots to the purchaser or purchasers; and he or they or his or their Heirs and Assigns, respectively, shall and may forever thereafter peaceably and quietly have, hold, possess and enjoy the same freed and discharged of and from all Right, Title, Estate, Claim, Interest and Demand whatsoever of the said John Graham, his Heirs and Assigns, and of all Persons whatsoever claiming by, from or under him or them:

lots shall be sold, any two of the said Trustees shall and may, upon payment of the purchase money, by some sufficient conveyance or conveyances, convey the Fee Simple estate of such lot or lots to the purchaser or purchasers; and he or they or his or their heirs or assigns, respectively, shall and may forever thereafter peaceably and quietly have, hold, possess and enjoy, free and discharged from all Right, Title, [Estate], Claim, interest and demand whatsoever of the said Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West, and the heirs and assigns of them respectively, and all persons whatsoever claiming by, from or under them or either of them.

Provided nevertheless, that the said Directors and Trustees shall pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Graham all the Money which shall be raised by the Sale of the said Lots as soon as the same shall be by them received.

Provided nevertheless, That the said Trustees and Directors, after deducting sufficient to reimburse the charge and expense of surveying and laying out the said lots, shall pay or cause to be paid, to the said Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West all the money arising by the sale of the said lots according to their respective rights therein.

And Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Grantee or Grantees of every such Lot or Lots so to be conveied and sold shall, within two years next after the date of the Conveiance for the same, erect, build and finish on every Lot so conveied one House of Brick, Stone or Wood well framed, of the Dementions of twenty feet square and nine feet pitch at the least, or proportionably thereto, if such Grantee shall have two lots contiguous. And the said Directors shall have full power and Authority to establish such Rules and Orders for the more regular placing the said Houses as to them shall seem fit from time to time. And if the Owner

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that the Grantee or Grantees of every such lot or lots to be sold or conveyed in the said town, shall within two years next after the date of the conveyance of the same, erect, build and finish on each lot so conveyed, one house of Brick, Stone or Wood well framed, of the dimensions of twenty feet square, and nine feet pitch, at the least, or proportionately thereto, if such Grantee shall have two lots contiguous, with a brick or stone chimney. And the said Directors shall have full power and authority to establish such Rules and Orders for the more regular placing the said houses as to them shall seem

of any Lots shall fail to pursue and comply with the Directions hereby prescribed for the building and finishing one or more House or Houses thereon, then such Lots upon which such Houses shall not be so built and finished shall be revested in the Trustees, and shall and may be sold and conveyed to any other Person or Persons whatsoever, in the Manner before directed; and shall revest and be again sold as often as the Owner or Owners shall fail to perform, obey and fulfil the Directions aforesaid.

meet. And if the Owner of any such Lot shall fail to pursue and comply with the directions hereby prescribed for the building and finishing one or more House or Houses thereon, then such Lots upon which such houses shall not be so built and finished shall be revested in the said Trustees, and shall and may be sold and conveyed to any other person or persons whatsoever, in the manner before directed; and shall revest and be again sold as often as the Owner or Owners shall fail to perform, obey, and fulfil the directions aforesaid.

And the Money raised by such Sale of the said Lots shall be laid out by the said Directors or any five of them for the Common Benefit of the Inhabitants of the said Town, as to them shall seem best; and if the Inhabitants of the said Town shall fail to obey and pursue the Rules and Orders of the said Directors in Repairing and amending the Streets and Public Landings, they shall be liable to the same penalties as are inflicted for not repairing the Highways in this Colony.

And the Money arising from the sale of such lots, as shall be revested and sold as aforesaid, shall be, by the said Trustees, from time to time, applied to such public use for the common benefit of the Inhabitants of the said Town as to them shall seem most proper; and if the said Inhabitants of said Town shall fail to obey and pursue the Rules and Orders of the said Directors in repairing and mending the Streets, Landings, and Public Wharfs, they shall be liable to the same penalties as are inflicted for not repairing the Highways in this Colony.

And to continue the Succession of the said Trustees and Directors, until the Governor of this Dominion shall incorporate some other Persons, by Letters patent under the Seal of this Colony, to be one Body Politic and Corporate to whom the Government of the said Town shall be committed.

Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that in Case of the Death of any of the said Directors or of their refusal to act, the surviving or other Directors, or the major part of them, shall assemble and are hereby impowered, from time to time, by

And for continuing the Succession of the said Trustees and Directors, until the Governor of this Colony shall incorporate some other persons, by letters patent under the Great Seal of this Colony, to be one Body Politic and Corporate, to whom the government of the said Town shall be committed,

Be it further enacted [by the Authority aforesaid], that in Case of the Death of [any of] the said Directors or of their refusal to act, the surviving or other Directors, or the major part of them, shall assemble and are hereby em-

Instrument in Writing under their respective Hands and Seals, to nominate some other Person or Persons, being an Inhabitant or Freeholder of the said Town, in the place of him so dying or refusing; which new Director or Directors, so nominated and appointed, shall from thenceforth have the like power and authority, in all things relating to the Matters contained, as if he or they had been expressly named and appointed in and by this Act. And every such Instrument and Nomination shall, from time to time, be recorded in the Books of the said Directors.

powered, from time to time, by Instrument in Writing, under their respective Hands and Seals, to nominate some other Person or Persons, being an Inhabitant or Free holder of the said Town, in the place of him so dying or refusing; which new Director or Directors, so nominated and appointed, shall from thenceforth have the like power and authority in all things relating to the matters herein contained, as if he or they had been expressly named and appointed in and by this act. And every such instrument and nomination shall, from time to time, be recorded in the Books of the said Directors.

And Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for any Person whatsoever to erect or build or cause to be erected or built in the said Town any Wooden Chimney; And if any Person shall presume to erect or build or cause to be erected or built any Wooden Chimney in the said Town, he or she shall forfeit and pay twenty shillings Current Money for every Month such Wooden Chimney shall be used; to be recovered, before any Justice of the Peace of the said County of Prince William by the said Directors or any five of them, for the common benefit of the Inhabitants of the said Town.

And Be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever to erect or build or cause to be erected or built in the said town any Wooden Chimney; and if any Wooden Chimney shall be built contrary to this act it shall and may be lawful for the Sheriff of the said County of Fairfax, and he is hereby required from time to time to cause all such Wooden Chimneys to be pulled down and demolished.

And Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of March next ensuing it shall not be lawful for any Person or Persons inhabiting within the said Town to raise or keep any Swine within the limits thereof, and suffer the same to go or run at large within the said Town; and if any Swine so raised and kept shall be found going or running at large within the Limits of the said Town it

And Be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that no person whatsoever residing in the said Town shall keep any swine running at large within the bounds thereof; and that it shall and may be lawful for any person whatsoever, to kill or destroy the same, and immediately give notice to the owner or owners thereof; *Provided always*, that nothing in this act [contained] shall be construed to prohibit Persons [from] driv-

shall and may be lawful for any Person whatsoever to kill and destroy the same; *Provided* nevertheless that such Person shall not convert any Swine so killed to his or her own use, but shall leave the same in the place where it shall be so killed, and give immediate notice, to the Owner thereof if known, and if not then to the next Justice of the Peace, who may order the same to the use of any poor Person he shall think fit; *Provided* also that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to hinder any Person from driving Swine to or through the said Town or the Limits thereof, in order to sell or kill the same, or in their Removal from one Plantation to another.

ing hogs for sale in or through the said town, or to prohibit Persons residing near the said town from letting their hogs run at large.

And Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the said Town so erected shall be called by the Name of Dumfries.

And Be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that the said town [so erected] shall be called by the name of Alexandria.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

The Manuscript Source Records

The Land Grants:

IN the Land Office at Richmond are preserved MS. books which constitute Virginia's most precious surviving muniment of her past. These are the records of the land grants in the Dominion from 1624 down to the American Revolution. They are in two series which, after 1690, are contemporaneous, viz: (1) The Land Patent Books kept by the colonial Virginia government, and (2) The Northern Neck Grant Books kept by the proprietors of the Northern Neck.

These books are much more than fountains of land titles. Important as they remain on that account, they warrant study by the historian on others; for, like Domesday Book, they are shot through with casual veins of topographical, genealogical, economic and even political source material. Their interrelated testimony for old Prince William should be considered in four periods, viz:

I. 1651-1661. *Patent Books, 2, 3 and* 4. During the Commonwealth, land speculators pushed up the Potomac and made 'entries' of and upon a continuous stripling margin of tidewater 'dividends' extending from Chipawansic to Ąnacostan island, for which 'head right' patents were issued by the Governors under orders of the Virginia Council.

II. 1661-1677. *Patent Books* 5 *and* 6. Immediately after the Restoration the proprietors of the Northern Neck asserted a claim to the territory under Charles II's charter of 1649, and secured orders from the Crown instructing the Virginia government to assist them to exercise their franchises. These orders were locally resisted, with the result that the expansion of the seated area of the Northern Neck was suspended for a generation.

Meanwhile the Council compromised between the Crown orders and their local constituents. They definitely desisted from authorizing new head right entries in the Northern Neck, but they continued to authorize patents for reissues of entries which had been already vested. In the revision of the Northern Neck charter in 1669 this principle was ratified by the confirmation of all 'head right dividends' perfected prior to Michaelmas 1661 on condition that the holders attorn to the proprietors as to quit rents.

The earliest Northern Neck grant was made during this period in pursuance of this stipulation. Because it could be claimed that Richard Lee had not perfected his 'dividend' of the lands later known as Mt. Vernon, Lord Culpeper granted those lands in 1675 to Nicholas Spencer and John Washington.

The proprietors did not, however, succeed in securing general acceptance of their authority during this period. As they were about to open a land office they were met by a new resistance arising out of the passions engendered by the Arlington grant of all Virginia in 1673.

In this confused situation Governor Berkeley and his lieutenants, Moryson, Chicheley and Jeffreys, re-issued a few patents to Northern Neck lands after 1669, but neither in number nor significance were they important.

III. 1677-1690. When Lord Culpeper succeeded Berkeley as Governor, and controlled the Council, he put an end to the further re-issue of patents relating to Northern Neck lands. On the other hand, he was still unable to secure such acquiescence of the proprietary as a source of title, as might justify setting up a land office in the Northern Neck. The net product of this period was, therefore, the creation of two 'manors,' later known as Brent Town and Ravensworth.

IV. 1690-1781. *N. N. Grant Books* 1 *to* 5, *and A to I, inclusive.* After Lord Culpeper's death his heirs secured from William and Mary's government a new confirmation of the Northern Neck charter and, on the strength of it, opened a land office in Virginia. Thus began in 1690 the surviving se-

ries of proprietary grants under which the piedmont was seated and the land map of the territory was completed.

The County Records:

What might be called the eocene county records relating to the territory of old Prince William are those of the counties of Westmoreland on the Potomac and Rappahannock, Richmond and King George, successively, on the Rappahannock. With the exception of the early King George wills these records are practically complete prior to the creation of Stafford and Prince William. They have been copiously drawn upon by Messrs. Tyler, Stanard and Bruce and are discussed in their able and illuminating writings. Valuable as they are as a background, only incidentally do they afford material for the purely local history of the territory here under consideration. The significant community records of that territory began on the Potomac with the organization of Stafford (1664) and on the Rappahannock with the organization of Prince William (1731). As it happens, the early records of both the counties last named were spoiled during the war between the states. Federal troops occupying the court houses either wantonly destroyed or carried off many of the books and papers; and though some of them have since been returned (notably two early Court Order Books of Stafford), the historian is sadly to seek in the matter of this vital material. On the other hand, the records of Fairfax, Loudoun and Fauquier are substantially intact. The principal lack in those three counties is in Fairfax, where the earliest court order books (1742-1754) and several deed books are missing.

An inventory of the surviving county records, made in 1922, is appended in a note.[1]

The Parish records:

Like the county records, the parish records of old Prince William have been sadly depleted. In this instance the loss is

due not to war but to political revolution. The late Dr. E. L. Goodwin, Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia, has well described what happened:

'When Parish levies for the support of the ministers of the established Church were discontinued in 1776 the civil functions remaining to the Vestries were principally those pertaining to the care of the poor. When these were transferred to Overseers of the Poor in 1786 it was natural that the book in which the Vestries and Church Wardens, previously acting in this capacity, had kept their accounts and records should pass into the hands of the said overseers. This we know was the case with that of Truro Parish. When its pages were filled it would be considered of no further value and sooner or later be lost or destroyed. The Parish Register on the other hand would remain in the hands of the old minister, and when he died, leaving no successor in most cases, this also would disappear; unless in either case, the book happened to fall into the hands of some one who preserved it as a matter of sentiment.'

When, in 1854, Bishop Meade began to collect material for the sketches which were later edited and enlarged in his book, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia,* he had sent to him all the colonial parish records which he could trace into private hands. After he had finished his study of these books the good Bishop fortunately secured agreement of those who had preserved them to deposit most of them in the library of the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria. At a later period the Vestry book of Truro came into the hands of Dr. Slaughter and was by him deposited with the minister of Pohick church who in turn placed it for safe keeping in the safe at Mt. Vernon. Alone of the colonial churches of old Prince William Christ Church at Alexandria had meanwhile preserved the vestry book of the parish to which it once belonged.

In these ways there are now available to the student the following parish records of the territory, viz:

Parish	*Vestry Books Surviving*	*Register Surviving*	*Where Preserved*
1664—Overwharton	None	1727-1756[2]	Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria
1713—Hanover	1779-1796	None	Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria
1731—Hamilton	None[3]	None	
1732—Truro	1732-1785[4]	None	Mt. Vernon
1744—Dettingen	1745-1802	1816-1823	Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria
1748—Cameron	None	None	
1764—Fairfax	1765-1776	None	Christ Church, Alexandria
1769—Shelburne	1791-1805	None	Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria
1769—Leeds	None	None	

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE.

[1] On behalf of the present editor, Mr. T. E. Didlake of the Prince William bar made, in 1922, an exhaustive survey of the surviving records in the Court Houses of Stafford, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, Arlington, and the city of Alexandria. His detailed report was as follows:

Survey of Surviving County Records.

STAFFORD, PRIOR TO 1731.

1 Volume—This volume is marked "Liber Z". It contains mainly deeds and wills, about one-half of it being devoted to the former. It also contains several orders of the County Court and a few estate accounts. It covers the period from Nov. 9th, 1699, to Sept. 14th, 1709.

1 Volume—This volume contains orders of the County Court. It seems to consist of two volumes, bound together. The first portion contains orders that were entered between May 27th, 1664, and Jan. 29th, 1668, while the latter portion contains orders that were entered between Dec. 11th, 1689, and Oct. 18th, 1693.
Note: There is a transcript of this volume in the library of the Virginia Historical Society.

There is an index to deeds, wills, estate accounts, powers of attorney, assignments, etc., extending from 1699 to 1709, and there is a similar index for the period from 1721 to 1745. With the exception of these, the two volumes referred to above are the only records now extant prior to 1731.

The clerk of court has no original manuscripts not copied into his books, and there are no unusual records, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

PRINCE WILLIAM

Deed Books.

Deed Book "A" Missing.

Deed Book "B"—First deed admitted to record March 21st, 1732. Last deed admitted to record Nov. 19th, 1735.

Deed Book "C"—Missing.

Deed Books "D" and "E" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Oct. 23rd, 1738. Last deed admitted to record Jan. 25th, 1741/2.
Note: The first two pages of Deed Book "D" are missing.

Deed Books "F", "G" and "H"—Missing.

Deed Book "I"—First deed admitted to record Nov. 25th, 1745. Last deed admitted to record Oct. 27th, 1746.

Deed Books "J" and "K"—Missing.

Deed Books "L" and "M" inclusive—First deed admitted to record May 23rd, 1748. Last deed admitted to record April 27th, 1752.

Deed Books "N" and "O"—Missing.

Deed Books "P", "Q" and "R" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Jan. 26th, 1761. Last deed admitted to record Aug. 6th, 1771.
Note: The first eight pages of Deed Book "P" are missing.

Deed Book "S"—Missing.

Deed Books "T" to "Z" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Nov. 8th, 1774. Last deed admitted to record Dec. 3rd, 1799.
Note: There seems to have been no Deed Book "V", as there is no break in the continuity of dates. Pages 1 and 2 of Deed Book "T" were inserted by mistake as the first two pages in Deed Book "W". Pages 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Deed Book "T" and the first eighteen pages of Deed Book "U" are missing. The first six pages of Deed Book "Y" are also missing.

Deed Books 1, 2, 3 and 4 inclusive—First deed admitted to record Jan. 6th, 1800. Last deed admitted to record April 7th, 1813.
Note: The first 86 pages of Deed Book 3 are missing, covering the period from April 3rd, 1805, to Dec. 2nd, 1805. The last deed admitted to record in Deed Book 3 and the first deed admitted to record in Deed Book 4 leave a gap extending from Aug. 1st, 1808, to Aug. 7th, 1809. Consequently Deed Book 3 seems to be incomplete for that period.

Deed Books 5 and 6—Missing.

Deed Books 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 inclusive—First deed admitted to record Oct. 5th, 1818. Last deed admitted to record Nov. 3rd, 1834.
Note: The first 58 pages of Deed Book 9 are missing, extending from Feb. 3rd, 1823, to May 5th, 1823. A number of pages at the end of Deed Book 9 and the first four pages of Deed Book 10 are missing, leaving a gap extending from Sept. 6th, 1824, to

March 7th, 1825. Several pages at the end of Deed Book 10 are missing, covering a period from Jan. 1st, 1827, to March 5th, 1827. The same is true of Deed Book 11, leaving a gap extending from Sept. 7th, 1829, to Jan. 4th, 1830.

Deed Books 14 and 15—Missing.

Deed Book 16—First deed admitted to record March 2nd, 1840. Last deed admitted to record May 20th, 1841.

Deed Books 17 and 18—Missing.

Deed Books 19, 20 and 21 inclusive—First deed admitted to record Aug. 4th, 1845. Last deed admitted to record Jan. 5th, 1852.

Note: A number of pages at the end of Deed Book 19 are missing, leaving a gap extending from March 6th, 1848, to Oct. 3rd, 1848.

Deed Book 22—Missing.

Deed Books 23 to 76 inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record April 3rd, 1854.

Note: The last deed in Deed Book 25 was admitted to record Aug. 20th, 1860, and the first deed in Deed Book 26 was admitted to record July 31st, 1865.

Deed Book "B"—The first deed contained in this volume was admitted to record May 14th, 1795, and the last was admitted to record Oct. 18th, 1799. All of the instruments contained therein were admitted to record in the District Court of Dumfries. The lands conveyed by the deeds recorded in this deed book were scattered over all four of the counties of Loudoun, Fauquier, Fairfax and Prince William, and one tract was described as being situated in Clark County, Kentucky.

"Land Record"—This comprises only one volume. The first deed was admitted to record March 3rd, 1835, and the last Feb. 11th, 1843. It seems to include a miscellaneous collection of deeds.

"Court Surveys"—These are included in one volume. The first survey is dated Sept. 25th, 1789, and the last is dated Feb. 27th, 1858.

Will Books.

Will Books "A" and "B"—Missing.

Will Book "C"—First will probated Sept. 18th, 1734. Last will probated Sept. 24th, 1744.

Note: The first six pages are missing.

Will Books "D", "E" and "F"—Missing.

Will Books "G" to "Z" Inclusive (to date)—First will probated May 4th, 1778.

Note: There seems to have been no Will Book "J", as there is no break in the continuity of dates. A number of pages at the end of Will Book "O" and the first 140 pages of Will Book "P" are missing. This embraces the period from Feb. 7th, 1842, to June 3rd, 1844.

Minute Books.

Note: These volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They contain the orders and decrees of the county court.

3 Volumes—May 28th, 1752, to May 27th, 1757, inclusive.

1 Volume—Oct. 3rd, 1761, to July 7th, 1763, inclusive.

1 Volume—Aug. 6th, 1766, to July 4th, 1769, inclusive.

1 Volume—Sept. 3rd, 1804, to Feb. 15th, 1806, inclusive.
1 Volume—Oct. 5th, 1812, to July 4th, 1814, inclusive.
5 Volumes—June 3rd, 1833, to Dec. 2nd, 1850, inclusive.
11 Volumes—June 6th, 1853, to Jan. 7th, 1904, inclusive.
Note: There were no minutes entered in the Minute Books from March 6th, 1862, to July 31st, 1865, inclusive. The Minute Books were discontinued in 1904, when the county court was merged into the present circuit court.

Common-Law Order Books.

Volumes 1 to 7 inclusive (to date)—First order entered Oct. 11th, 1831.
Note: The first orders entered in these books were those entered on the common-law side of a court called the "Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery of Prince William County". It seems that this court began to function for the first time in 1831, having been recently established. In 1850 it became known as the "Circuit Court of Prince William County", into which the county court was merged in 1904.

Chancery Order Books.

Volumes 1 to 8 inclusive (to date)—First decree entered Oct. 27th, 1837.
Note: The first decrees recorded in these books were those entered on the chancery side of the "Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery of Prince William County". The first 96 pages of Vol. 1 are missing, the first decree probably having been entered in 1831. A few pages at the end of Vol. 1 are also missing, leaving a gap from May 19th, 1852, to Nov. 8th, 1852.

Miscellaneous.

1 Volume—Minutes of the October, 1793, term of the District Court of Dumfries.
1 Volume—Minutes of the District Court of Dumfries from Oct. 13th, 1794, to Oct. 29th, 1798.
2 Volumes—Minutes of the "Superior Court" held at Haymarket, Va., for the district composed of the counties of Loudoun, Fauquier, Fairfax and Prince William, covering the period from Oct. 19th, 1804, to May 23rd, 1817.
1 Volume—Record of Land Causes. These extend over a period from Nov., 1795, to Oct. 8th, 1811.
1 Volume—Record of Land Causes. These extend over a period from Oct., 1789, to May, 1793.
1 Volume—Record of Land Causes. These extend over a period from May, 1805, to Oct. 18th, 1815.
1 Volume—Record of Land Causes. These extend over a period from Feb. 29th, 1808, to Oct. 1st, 1849.
Note: The four volumes last named contain a recorded copy of the papers in certain land causes.

The clerk has no original manuscript not copied into his books. There are no unusual record books, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc. The clerk states, however, that there are many old custom-house records at Dumfries, Va., which he thinks would be of interest to the historical student. These are in the possession of various individuals living at Dumfries.

FAIRFAX

Deed Books.

Libri "A" to "E" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Jan. 20th, 1742. Last deed admitted to record Dec. 22nd, 1763.
Note: The first two pages of Liber "A" are missing.
Liber "F"—Missing.
Liber "G"—First deed admitted to record Oct. 23rd, 1765. Last deed admitted to record March 21st, 1768.
Libri "H" to "K" inclusive—Missing.
Libri "L" and "M"—First deed admitted to record July 22nd, 1773. Last deed admitted to record Dec. 15th, 1777.
Note: The first five pages at the front and a number of pages at the back of Liber "L" are missing.
Liber "N"—Missing.
Libri "O" to "Z" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Sept. 15th, 1783. Last deed admitted to record Oct. 16th, 1797.
Libri "AA" and "BB"—First deed admitted to record Dec. 18th, 1797. Last deed admitted to record April 21st, 1800.
Libri "CC" and "DD"—Missing.
Liber "EE"—First deed admitted to record Sept. 19th, 1803. Last deed admitted to record May 20th, 1805.
Liber "FF"—Missing.
Liber "GG"—First deed admitted to record April 21st, 1806. Last deed admitted to record Jan. 20th, 1807.
Liber "HH"—Missing.
Liber "II"—First deed admitted to record Dec. 19th, 1808. Last deed admitted to record March 23rd, 1810.
Libri "JJ" and "KK"—Missing.
Libri "LL" and "MM"—First deed admitted to record Feb. 18th, 1811. Last deed admitted to record Sept. 20th, 1813.
Liber "NN"—Missing.
Libri "OO" and "PP"—First deed admitted to record Aug. 21st, 1815. Last deed admitted to record Jan. 19th, 1818.
Note: Several pages at the end of Liber "PP" are missing.
Liber "QQ"—Missing.
Libri "RR" and "SS"—First deed admitted to record June 1st, 1819. Last deed admitted to record Aug. 21st, 1821.
Liber "TT"—Missing.
Libri "UU" to "ZZ" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Oct. 22nd, 1822. Last deed admitted to record Nov. 21st, 1831.
Libri "A-No. 3" to "Z-No. 3" inclusive; Libri "A-No. 4" to "Z-No. 4" inclusive; Libri "A-No. 5" to "Z-No. 5" inclusive; Libri "A-No. 6" to "Z-No. 6" inclusive; Libri "A-No. 7" to "Z-No. 7" inclusive; and Libri "A-No. 8" to "W-No. 8" inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record Nov. 21st, 1831.

Will Books.

Libri "A" to "Z" inclusive—First will probated Jan. 20th, 1742/3. Last will probated April 16th, 1866.

Libri "A-No. 2" to "I-No. 2" inclusive—First will probated May 22nd, 1866. Last will probated January term, 1904.

Will Books 3 to 9 inclusive (to date)—First will probated September term, 1904.

"Will Book"—This book is neither numbered nor lettered. It covers the period from Nov. 7th, 1857, to Sept. 10th, 1904, and embraces wills admitted to probate in the Circuit Court before the County Court was discontinued in 1904.

"Will Book"—This volume is neither numbered nor lettered. It extends from Oct. 25th, 1809, to June 22nd, 1864, and consists of wills admitted to probate in the Superior Court and later in the Circuit Court after the Superior Court was discontinued.

Minute Books.

Note: The following volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They contain the orders and decrees of the old County Court.

1 Volume—Jan. 19th, 1754, to June 18th, 1756.
1 Volume—April 16th, 1770, to Jan. 20th, 1772.
1 Volume—June 16th, 1783, to June 16th, 1788.
1 Volume—July 21st, 1788, to Feb. 21st, 1792.
2 Volumes—Aug. 17th, 1789, to July 16th, 1793.
1 Volume—May 20th, 1799, to May 19th, 1800.

Note: The Minute Book for 1822-23 is in the Clerk's office of Arlington as noted below.

1 Volume—Dec. 20th, 1824, to March 22nd, 1827.
1 Volume—Jan. 19th, 1829, to Feb. 22nd, 1831.
1 Volume—July 20th, 1835, to July 18th, 1842.
1 Volume—Aug. 15th, 1842, to Oct. 20th, 1846.
1 Volume—Nov. 16th, 1846, to April 20th, 1852.
1 Volume—June 21st, 1852, to June 30th, 1855.
1 Volume—June 18th, 1855, to March 10th, 1858.
1 Volume—Jan. 18th, 1858, to Dec. 17th, 1860.
1 Volume—Jan. 19th, 1863, to Oct. 15th, 1866.
1 Volume—Feb. 18th, 1867, to March 16th, 1869.
1 Volume—June 21st, 1869, to Nov. 6th, 1871.
1 Volume—Nov. 20th, 1871, to Oct. 20th, 1874.
1 Volume—Jan. 18th, 1875, to Feb. 18th, 1879.
1 Volume—March 17th, 1879, to Aug. 21st, 1882.
1 Volume—Sept. ——, 1882, to June 30th, 1885.
1 Volume—July 20th, 1885, to Aug. 21st, 1888.
1 Volume—Sept. 17th, 1888, to Feb. 20th, 1892.
1 Volume—March 1st, 1892, to Aug. 24th, 1895.
1 Volume—Sept. 16th, 1895, to March 20th, 1899.
1 Volume—Dec. 19th, 1898, to Nov. 8th, 1901.
1 Volume—Sept. 16th, 1901, to Aug. 22nd, 1903.
1 Volume—Sept. 21st, 1903, to Feb. 1st, 1904.

Common-Law Order Books.

12 Volumes—These books are neither numbered nor lettered. The first order was entered Oct. 24th, 1831, and the books are complete

from that date to the present time. The Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery was established in 1830. These books contain the orders entered on the common-law side of that court and later of the Circuit Court, by which that court was superseded in 1850.

Chancery Order Books.

14 Volumes—These books are neither numbered nor lettered. The first decree was entered Nov. 2nd, 1847, and these books are complete from that time to the present. They contain the orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the courts referred to above under the caption "Common-Law Order Books". The ones covering the period from 1831 to Nov. 2nd, 1847, are missing.

Miscellaneous.

Minute Book—This volume extends from Oct. 25th, 1819, to May 26th, 1825, and contains orders entered by the Superior Court of Law.

Clerk's Order Books—These consist of three volumes, extending from Feb. 10th, 1904, to the present time, and contain orders entered by the clerk of court.

Land Causes—One volume, extending from the May term, 1812, to Oct. 1st, 1834. This book contains a copy of the record in certain suits involving the title to land.

Record of Surveys:
1 Volume, extending from March 17th, 1742, to the year 1767.
1 Volume, extending from May 11th, 1787, to March 17th, 1856.

The clerk of court stated that he had no original manuscripts not copied into his books. There are no unusual records, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

LOUDOUN

Deed Books.

Deed Books "A" to "Z" inclusive; Deed Books "2-A" to "2-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "3-A" to "3-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "4-A" to "4-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "5-A" to "5-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "6-A" to "6-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "7-A" to "7-Z" inclusive; Deed Books "8-A" to "8-Z" inclusive; and Deed Books "9-A" to "9-N" inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record July 12th, 1757.

Note: The deed books are complete from July 12th, 1757, to the present time. Deed Books "J" are missing in all of the alphabetical sets referred to above. There appears to have been no such books, as there is no break in the continuity of dates.

Will Books.

Will Books "A" to "Z" inclusive; Will Books "2-A" to "2-Z" inclusive; and Will Books "3-A" to "3-U" inclusive (to date)—First will probated Nov. 8th, 1757.

Note: The will books are complete from Nov. 8th, 1757, to the

present time. Will Books "J" are missing in all of the alphabetical sets referred to above, but there seems to have been no such books.

Will Books "A" to "C" inclusive:

Note: These three volumes cover the period from April 7th, 1810, to Jan. 28th, 1904. While they contain a few wills, they are taken up mainly with estate accounts.

Minute Books.

Volumes "A" to "P" inclusive—First order entered July 12th, 1757. Last order entered Aug. 15th, 1794.

Volume "Q"—Missing.

Volumes "R" to "Z" inclusive—First order entered Nov. 14th, 1796. Last order entered July 14th, 1807.

6 Volumes—These books are neither numbered nor lettered. They cover the period from Aug. 10th, 1807, to Aug. 9th, 1813.

8 Volumes—These books are neither numbered nor lettered. They cover the period from Aug. 14th, 1815, to Feb. 12th, 1828.

1 Volume—This book is neither numbered nor lettered and covers the period from June 8th, 1829, to Oct. 13th, 1830.

30 Volumes—These books are neither numbered nor lettered. They cover the period from Nov. 30th, 1830, to Jan. 28th, 1904.

Note: These books contain the common-law and chancery orders of the old county court. The county court was discontinued in 1904, becoming merged into the present circuit court.

Orders of the Superior Court.

Volumes "A" to "I" inclusive—First order entered April 3rd, 1809. Last order entered Aug. 6th, 1830.

Note: These appear to contain the common-law and chancery orders of an appellate court, to which appeals from the county court were taken. There are no books lettered "F" and "I". However, there are two books, the one extending from Sept. 2nd, 1820, to April 6th, 1822, and the other from July 2nd, 1827, to Aug. 6th, 1830, that were evidently intended for them.

Common-Law Order Books.

Volumes "J" to "L" inclusive—First order dated May 30th, 1831. Last order dated Sept. 25th, 1841.

2 Volumes—April 20th, 1846, to May 3rd, 1858.

Volumes 1 to 12 inclusive (to date)—First order entered Oct. 18th, 1858.

Note: The lettering of Common-Law Order Books "J", "K" and "L" referred to above seems to have been a continuation of the lettering used for the orders of the Superior Court, which appears to have been discontinued when the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery was established in 1830. This latter court in 1850 became known as the Circuit Court.

Chancery Order Books.

Volumes "A" to "Z" inclusive (to date)—First decree entered Sept. 23rd, 1831.

Note: These books contain the orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery, which was superseded in 1850 by the Circuit Court. There were no orders or decrees entered from April 23rd, 1861, to Dec. 4th, 1865.

Miscellaneous.

Chancery Records—These consist of only twenty pages in one volume, and they cover the period from April 18th, 1836, to Oct. 30th, 1849. They seem to be made up of a few isolated chancery orders.

Probate Order Books—These are composed of two volumes and extend from March 5th, 1904, to date. They contain orders of the clerk of court relative to probate matters.

Land Causes—One volume, extending from Sept. 6th, 1809, to Oct. 30th, 1845. The volume is made up of copies of the records in certain proceedings involving the title to land.

Guardian Books—There are six volumes of these, and they extend from Aug. 15th, 1838, to Jan. 25th, 1904. They consist in the main of guardianship accounts. Some of these volumes are lettered.

Chancery Orders—One volume, extending from June 12th, 1871, to July 28th, 1873. This book includes orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the County Court and was evidently the result of an attempt to keep separate the common-law and chancery orders of this court, which after a short time was abandoned. The last order entered in the book is one removing a list of causes from the County Court to the Circuit Court.

Deed Book—One volume, extending from April 3rd, 1809, to May 3rd, 1844. It contains copies of certain deeds admitted to record in the Superior Court and later in the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery. The volume appears to have the letter "M" on the back, although it has become so obliterated by time that it is now almost indecipherable.

"Rough" Minute Books.

1 Volume—Aug. 9th, 1773, to Aug. 16th, 1780.
1 Volume—Jan. 8th, 1787, to March 12th, 1790.
1 Volume—Aug. 10th, 1795, to Feb. 14th, 1797.
1 Volume—Aug. 8th, 1800, to Oct. 13th, 1801.
1 Volume—Nov. 9th, 1801, to June 17th, 1803.
1 Volume—Nov. 12th, 1804, to Sept. 10th, 1806.
1 Volume—Oct. 13th, 1806, to Jan. 13th, 1808.
1 Volume—Dec. 22nd, 1801, to Nov. 2nd, 1843.

Note: These books appear to contain minutes jotted down hurriedly by the clerk in the court room and later transcribed into the regular minute books. The last volume seems to be confined to criminal cases exclusively.

Office Judgments—These comprise eight volumes and contain office judgments confirmed by the court. They cover the period from Nov. 12th, 1794, to Sept. 29th, 1847.

Appeal Book—One volume, extending from April 5th, 1809, to Feb. 23rd, 1830. This book contains a record of appeals from the County Court to the Superior Court.

A volume containing copies of pleadings before the justices comprising the County Court. This covers the period from Sept. 14th, 1757, to Aug. 14th, 1773.

The clerk of court stated that he has no original manuscripts not copied into his books. There were no unusual record books, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

On page 69 of the Minute Book bearing on its cover the date "July, 1861, to October, 1866," there is the following memorandum: "Owing to the continuance of the war, no court was held in this county from February, 1862, until July, 1865". The clerk stated that at the outbreak of the Civil War all of the court records of Loudoun County were removed to Campbell County, pursuant to an order of court entered to that effect.

FAUQUIER

Deed Books.

Deed Books 1 to 124 inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record May 24th, 1759. The deed books are complete from that time to date.

Will Books.

Will Books 1 to 50 inclusive (to date)—First will probated May 24th, 1759. The will books are complete from that time to date.

Minute Books.

Note: These volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They contain the orders and decrees of the old county court.

18 Volumes—May 4th, 1759, to March 27th, 1804.

33 Volumes—Feb. 3rd, 1818, to Jan. 30th, 1904.

Note: The minute books covering the period from March 27th, 1804, to Feb. 3rd, 1818, are missing.

Orders of the Superior Court.

6 Volumes—April 10th, 1809, to June 11th, 1831.

Note: These volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. The court was called the Superior Court of Law held for the County of Fauquier, which seems to have been superseded in 1831 by the court called the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery.

Common Law Order Books.

Volumes "A" to "R" inclusive (to date)—First order entered June 11th, 1831.

Note: Book "J" could not be found, and there seems to have been no such book, as there was no break in the continuity of time. The court in which these orders were entered was called the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery, and seems to have been established in 1831 with the beginning of these order books. In 1850 this court became the Circuit Court of Fauquier County, into which the county court was merged in 1904.

Chancery Order Books.

Volumes 1 to 19 inclusive (to date)—First order was entered Sept. 1st, 1831.
Note: These volumes include the orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the courts referred to above under the heading "Common-Law Order Books".

Miscellaneous.

1 Volume—contains certain deeds and other writings admitted to record in the "Superior Court of Law", held for Fauquier County, from April 10th, 1809, to April 26th, 1816.
1 Volume—Called :'Records at Large". This includes estate accounts, bonds of personal representatives, minutes of court, etc., and covers the period from Sept. 11th, 1821, to Sept. 6th, 1882.
3 Volumes—Called "Records of Appeals". These are neither numbered nor lettered. At the beginning of the first volume there is the following notation: "Records at Large of Suits removed to (and determined in) the Superior Court of Fauquier County by Writs of Error, Supersedeas and Appeals". These volumes contain a copy of the records in the cases appealed and cover cases appealed from the county court of Fauquier County to the Superior Court, which was later known as "The Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery". They cover the period from April 11th, 1809, to May 9th, 1838.

Records of Land Causes.

3 Volumes—These volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They extend from April 12th, 1809, to May 15th, 1850, inclusive. They contain a copy of the records in proceedings involving the title to land.

The clerk of court has no original manuscripts not copied into his books, nor were there to be found any unusual records, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

ARLINGTON

Deed Books.

Deed Books "A", No. 4, to "Z", No. 4, inclusive—First deed admitted to record Nov. 26th, 1869. Last deed admitted to record Dec. 19th, 1899.
Deed Books 102 to 180 inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record July 3rd, 1899.

Note: From Nov. 26th, 1869, the deed books are complete to date. The clerk of court stated that all deeds admitted to record prior to that date are to be found recorded in Alexandria City, Va., but that there are at Arlington Court House copies of the recorded copies of these deeds.

Will Books.

Will Books 9 to 13 inclusive (to date)—First will probated Oct. 7th, 1867.

Note: The clerk of court stated that the original wills admitted to probate prior to Oct. 7th, 1867, are on file at Arlington Court House, while the recorded copies of them are to be found at Alexandria City, Va.

Minute Books

Note: The following volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They contain the orders or minutes of a court called "The United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, held for the County of Alexandria".

1 Volume—Nov. 23rd, 1807, to Dec. 31st, 1808.
1 Volume—July 3rd, 1809, to Nov. 2nd, 1810.
1 Volume—Nov. 26th, 1810, to Aug. 3rd, 1812.
1 Volume—Nov. 23rd, 1812, to Dec. 23rd, 1813.
1 Volume—April 18th, 1814, to Dec. 23rd, 1815.
1 Volume—April 15th, 1816, to May 17th, 1817.
1 Volume—Nov. 4th, 1817, to June 25th, 1818.
1 Volume—April 20th, 1818, to Dec. 19th, 1818.
1 Volume—Nov. 23rd, 1818, to May 15th, 1819.
1 Volume—Nov. 2nd, 1819, to Jan. 8th, 1821.
1 Volume—Dec. 21st, 1820, to June 12th, 1821.
1 Volume—May 7th, 1821, to Jan. 18th, 1822.
1 Volume—Nov. 5th, 1821, to June 15th, 1822.
1 Volume—May 6th, 1822, to May 31st, 1823.
1 Volume—Nov. 3rd, 1823, to May 7th, 1825.
1 Volume—Nov. 28th, 1825, to Dec. 5th, 1827.
1 Volume—April 14th, 1828, to May 7th, 1831.
1 Volume—Nov. 7th, 1831, to May 28th, 1836.
1 Volume—Oct. 3rd, 1836, to June 10th, 1843.
1 Volume—Oct. 2nd, 1843, to Oct. 31st, 1846.

Note: The following volumes are neither numbered nor lettered. They contain the minutes or orders of a court at first called "The Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for the County of Alexandria" and which later was called "The United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for the County of Alexandria".

Volumes 1 to 13 inclusive—These volumes extend over a period from April 13th, 1801, to Dec. 20th, 1817.

Note: The following books contain the orders and decrees of the county court of Alexandria County. Vol. 1 is missing, but there seems to have been no such volume, as Vol. 2 begins with the organization of the said court.

Volumes 2 to 15 inclusive—These cover a period extending from April 5th, 1847, to Jan. 29th, 1904.

Note: There is an extra volume, not numbered, covering the period from Sept. 22nd, 1879, to Oct. 25th, 1882, the contents of which seem to be duplicated in the fourteen volumes listed above. In 1904 the county court was superseded by the present circuit court of Arlington County.

Common-Law Order Books.

Volumes 1 to 8 inclusive (to date)—First order entered June 16th, 1847.
Note: These books are complete from this date to the present time. They contain orders entered on the common-law side of a court called at first the "Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery of Alexandria County", which was later superseded by the present circuit court.

Chancery Order Books.

Volumes "A" to "D" inclusive and Volumes 5 to 7 inclusive (to date)—First decree entered June 17th, 1847.
Note: These books are complete from this date to the present time. They contain orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the courts referred to above under the heading "Common-Law Order Books".

Miscellaneous.

"Complete Records"—This is the name appearing on the back of this set of books. Liber A covers the period from Aug. 24th, 1786, to Nov. 6th, 1800. Libri B to P inclusive cover the period from April 13th, 1801, to Oct. 31st, 1846. There seems to have been no Liber J, as there is no break in the continuity of time. Liber A has to do with the probate of wills, the appointment of personal representatives and probate matters generally. The remaining volumes contain copies of pleas and other papers constituting the records in proceedings before the "United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for the County of Alexandria". There is an additional volume, not numbered or lettered, which covers a portion of the year 1802.

"Minute Books of the Orphans Court of Alexandria County"—These consist of three volumes, neither numbered nor lettered. The first extends from May 18th, 1811, to Oct. 15th, 1817; the second from Jan. 4th, 1830, to Sept. 3rd, 1834; and the third from Jan. 3rd, 1842, to March 1st, 1847.

"Insolvent Debtors' Schedules"—These consist of five volumes, which are neither numbered nor lettered, as follows:
1 Volume—May 11th, 1803, to Sept. 15th, 1810.
1 Volume—April 5th, 1819, to June 3rd, 1822.
1 Volume—May 24th, 1823, to July 10th, 1826.
1 Volume—July 15th, 1826, to June 3rd, 1833.
1 Volume—Jan. 2nd, 1833, to Oct. 16th, 1846.

"Minutes of Levy Court"—One volume, extending from April 3rd, 1801, to Feb. 20th, 1827.

"Land Suits"—One volume, extending from June 7th, 1835, to May, 1843.

"Minutes of the Court of Hustings for the Town of Alexandria"—These consist of seven volumes, neither numbered nor lettered, as follows:

1 Volume—March 9th, 1780, to July 25th, 1787.
1 Volume—Dec. 22nd, 1791, to June 6th, 1796.
1 Volume—Oct. 24th, 1794, to Dec. 9th, 1797.
1 Volume—June 28th, 1796, to Sept. 4th, 1797.
1 Volume—Jan. 1st, 1798, to Sept. 8th, 1798.
1 Volume—Oct. 1st, 1798, to Dec. 7th, 1799.
1 Volume—Jan. 6th, 1800, to Feb. 3rd, 1801.

Minutes of a "Court Held for Fairfax County, Virginia"—One volume, covering the period from May 20th, 1822, to Aug. 22nd, 1823.
Note: This volume should be with the records of Fairfax.

The clerk of court has no original manuscripts not copied into his books. There are no unusual records, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

The name of Alexandria County was changed to Arlington County by an act of the General Assembly of Virginia, approved March 16th, 1920. See Chapter 241 of the Acts of 1920.

ALEXANDRIA CITY

Deed Books.

Deed Books "A" to "O" inclusive—First deed admitted to record May 22nd, 1783. Last deed admitted to record Feb. 3rd, 1801.
Note: Deed Book "J" could not be found, but there seems to have been no such book.

Deed Books "A" to "Z" inclusive—First deed admitted to record April 13th, 1801. Last deed admitted to record Dec. 13th, 1815.
Note: Deed Book "J" could not be found. However, there seems to have been no such book, as there is no break in the continuity of dates.

Deed Books "A No. 2" to "Z No. 2" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Dec. 1st, 1814. Last deed admitted to record Aug. 21st, 1839.
Note: Deed Book "J No. 2" is missing. However, there appears to have been no such book, as there is no break in the continuity of dates.

Deed Books "A No. 3" to "Z No. 3" inclusive—First deed admitted to record Oct. 1st, 1839. Last deed admitted to record Nov. 23rd, 1869.
Note: Deed Book "J No. 3" is missing, but there seems to have been no Deed Book "J No. 3".

Deed Book "A No. 4"—First deed admitted to record Nov. 26th, 1869. Last deed admitted to record Jan. 19th, 1870.

Deed Books 1 to 73 inclusive (to date)—First deed admitted to record May 11th, 1870.
Note: The deed books appear to be complete from May 22nd, 1783, to the present time.

Will Books.

Will Books "A" to "C" inclusive—First will probated June 9th, 1801. Last will probated Nov. 13th, 1810.

Will Books 1 to 8 inclusive—First will probated Dec. 1st, 1810. Last will probated Sept. 2nd, 1867.

Will Books 1 to 2 inclusive (to date)—First will probated May 22nd, 1871.

Note: These two books contain wills admitted to probate in the Circuit Court of the City of Alexandria.

Will Books 1 to 3 inclusive (to date)—First will probated May 9th, 1870.

Note: These three books contain wills admitted to probate in the Corporation Court of the City of Alexandria. The clerk of court stated that both the Circuit Court of the City of Alexandria and the Corporation Court were established in the year 1870, and that the originals of all wills admitted to probate prior to that date in Alexandria County are now at Arlington, Va. The will books at Arlington begin with Oct. 7th, 1867. There is at Alexandria no record of wills admitted to probate between Sept. 2nd, 1867, and May 22nd, 1871, for the Circuit Court and between Sept. 2nd, 1867, and May 9th, 1870, for the Corporation Court.

Common-Law Order Books (Circuit Court).

Volumes 1 to 3 inclusive (to date)—First order entered May 21st, 1870.

Chancery Order Books (Circuit Court).

Volumes 1 to 4 inclusive (to date)—First decree entered May 22nd, 1871.

Minute Books (Corporation Court).

Volumes 1 to 23 inclusive (to date)—First order entered May 9th, 1870.

Note: These books contain orders entered on the common-law side of the Corporation Court.

Chancery Order Books (Corporation Court).

Volumes 1 to 13 inclusive (to date)—First decree entered July 11th, 1870.

Note: These volumes contain orders and decrees entered on the chancery side of the Corporation Court.

"Minutes of the Court of Hustings for the Town of Alexandria".

1 Volume—March 9th, 1780, to July 25th, 1787.
1 Volume—Dec. 22nd, 1791, to June 6th, 1796.
1 Volume—Oct. 24th, 1794, to Dec. 9th, 1797.
1 Volume—June 28th, 1796, to Sept. 4th, 1797.
1 Volume—Jan. 1st, 1798, to Sept. 8th, 1798.
1 Volume—Oct. 1st, 1798, to Dec. 7th, 1799.
1 Volume—Jan. 6th, 1800, to Feb. 3rd, 1801.

The clerk of court stated that he has no original manuscripts not copied into his books. There are no unusual records, such as parish registers, vestry books, etc.

[2] The surviving Overwharton parish register for these years, pieced out with some other records collected elsewhere, was edited and printed by Mr. W. F. Boogher as *Overwharton Parish Register,* 1720-1760, Washington, 1899.

[3] Bishop Meade testified (*Old Churches,* ii, 216) that 'the vestry book [of Hamilton parish] was placed in the [Fauquier] Clerk's office [at Warrenton] and there torn up, page after page, by the clerks or others, for the purpose of lighting cigars or pipes.'

[4] Dr. Philip Slaughter's *History of Truro Parish in Virginia* (edited and printed by Dr. E. L. Goodwin in 1907) is based on, and contains copious quotations from, this record.

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